A GRAMMAR

OF THE

HEBREW LANGUAGE

OF THE OLD TESTAMENT,

BY

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PREFACE.

The last forty years are memorable in the history of literature for the astonishing progress which has been made in every branch of philological learning. From this period is to be dated the commencement of that philosophical method, which, by treating language as an end as well means, has first discovered its foundation in the structure of the mind and the laws of thought, and, by tracing the affinities which exist between the different families of language, has rendered it the best commentary on the history of the human race, at the same time that it has extended and established the certainty of its use as means.

Grammar especially has derived great advantage from this enlargement of our view of language. It has received the new honour of being waited on by philosophy, and has been raised to the rank of a science. It is now no longer enough for a Grammar to contain a mere collection of the phenomena of a language as to its forms and syntax; but it must show *how* the forms have arived at their present state; it must endeavour to attain a correct feeling of the sense which every word has on account of its form; it must trace how time and the fortune of the nation have modified its native type; and lastly, must show how all its syntactical peculiarities are founded on the laws of thought, and that there is nothing arbitrary or accidental in them, but that every language is in harmony with itself, and, like every plant or animal, acknowledges its conformity to certain eternal laws, even in its departure from the particular organization and laws of others. Less than this will not satisfy the demands of our age.

The Greek language was the first whose Grammar received the effects of this new spirit; but it was not long before the Latin also was brought up to the same standard. The names

of Buttmann, Matthiae, Thiersch, Zumpt, Grotefend, and many others, are more or less known to the English reader, as promoters and founders of the improvements which have been introduced into the study of the classical languages.

It was to be expected that the Oriental languages would not wait long before they also received the fruits of that principle which had been so successfully applied to the classical languages. For the advanced state of classical philology rendered it necessary that the grammars of the Oriental languages should be raised to the same standard; and we accordingly find that Oriental Lexicography and Grammar, the publication of original texts, the establishment of Professorships, and the encreased study of these languages, have received an impulse proportionate to that which has animated all other philology during this period. The names of von Schlegel, Gesenius, Freytag, Kosegarten, Lassen, Bopp, Rosen, Winer, Ewald, and others too numerous to mention, are known wherever there is any study of the languages they have illustrated.

So large a proportion of those by whose labours philology has been really advanced in our day, are Germans, that it is not uninteresting to enquire why it is that philology in general has found its most ardent cultivators in Germany. It is indeed probable that many causes conspire to foster this study, such as Protestantism, their University system, the patronage of their goverments, and the absence of the engrossing interest of extensive commerce and political discussion. But the chief external cause appears to be their wise and liberal system of education; and it is purposed to offer a few observations on that, only with reference to its effects on Oriental literature; for though the encreased cultivation of Oriental languages is unquestionably dependent on the advanced state of all other philology, yet classical literature must necessarily be excluded as irrelevant to my purpose. It will be very easy to conjecture the one from the other; *ex pede Herculem.*

Every University in Protestant Germany, in all of which Theology is taught (and there are sixteen such) has at least one Professor of Oriental literature. The mode in which he communicates his instruction is by lecture, in which the student is a mere auditor. There are two academical sessions in a year, and he lectures five or six times a week on any book of the old Testament he pleases; accordingly, the Psalms, or Isaiah, form as much as can be conveniently delivered in

a semester. But, as all those who are intended for the study of Theology, are taught Hebrew at the Gymnasium, before they come to the University, the lectures on Hebrew may be, and are, as little occupied with the grammatical difficulties of a mere beginner, as those of a classical Professor on Homer. Thus the student, already grounded in the essentials of the language, is at once lifted up above the narrow view he had formed of the inapproachability of the language, by hearing it pronounced, translated, and explained by one whose long familiarity with it gives him fluency, and whose experience gives him facility in resolving the difficulties. The language is no longer so dead to him, so far removed from his feeling and instinct of a living, spoken language, as it would be if he heard it spelt by his fellowstudents, and stripped of all life and beauty by their mistakes. He not only hears it free from the errors which rob the most sublime poetry of its charm, but he hears it delivered in a manner which would awake a sense for its beauty, if he did not feel it before. The zeal and enthusiasm of the Professor (and seldom is he without zeal) communicate themselves to the student, and by their very example create a warmer interest in the subject, and inspire that ardour without which no study, whose external rewards are small, can prosper. The effect of the Professor's reputation, if he be one whose name has traversed Europe, is not without influence on the minds of the young, prone to admiration, and excites an interest in his person which is reflected to his lectures. The very interest which the Professor excites, reacts upon himself. As almost every word which he utters is written down by the students, he is listened to with an attention which forms the best encouragement to him to exert his best powers. He is himself so acted on by his hearers, that he is ensured against indifference to the matter or manner of his lecture, and can never fall into an apathy which benumbs the ardour the student brings with him. — To this is to be added, that the Professor is not a man who assumes the task of public teaching late in life and without previous practice. For the system of a German University is to have three orders of teachers: Ordinary and Extraordinary Professors, and private lecturers, Any student who, after having taken his degree, determines to devote himself to academical life, undergoes another examination and establishes himself as a private lecturer. He may then possibly lecture the first few Semesters gratuitously, until he has acquired sufficient reputation to entitle him to demand a fee. But, as this class of private teachers begin, as young men, the same method of instruction by lecture which the Professors use, and as almost every Professor has been first a private lecturer,

the consequence is, that the Professor comes to the cathedra long experienced in the mode of teaching by lecture. Moreover, this regulation with regard to the three orders of teachers is attended by these advantages: first, as there is no limit to the number of private lecturers, there is no likelihood of any branch of knowledge having too few to teach it, — and secondly, it is an impossibility for patronage to appoint a driveller and to give him the monopoly of instruction in his branch; for, as the testimonial of having attended a private lecturer is quite as valid as that of having attended a Professor, the student will always attend those teachers which he prefers, and thus frustrate any attempt of the Government to provide for a favorite at the expence of the interests of science. This, it may be observed, is also a security against any Professor continuing to lecture when he is superannuated. — Again, every Goverment seems to be aware that it best answers its own objects by appointing the very best Professors that can be obtained throughout the whole of Germany. For there is so great a competition between the different Uuiversities, that any Government which filled the Professor's chairs with court favorites, would soon find the University deserted. In fact, there is a perpetual endeavour to obtain the most distinguished men from other Universities by the offer of higher emoluments etc.; — and this forms an inducement for a private lecturer in the smallest University to exert himself in order to obtain a call to a larger sphere of operation, just as the existence of private lecturers in all Universities forms a perpetual stimulus to the Professor to maintain the eminence he has already attained. — Add to this that the Matriculation-fee (in no University exceeding one pound sterling) entitles the Student to the use of *six* books at a time from the University Library, in his own rooms, and without further expence.

Hebrew is taught at the Gymnasium in the first two (sometimes first three) classes. The Gymnasiast, before he leaves the Gymnasium, undergoes an examination of maturity, in which he is expected to be able to construe any passage in the prosaical books of the old Testament. Then, after he has finished his studies at the University, he must undergo two (in the Hanoverian dominion, *three*) examinations in Hebrew before he is admitted to any clerical office. This of itself undoubtedly fosters the study of Hebrew more than any thing else. But this regulation on the part of the Governments is not to be regarded only as the cause that Hebrew is so much cultivated here; it is also, in part, the *effect* of the high degree of cultivation which every branch of education receives

here, which perfectly justifies the Government in requiring the theological student not to be the only laggard in the race. As the student, therefore, comes to the University with a sound preparation in Hebrew, and as he finds lectures on Arabic, Syriac, Sanscrit etc., and generally gratuitous, it is easily understood why, if he has any zeal in such studies, he avails himself of the opportunities of extending his studies, seeing that he comes prepared to advance farther, and finds these opportunities so liberally offered. — The shortest method of rendering the workings of this system intelligible to the English reader, is to give a selection from the Catalogue of lectures at the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen for this Winter Session, premising, that I have only selected those lectures which relate to Oriental *languages*, with the exclusion of all which are purely theological. The reader will observe in this list whether the lecturer is a Professor or a private teacher, and also to what faculty he belongs; and will understand the word *publice* to mean *gratuitously*. — And first for Berlin.

ORDINIS THEOLOGORUM.

E. G. Hengstenberg, Prof. ord.
Privatim Psalmos explicabit quinquies per hebdomadem h. IX-X.

J. J. Bellermann, Prof. extraord.
Privat. Narrationes e libro Jobi selectas interpretabitur diebus Merc. et Sat. h. XI-XII.

F. Benary, Prof. extraord.
Publice exegeticas Vet. Test. exercitationes instituet atque nonnullas hebraicae antiquitatis partes tractabit d. Merc. h. VI-VII.
Privatim 1) Jesaiae vaticinia interpretabitur quinquies p. hebd. h. X-XI. 2) Grammaticam Arabicam simulque selecta e Kosegartenii Chrestomathia capita exponet quater p. hebd. h. IV-V.

F. Uhlemann, Lic. Privatim docens.
Gratis Psalmos Messianos et dicta Prophetarum ad Messiam spectantia explicabit d. Mercur. et Sat. h. IX-X.
Privatissime Linguam Syriacam et Samaritanam docebit horis auditoribus opportunis.

J. C. Vatke, Lic. Privatim docens.
Privatim Genesin interpretabitur quinis p. hebd. diebus h. IX-X.

ORDINIS PHILOSOPHORUM.

F. Bopp, Prof. ord.
Publice Calidasi Nalodayam interpretabitur d. Merc. h. III-IV.
Privatim 1) Grammaticam linguae Gothicae et Germanicae comparatione cum Sanscritâ, Graecâ et Latinâ illustrandam docebit d. Lun., Merc., Ven. h. II-III. 2) Institutiones linguae Sanscritae tradet duce libro suo (*Kritische Gramm. der Sanscrita Sprache*) d. Mart., Jov., Sat. h. II-III.

J. J. L. George, Privatim docens.
Privatim Psalmos interpretabitur quater p. hebd. h. IX-X.

J. L. IDELER, Privatim docens.

Privatim 1) Herodoti capita ad historiam et antiquitates Aegyptiacas pertinentia illustrabit, premissâ isagoge de hieroglyphica Aegyptiorum scriptura d. Lun., Mart., Jov., Ven. h. IX-X. 2) Copticae linguae rudimenta Grammatica exponet selectosque Psalmos versionis Memphiticae interpretabitur quater p. hebd. d. Lun., Mart., Jov., Ven. h. X-XI.

J. H. Petermann, Privatim docens.

Gratis 1) Librum Iudicum, ratione imprimis Grammatices habitâ, explicare perget d. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII-IX. 2) Grammaticam Armeniacam docebit iisdem diebus h. IX-X.

Privatim Institutiones ling. Hebraicae tradet quater p. hebd. h. VIII-IX.

Privatissime ling. Armeniacam singulasque dialectos Semiticas docebit.

G. Schott, Privatim docens.

Gratis 1) de indole linguarum quae dicuntur Tataricarum dissereț semel p. hebd. d. Merc. h. XII-I. 2) Linguae Sinicae elementa docebit ter p. hebd. d. Lun., Jov., Sat. horâ eadem.

Privatim linguae Turcicae elementa docebit quater p. hebd. d. Lun., Mart., Jov., Ven. h. I-II. vel alia auditoribus commoda.

In the University of Göttingen.

ORDINIS PHILOSOPHORUM.

Geo. Hen. Aug. Ewald, Prof. ord.

h. X. librum Jesaiae propheticum interpretabitur senis p. hebd. diebus. Publice h. I. bis Hamâsam Abu-Temmami alique scripta Arabica difficiliora leget, bis linguam Persicam comparatam cum Sanscritâ docebit [1]). Societatem exegeticam h. VI. die Ven. exercebit [2]).

H. J. Wüstenfeld, Privatim docens.

Privatim quinquies p. hebd. h. X. Grammaticam Hebraicam docebit; gratis h. II. diebus Lun. et Jov. vaticinia Joelis, Michae, Nahumi et Obadiae interpretabitur, et hora auditoribus commoda selecta Corani capita et Hamasae Carmina explicabit.

ORDINIS THEOLOGORUM.

R. E. Klener, Privatim docens.

1. Hoseae vaticinia d. Lun. et Jov. h. XI. gratis interpretabitur Latino sermone usurus. 2. Grammaticam ling. Hebraicae duce Ewaldi Gramm. minori ed. II. quater p. hebd. exponet.

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1) Prof. Ewald has lectured gratuitously on Sanscrit, every Semester since 1826.

2) It is not to be supposed that public lectures are the only mode of instruction in a German University, for very many Professors hold societies of their pupils, in which they themselves exercise their powers under the Professors eye. Thus, the above Exegetical Society of Prof. Ewald meets at his house two hours on one evening in the week; the first hour is devoted to the Proverbs, and the students translate and explain in Latin; the other hour is given to the Apocalypse (these two happen to be the books chosen this Semester). Every member is also required to write a dissertation, in his turn, on some passage of the old or new Test. alternately. These dissertations are written in Lat. and their merits and demerits canvassed in a discussion, in which the Prof. acts the part of umpire.

It may be interesting, after this imperfect view of the machinery for public instruction in Oriental languages, to take a cursory survey of what has been done here for the last few years in Sanscrit, Arabic, and Hebrew. — Although Germany is entirely dependent on foreign countries for its access to original Sanscrit works, and although it has neither possessions nor commerce in India to encourage the study of that language, yet, no sooner did Fred. Schlegel's work "on the Language and Philosophy of the Indians" appear, than it awoke a great desire to become acquainted with a language which had so much to recommend it from its novelty, from the untold riches of its literature, and from its affinities with the languages of Greece and Rome, and with all the Teutonic dialects. It is not easy now to appreciate the difficulties which they had to struggle against, who began this study when the ordinary aids of Grammar and Lexicon could hardly be said to exist, when they were no printed texts, and when even Manuscripts were only to be found in French or English public libraries. So great, however, was the enthusiasm of the two Schlegels, Othmar Frank, and Bopp, and so liberal was the Prussian government especially in affording the means to advance their efforts, by the present of types and the establishment of Professorships, that Sanscrit is now cultivated here to an extent unknown in any other country of Europe. The want of Grammars has been supplied by Frank, who also published a Chrestomathy, and by three Grammars by Bopp, who is the first who has taken a philosophical view of the Sanscrit Grammar. With regard to texts, W. von Schlegel and Lassen (both Professors at Bonn) have published a critical edition of the Hitopadesa, and Schlegel has given us similar editions of the Bhaghavadgita and of the Ramâyana, and publishes a journal (*Indische Bibliothek*) exclusively devoted to Indian literature. Bopp, too, has published many episodes from the Mahâbhârata, for which he has compiled a Glossary which, with the Radices Sanscritae of Rosen, is all in the way of Lexicons which has yet appeared here. It is, of course impossible to enumerate all the original texts which have been lately printed here, but enough have been mentioned to show, that, with such materials and the great number of Professors who lecture on Sanscrit, the study of that language is fairly established here as a branch of public University instruction. — There could not have been a more favourable juncture for the introduction of the study of Sanscrit into Germany, than that at which it was introduced. For it found philosophical views of language already ripe enough to use the newly discovered language as a means for the further development of the principles of flexion

and organization in all other members of the Indo-germanic family of languages; and so far are we from having reached the utmost which it may be expected the comparative physiology of language will derive from this source, that it may rather be affirmed that the extent of the influence of Sanscrit is yet unforeseen. The time is certainly not distant when no philologian will consider he has a complete or profound knowledge of Latin or Greek, until he has sought the sources of their structure in Sanscrit. Sanscrit has even thrown a powerful light on the structure of the Semitic languages, of which this Grammar contains many proofs. No one has done more to illustrate the comparative Grammar of the Indo-germanic family of languages than Prof. Grimm of Göttingen (in his German Grammar) and Prof. Bopp. The latter has written a number of works illustrating different parts of their structure and flexion, as his "Conjugation System." "The demonstrative pronouns" etc., — but his last work "A comparative Grammar of Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Livonian, Slavonian, Gothic, and German" is the crown of all his former attempts. W. von Humboldt has also contributed much in this branch, and himself adorned the studies of which he was so munificent a patron. —

In speaking of Arabic literature, the great difficulty is in the selection of facts that deserve mention. Enough has been said above, to show to what extent it must be cultivated here; and even the number of Grammars and Chrestomathies within the last forty years, exceeds the small space that can be allotted to this subject. We are indebted to Prof. Ewald for a philosophical and critical Grammar, Gram. critica Ling. Arabicae cum brevi metrorum doctrinâ 2 Vols 8vo, 1831. Prof. Freytag in Bonn is now engaged in editing an Arabic Lexicon in four Vols 4to, of which three have appeared. There has been a critical edition of the Coran by Flügel, of Abulfeda's Historia Anteislamica by Fleischer, of the whole text of the Hamasa by Freytag, of the Arabian nights by Prof. Habicht etc.

The improvements in the last twenty years in Hebrew philology have been later in beginning and slower in progress than those of classical philology; but they are at length in beautiful harmony with each other. The number of German Hebrew Grammars within this period is so great that I can only notice those two which have exercised any permanent influence on the public mind. — Prof. Gesenius was the first who endeavoured to bring Hebrew philology in harmony with the improvements of his time. His *Lehrgebäude* (1817) was

the largest Heb. Gram. which had appeared before that time. Its distinguishing merits were the diligence with which he had collected, and the clearness with which he had represented the opinions of former Grammarians; it had also the advantage of showing some resemblances of the other Semitic dialects at the same time. He has also published eleven editions of a smaller Gram. and five of a Chrestomathy adapted to it. His Lexicographical labours consist of five editions of a German Hebrew Lexicon, one of the same in Latin, and a large Thesaurus linguae Heb. 4to, which is not yet completed. It may be concluded, from these works, and from his lectures as Professor at Halle, that he has contributed more than any man living to the dissemination of Hebrew learning.

But so gigantic a stride was made in the last ten years in the general principles of philosophical Grammar, that the best works before that time no longer satisfied the claims of the new aera. Philology had laid aside its swaddling clothes and began to philosophise on the facts which it was before contented to take upon trust. The elements of a further development of Hebrew Grammar were already ripening in silence; but the honour of effecting the reformation was reserved for Prof. Ewald. His labours, which would deserve mention in any sketch of the progress of sound philology, require a more particular notice here.

His "*Kritische Gramm. der hebräischen Sprache*" (written in the Authors 23rd year) whose very title announces the spirit in which the investigation of the language had been pursued, appeared in 1827. This large work, which was manifestly the production of an enterprising and independent thinker, which bore evident traces that he had made no compilation from former Grammarians, but had himself searched out the truth and the reasons of every fact before he stated it, and whose abundant references to the cognate dialects were so much sounder and more pertinent from the very principle of its whole system, has formed an epoch in the study of Hebrew. So important has been the influence which this work has exercised here, that I know of no commentary on any book of the old Test. nor Gram. nor Lexicon, which have appeared since 1827, which do not acknowlege their obligations to it. And even the ninth and tenth editions of Gesenius's Grammar (which have appeared since Ewald's large work) have received more important improvements than any of their predecessors. This was followed in 1828 by his *Hebr. Gramm. in vollständiger Kürze neu bearbeitet*, — and this extract from the preface to it may serve to explain some

of the Authors own views with regard to his system. "The three or four years which have elapsed since the composition of the larger work, could not pass without my examining the writings of the old Test. afresh, and becoming, from the general progress of my studies, more distinctly and certainly conscious of the internal grounds of the Heb. Lang. During this time, too, I have learnt Sanscrit, and discovered with joy the manifold use which this pure primitive language has even for the correct explanation of Heb. Thus, much in my conception of Heb. has been modified; my former views have been enlarged and confirmed, or more narrowly defined; my system has become still clearer in its chief and subordinate parts, more connected and therefore more accurate and sure in itself and for others, while it has become more certain to myself. My daily progress, and the composition of this smaller work, have convinced me, that the object which I had sought in the larger work, viz. truth and clearness, the internal reasons of the facts, and their confirmation and correct representation, was in almost all cases not sought in vain; for greater experience and strict examination have only confirmed and extended most, and precisely the most important, views of the larger work, or brought them still nearer to truth and distinctness. In the few instances, however, in which I have returned to an opinion which I formerly doubted, it has only happened because I have arrived, by repeated investigation, at the true reasons, so that I could now appropriate to myself as a fact, and correctly represent to others, that which other Grammarians had not understood or explained, but which was in itself right. It was indeed one of the chief objects of the larger work to awaken, by free and candid investigation, the spirit of enquiry in this branch of human science, and (at a time when prejudice had induced the belief that the system of the Heb. Gram. was already perfect, and that all farther enquiry was unnecessary) to begin the great work of that reformation which the Heb. Gram. needed so much, first, for its own sake as a science which must become conscious of its reasons and elevate itself above the dominion of mere empiricism, and secondly for the correctness and facilitation of instruction. The defects of the former Grammars, the ancient prejudices and false views, the half-true or erroneous proofs of modern Grammarians for the ancient opinions which they did not understand, were, however, so numerous that it was not possible that the first Gram. which, in necessary opposition to the former uncritical Grammars, sought the internal reasons of things and endeavoured to bring back the Heb. language to its spirit, should attain perfect correctness in every point. This chief object, and the real value of the larger work have also been acknowledged by impartial scholars; a new period and, if moderation guides the reform, a better period for the changes in Heb. Grammars, Lexicons and the exegesis of the old Test. approaches, and it may be hoped that the endeavours which are inspired by a pure love of truth and science, will bear the best fruit. I myself may only have the merit of the first impulse to improvement, if even that may be called a merit, since the idea of an improvement in this science is less owing to me than to the claims of our time, and this idea has perhaps only been awakened somewhat sooner and more vividly in me. Even after the firmer form which I have been able to give the Hebr. Gram. in this new work, there nevertheless remains, as I partly confidently believe, and partly suspect, much for future enquirers or, perhaps, for myself to add or to define more strictly, not only in the Syntax, which follows logical laws and is, therefore, more easily thoroughly understood by a consistent thinker, but also in the doctrine of the sounds of the language. I have, however, a sure confidence, that free and impartial enquirers will approve the spirit of in-

vestigation which prevails here, and, in harmony with the highest principle of this work, will only further build up the structure here founded. A number of observations which appear here for the first time, will remain and be able to stand the severest impartial examination (which I do not dread, but earnestly desire) because they have not proceeded from me or my mind, but at the same time from the spirit of the language. — An enumeration of those points which, according to my conviction, are more correctly discovered or represented in this or the larger work, would be a useless task. The judicious reader will easily perceive that none of the views of former Grammarians have been retained, except those which have proved themselves true after a free and independent investigation, and that nothing which appears new has been added, except what was found, by the same investigation, to be founded in the spirit of the language. In order to obtain a vivid apprehension and representation of the language in its true form, I have always investigated it by means of itself, without knowing the opinions of former Grammarians or assuming their correctness, and therefore it was necessarily indifferent to me, as to the results of my investigations, whether any fact had been observed before or not; I sought nothing old nor new."

This was succeeded, in 1835, by the Grammar of which this is a translation. It is called a second edition of the one before, but it is, as a short preface states, thoroughly revised and extensively improved. The Author had written his Arabic Grammar in the interval between this and the preceding edition, and returned from that excursion into a kindred dialect, with an enlargement and confirmation of his views, which have exercised a beneficial influence on every part of this Grammar. The additions, too, are as numerous and important as the length of the interval, and his progress in a labour of love, would lead us to expect; the largest is the treatise on the accentuation. — It is perhaps incumbent on me to attempt a fuller characteristic of the work whose translation I have undertaken, and to point out some of those advantages which may render it acceptable to an enlightened scholar. First, with regard to its general qualities, it may be said to correspond in every respect to the picture above offered of a Grammar such as it is expected to be from the enlarged views of our time. It is founded on philosophical views of language in general, and always endeavours to give a similar explanation of the facts of the language of which it treats. Let it not, however, be supposed that it is merely a philosophical explanation of the facts of the language; the truth is, a philosophical method alone could *find* the phenomena. Profound discrimination, and an investigation of those laws of thought of which language is the reflexion, were necessary to separate real from apparent phenomena, and to discover an infinite number of new ones, which empiricism would confound, and which superficial views could not detect. It also contains an acute critique of the opinions of former Grammarians, but it did not suit the conciseness of

the work to mention their names, which are of little moment in the judgment of things. Hence it is that this Grammar contains more facts of the language by one half than any one accessible to the English reader. Another and great distinction is the beautiful order that reigns throughout every part of the work. The development of one part from another, the progress from the elemental sounds to the complicated proposition, the groupings of the phenomena of strong and weak formation and flexion, all spring from an order which in itself conduces to a right understanding of the nature of the materials which it has disposed. Another merit is the perpetual reference to the most important facts which comparative philology offers to illustrate the forms or genius of Hebrew. These illustrations (which are by no means intended to exhaust the subject, but rather only to point out such resemblances as had escaped others) are not only borrowed from the sister dialects, but also from the Indo-germanic languages, and while the reader, alive to such comparisons, is led by similitude in dissimilitude to a more vivid sense of the genius of Semitismus, he runs no risk of finding a farrago of impertinent learning to obstruct or mislead him. Moreover, I must mention the total absence of that pedantic jargon which has invented a number of unmeaning terms for phenomena which it could not explain, and tasked the memory when it could not enlighten the understanding. Almost all the terms used in this work are vernacular and intelligible to one who knows what they are intended to describe (where it is not so in the translation, the difference of the language will, I trust, form some apology). Among the particular merits of this Grammar may be reckoned the doctrine of sounds. It testifies, in itself, how much more vivid the Author's feeling of the language has been; we find rules drawn from the living spoken tongue, whose laws are founded on the organs of speech and the ear, instead of inanimate details of the arbitrary signs addressed to the eye. And surely every thing that tends to bring a language within the sphere of our living sympathies, conduces to a sense of its spirit. Besides, as language is the mirror which reflects all man's impressions of the external world and of the world of feeling within him, and as that reflexion is made by sounds, the peculiar sounds of every language form one of the characteristics of the national perception and feeling of that people to whom the language belongs. — In the doctrine of forms, I will only select the nominal formation. The appreciation of the sense which the mere form expresses, the gradations from the simplest to the most intense, the *nisus formativi of* different developments, are important improvements in this part of

Grammar. The numerous declensions of other writers give place to a system not only more easy, but infinitely more conducive to an understanding of the principle of flexion, because it is founded on the nature of the language. — Lastly, the spirit which pervades the whole work has produced such improvements in the Syntax, that no one can fail to discover the hand of a master there. Its logical precision where so much was vague before, its fulness where so much was meagre, its acute and philosophical discrimination, will be some susprise to those who thought that, in the Hebrew language, a Syntax was not altogether indispensable [1]).

Such is the original of this translation; and, as such, it appeared to be a desideratum in Hebrew philology in England. It is, however, also possible that the very merits of this work over its contemporaries, may render it less acceptable to those whose misconception of the real difficulties of Hebrew, or whose indolence, leads them to take no road to that language except an apparently short and easy one. It is indeed a disadvantage to the study of Hebrew, as a *language*, that we become acquainted with the choicest remains of its literature from our earliest childhood, and that, too, in a version which, from its being no longer the hackneyed idiom of daily life, has sufficient colour of originality to take away the desire to seek the native source, or, if we do resolve to study the original, to forestall the genuine pleasure of making the language a key to the sense. But this previous acquaintance with the sense, so far from relaxing our efforts, should form the very stimulus to penetrate the mysteries of the language, and to imbibe its genius, before we can have any confidence in our own judgment when we are inclined to depart from a received translation. Hence a thorough study of the language until we attain a feeling of its force, and an acquaintance with the cognate dialects, are indispensable to all who aspire to a solid knowledge of Hebrew. A zealous student should give no ear to the exaggerated reports of the ease with which the language may be attained, which some have circulated in order to encourage the supine to exertion. This delusion makes many come to this study prepared to find it easy or to make it so; and they attain, accordingly, no higher know-

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1) I should here state the works which have appeared here recently in Hebrew philology, but their number renders it impossible. This year alone has produced this Gram. another by Prof. Freytag etc.; and as to *philological* commentaries on books of the old Test. this year has produced one on Genesis by Prof. v. Bohlen, on Judges by Studer; and *six* such commentaries on the Psalms, by Prof. Ewald, Prof. Hitzig, Prof. Umbreit etc.

ledge of the language than to know what word in the original corresponds to every word in the Authorised version. Hence we have Grammars which offer to teach the language without points (a system long since utterly exploded here) which, to spare the indolent, rob the language of the very breath of its life, and not only give a soulless representation of it, but a false one; for there are a thousand analogies in the cognate dialects to show that the punctuation is physiologically correct. It is indeed unquestionably true that the simplicity of the Hebrew language does render a certain progress very easy, but it is equally true that any progress which a classical scholar is entitled to call a philological knowledge of the language, is only the result of considerable time and toil. The two facts that Hebrew is the language of such a totally different social state, and belongs to a fundamentally different family of languages, are alone sufficient to render it *a priori* probable that it is no easy task to become naturalized to the peculiarities which result from those two causes. These considerations, and the acknowledged importance of the documents transmitted to us through this language, and the vital interest we have in their correct interpretation, should render the study of Hebrew an indispensable duty with some: but I would also hope that the time is not far distant when those who derive intellectual pleasure in the study of a language *per se*, as a mode of thought, will, without disregarding the religious interest which should also weigh with them, be more frequently attracted to the study of a language whose remains are, in a philological and literary point of view, so worthy the attention of enlightened minds. If there is an infinite pleasure in enjoying the national poetry of any people in its original form, if there is an indefinable something, the characteristic of the national mind and external state, which only lives in its native tongue, this is doubly true of Hebrew. No language loses more by translation; for we can only translate it into a language of a different family, climate, and state of civilization. Hebrew is the language of man in his infancy, ere his reasoning powers have supplanted his feelings: simple in structure, childlike truthful in expression, the very language of the heart in the household affections, in the ardour of faith or the abyss of dispair, or, if dignified, sublime in simple majesty, recalling in its commonest metaphors the tent, the desert, and the pastoral life of the patriarchal ages, — and can we translate such a language as this into that of times and peoples who have grown grey in philosophy and the world, and who are artificial or callous in those feelings which the Hebrew expressed with the honest fervour of youth? No, the Hebrew Muse, as aforetime,

hangs her harp on the willows, and refuses to sing her native songs in a strange land.

With regard to the translation, I have aimed at scrupulous faithfulness. This may have occasionally produced an uncouth sentence, but the reader is, I trust, a gainer in the end. The additions consist of a few extracts from the *kritische Grammatik* (of which that on the names of the letters is the largest) and in numerous contributions which the Author's unceasing industry had collected since the appearance of his edition; he has also added the treatise on the agreement between the accentuation and the syntax. My friend Dr. Bertheau has added a table of contents to the two indexes, but I must repeat the Author's hope that these aids may not seduce any one into the indolent habit of only consulting the book; part hangs so intimately with part, that such a disjointed study will not profit. The corrections consist of some modifications of opinion which subsequent investigation induced the Author to adopt; but chiefly in a new arrangement of one part of the syntax (from §. 472 to §. 539) which he was prevented from making in his own edition, because it was too late when he discovered its necessity. After so many obligations which the Author has laid the translator under, in addition to the already heavy ones of the pupil, I cannot omit this opportunity of expressing my high admiration of his talents, and my heartfelt sense of that kindness which has made them so easy of access to myself. — It is with considerable diffidence that I now commit this translation into the hands of the public, for I know how many attainments were necessary to do it justice; but I yet hope that its many imperfections will be pardoned for the sake of the cause it is intended to further, and that this may be at least one of those attempts in which the *voluisse* is enough. I have also to request particular indulgence for petty typographical errors, for the compositor was totally ignorant of English, and I was the sole corrector of the press: all misprints, however, which affect the sense, and which I have found, are noted in the errata, which the reader is requested to observe. Should I ever have an opportunity of amending the imperfections of this work by a second edition, it would be my first endeavour to show how diligently I had watched, during the interval, over its improvement, and to render it more worthy of being the chosen guide of the intelligent and zealous student. May it, meanwhile, be welcome, and contribute its aid to render England, what it was in the days of Pococke and Castell, the home of sound Oriental philology.

Göttingen, Dec. 3. 1835.

J. N.

LIST OF PROF. EWALD'S WORKS.

Pergratum est mihi quod tam diligenter libros — mei lectitas, ut omnes habere velis, quaerasque qui sint omnes. Fungar indicis partibus; atque etiam quo sint ordine scripti notum tibi faciam. Est enim haec quoque studiosis non injucunda cognitio.

PLIN. EPIST. III. 5.

1. *Die Composition der Genesis kritisch untersucht.* 8vo. Braunschweig 1823.
2. De metris Carminum Arabicorum libri duo, cum appendice emendationum in varios poetas. 8vo. Brunsvigae 1825.
3. *Das Hohelied Salomo's übersetzt mit Einleit., Anmerkungen u. s. w.* 8vo. Göttingen 1826.
4. *Kritische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache ausführlich bearbeitet.* 8vo. Leipzig 1827.
5. *Ueber einige ältere Sanskrit Metra.* 8vo. Gott. 1827.
6. Liber Wakedi de Mesopotamiae expugnatae hist. e cod. Arab. editus et notis illustratus. 4to. Gott. 1827.
7. *Gramm. der Heb. Sprache in vollst. Kürze.* 8vo. Leipz. 1828. — *Gramm. der Heb. Spr. des Alten Test.* 2te Auflage 1835.
8. Commentarius in Apocalypsin. 8vo. Gott. 1828.
9. Grammatica critica linguae Arabicae, cum brevi metrorum doctrina. 8vo. Lips. Vol. I. 1831. II. 1833.
10. *Abhandlungen zur biblischen und orientalischen Literatur.* 8vo. Gött. 1832.
11. *Die poetischen Bücher des alten Bundes, 2ter Band (die Psalmen).* 8vo. Gött. 1835.

(This will be followed by the book of Iob and the Proverbs, forming the third and fourth volumes, and the first will consist of an introduction to Hebrew Poetry and to each of these books. I take this occasion of mentioning my long cherished intention of offering a translation of the book of Iob, which would be founded on the original text, but conformably to Prof. Ewald's translation, and would contain all his annotations, with the addition of such notes as, by repeated references to the Grammar, would render it more suited to the wants of the English student. This might then be followed by the Proverbs, and Psalms, and introductory volume, according as circumstances should encourage my further progress.)

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OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE IN GENERAL.

1. HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The Hebrew language is a branch of that widely extended family of languages of Southwestern Asia, which is now usually called the *Semitic*, because most of the nations of this tongue appear to have been descendants of Sem (Gen. 10). This family of languages extended from the Arabian peninsula, its chief seat in ancient and modern times, northwards over the countries between the Mediterranean, parts of Asia Minor, Armenia and Persia; and southwards into Habesh or Aethiopia. 1

Even in ancient times was this family of languages differently developed according to the situation and fate of the countries in which it prevailed. In the *North*, or in *Aramaea* (Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia), where the climate is for the most part severer, where the nations of Semitic tongue bordered on the most different nations and languages, and often had their language corrupted by foreign conquests, it was rougher and poorer in vowels, more corrupt and adulterated. But in the *South*, among the never conquered Arabs, it preserved greater purity and sweetness and a greater richness of formations and words; many of which excellencies are found, even in the extreme south, in the *Aethiopic* language, a very old daughter of the Arabic. In the *Middle*, betwern Aramaea and Arabia, in *Palestine*, where (besides the Phoenicians, of whose language we have only a few remains, and other petty nations, whose dialects have disappeared without a trace) the *Hebrews* principally dwelt, the language inclined originally, it is true, more to Aramaic, according to its primitive descent, (since the tradition of the tribe brings the Patriarchs from the North East, and last from the northern part of Mesopotamia) but being developed on the frontier of Arabia, it has much in common with Arabic, at the same time that it is distinguished by the peculiar progress of its developement, as well from Aramaic as from Ara- 2

bic. Hebrew is distinguished above Aramaic (which became better known since 600 B. C.), as the cultivated language of many and great prophets and poets, by a rich abundance of formations and words, and is distinguished from the still more polished Arabic (which first appears in history about 400 A. C.) by antique simplicity and majesty. The Grammar of all tbe Semitic languages must always set out from Hebrew, because it presents a connected view of the most ancient form of Semitic, and contains many primitive formations which afterwards are either lost or altered.

3 The two names which the worshippers of Jehovah receive in the old Test. *Israelites* and *Hebrews* are distinguished by the first being the holy name, closely connected with their religion and the tradition of the race, while the latter is the usual name of the nation, and as such, is much more ancient and universal (Abraham himself being called a *Hebrew* Gen. 14, 13), and calls to mind no ancestor of glorious memory. Accordingly while Priest and prophet always address the people by the name of Israelites, other nations always call them Hebrews, and a Hebrew never calls himself an Israelite in speaking with foreigners; (Jon. 1, 9. Gen. 40, 15): on other occasions too, and especially by earlier writers, the nation is called *Hebrews* when not mentioned with reference to its religion (Ex. 21, 2. Gen. 43, 32. 1 Sam. 13, 3. 7. 14, 21). The name Hebrews עִבְרִים, according to the views entertained by the people itself, is derived from *Eber* עֵבֶר whom tradition makes an ancestor of Abraham, but as nothing further is known of him, he can hardly be considered as an historical personage, Gen. 10, 21. 24. 11, 16; perhaps it was originally applied to nearly all nations of Semitic tongue this side the Euphrates, which according to historical traces migrated from central Asia and last from Mesopotamia (עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר the land on *that side* the river i. e. the Euphrates cf. ὁ περατής LXX Gen. 14, 13) to Palestine and Arabia; in this case, the appellation would spring from the ancient inhabitants of Canaan [1]). According to either view however, the name Hebrews embraced originally *all* the descendants of Abraham and was only afterwards peculiarly appropriated to the direct descendants of Abraham in Palestine, the Israelites Gen. 10, 21.

1) This was first suggested by J. D. Michaelis Spicil. geogr. Heb. ext. P. 2. p. 66.

4 The *language* can therefore be called *Hebrew* only after the usual name of the nation. This name happens however not to occur in the old Test., because in general there is little mention of language in it; in one place Is. 19, 18 it is

poetically called *language of Canaan*, where Canaan, as *land*, is opposed to Egypt.; the later name *Jewish language*, Is. 36, 11. 13 properly means only the dialect of the Hebrew language in the kingdom of Juda, though that dialect, after the conquest of Samaria, gained the entire ascendancy.

It is, in itself, very probable that the Hebrew language 5
had *dialects*, although in the scanty remains of Hebrew litterature, which were almost all written in the kingdom of Juda, and in Jerusalem, this distinction is less obvious. In general the dialects in the north of Palestine must have inclined more to the character of Aramaic, and have been rougher, impurer and coarser than those in the South. Traces of northern dialect are contained e. g. in the Song of Deborah Judg. 5. Even the partial mixture of nations in Palestine gave rise to impurer dialects; thus after the exile the dialect of Ashdod is censured, with some others, as Philistian Neh. 13, 23. 24 and the Galilaean dialect is distinguished Math. 26, 73.

During the best period of the language, the written lan- 6
guage of Prose differed but little from the idiom of the people, only that their pronunciation appears to have been more peculiarly impure and more like Aramaic [1]. Hebrew Prose is in essence perfectly simple and artless, but possesses vivid descriptive power, and occasionally, when the subject is inspiring, rises to even poetic sublimity. The so called *poetic diction* however is of a peculiar kind and developement. Its essence is luxuriant copiousness, inexhaustible variety, and pliability, so that it possesses a much greater abundance of words and formations than prose, among which are many which are peculiar to it and characteristic. It has partly preserved this abundance from antiquity by zealously retaining what died out of the language of daily life, and partly by recruiting itself, from time to time, from the rich and manifold popular dialects, by the adoption of new matter and forms; in both cases therefore, it approached to Aramaic, since the Hebrews, according to their origin and history, are much more nearly connected with the Aramaic than the Arabian nations. Much however in the bold language of Poetry, has been produced by the impulse of internal developement. *Prophetic* diction shows only an occasional greater or less approach to this external form of Poetic diction.

1) Therefore writers from the people, like Amos, approach nearest to the Aramaic form.

The Hebrew language in the four first books of the Pen- 7
tateuch, which contain records of unquestionable antiquity, partly by Moses, or from his time, appears already, a few

minutiae excepted, fully developed. From Moses until about the year 700 it underwent few changes: for as the structure of the Semitic languages is in general more simple, so also is it less changeable than that of languages of greater developement, as Sanscrit. To which is to be added, that in that period the Hebrews did not experience those influences which materially affect a language: they did not advance much in civilization, were never long subjected to nations of foreign tongue, and lived almost entirely separated from all nations, especially from nations of foreign language. Their language therefore advanced little in developement, but it also suffered little from corruption. There are however in those books of the Pentateuch, some certainly important differences, which afterwards disappear, and many differences of that kind have become less distinguishable by us, because the more modern punctuation has treated all words according to one standard, and that, the standard of the language at a late period.

8 From the dominion of the Assyrians, Chaldeans and Persians over Palestine, the Hebrew language gradually declined, and the *Aramaic*, the study ol which became necessary to the chief persons of the kingdom from 720–600, by the conquest of the Assyrians (Is. 36, 11) and Chaldaeans, encroached more and more upon the Hebrew, and the more easily, on account of the close affinity of the two languages, until the latter became entirely corrupted or supplanted. It was not however until after 600 that this corruption was gradually introduced into the *written language*, and even the latest Prophets, especially those which wrote about 540-520 at the fall of the Chaldean empire, imitate the ancient language very successfully.

2. OF ITS NATURE.

9 To comprehend the nature of the Hebrew language, we must partly compare other languages with it, and partly pursue more closely the traces of earlier origin and alteration which are yet visible in its present form. Therefore it is not so much of the nature of the Hebrew language as compared with its sisters §. 2, but more generally of the nature of the Semitic family of languages in comparison with others, that we must here speak.

10 1. We learn from the investigation of the primitive elements of the Semitic language, that its beginnings, or roots, like those of all other languages, where short monosyllabic words. These roots then, now only to be discovered by examination and dissection, carry us back to the most ancient

times, when the families of language, which afterwards separated, still stood near to one source, and the Semitic language, as such, not yet existed. Hence arises the great connexion which these roots have with Indo-germanic roots [1]), a connexion the less astonishing, as the territories of both these families afterwards also bordered on one another in Asia.

1) To give particular proof of this is the province of the Lexicon. The fact has been by no means first discovered in modern times; but all depends on the right application of it.

2. Remains of these roots have indeed been preserved in 11
many particles, immoveable primitives, which have resisted the general progressive change of the form of the language, but the living and principal part of the language, the verb and the noun, has advanced far above this childhood; the fundamental and accessory ideas of a sentence are no longer single radical words merely externally put together, but the accessory ideas are arranged round a fundamental one with the unity and and compactness of a single word, which may be variously modified to suit the idea; and hence *formation* has become the predominant principle of the Semitic language. While a fundamental idea thus becomes the immoveable centre, the accessory ideas, or variations, can be distinguished with so much the greater ease and brevity, and therefore, with so much the more perfection and accuracy. By formation, for instance, is the distinction between noun and verb, adjective and substantive, gender and number in the noun, and tenses in the verb, briefly and distinctly defined, and as far as ever the accessory ideas may be separated, so far is formation possible. But on the other hand, as soon as ever an accessory idea is expressed by a separable word, there is no formation: at the same time it is to be kept in mind, that the approximation between formation and juxtaposition may be very various in particular cases. Cf. on origin and formation of words §. 201–214.

In this formation, the Semitic language has, it is true, 12
more simplicity and freshness, and much that is finer and more regular, than the Indo-germanic family; as the consistent distinctions of gender, as well in the pronoun of the second person, as in the verb: but in general, it has not reached the high degree of perfection which distinguishes the latter. The form is not so versatile nor so willing to follow the idea, so that much still appears rather isolated and only externally connected. Other finer distinctions of idea have not yet entered into the consciousness of the language strongly and vividly enough to impress themselves on the form. Thus a form for the idea of the neuter is wanting, and the dis-

tinction of tenses, is not so fully developed as in our languages.

13 3. A higher and perfectly new stage in the development of language, which presupposes the formation just described, is *composition*, by which words in themselves independent and separable, are so joined together as a new whole, that the last word only makes the end of the proposition, either by subordination, when the word completing or defining is put before the word to be defined, and both become thereby closely connected, as *ἀνταναπληροῦν*, *ῥοδοδάκτυλος*, *ἀνθρωπαρεσκεία*, or by juxtaposition of similar ideas in successive order, as the latin *suovetaurilia*; the first is the more natural and the more important. To this power of composition, a chief ornament of the Sanscrit family of language, the Semitic however (some insignificant beginnings excepted [1]) has not advanced. It is not the principle of Semitic majestically to combine and subordinate ideas, it is rather its law, more simply, to place words near each other and to explain each in the natural order.

1) Concerning subordination v. Gram. Arab. Vol. II. p. 23. f. 156, 179, 201 not. concerning juxtaposition v. below Heb. syntax of propositions coupled by ו *and* §. 495.

14 On the other hand, Semitic is infinitely more developed, in another direction, than Sanscrit; that is to say, for the formation of the living chief element of the language, the verb and noun, the originally short root has been extended with great regularity to three firm sounds, and occasionally even to four (§. 230). As the short primitive roots are thus increased by new sounds, and the sounds (not only those originally belonging to the root, but even more easily the newly added ones) are capable of endless variety, the few primitive roots split more and more, and there arises in this manner a very large number of actually living roots. A similar progress of developement is also found, it is true, in Sanscrit, in as much as the short roots become progressively longer and more definite, but by no means does the same regularity prevail in it as in Semitic, which attains thereby two chief results. First, by the number of roots the meanings also become more clear and definite, which in some measure compensates for the want of composition §. 13; and if Sanscrit by means of composition renders the idea, in a more intellectual way, infinitely various, Semitic seeks to attain the same end by that rather material formation of new roots, thus הָלַךְ is *ire* שׁוּב *redire*, from the primitive קץ spring קָצַץ, קָצָה *to cut*, קָצַר *to cut off*, *to shorten*, קָצַב or חָצַב *to hew our*.

Moreover, the roots which arise in this manner must 15
have a decided tendency to become *polysyllabic*, and *to a more vocalic pronunciation*. For in the Sanscrit roots, because they continue shorter, and according to the principles of the language must be monosyllabic, the same vowel remains, more simply, as centre and supporter, to which consonants are attached in such number and order only as the unity of a syllable will permit, as *cad*, *scrib*, *scalp* etc. Groups of compatible consonants may be formed, but the vowel keeps them together as in *string*, *κτειν*. But this unity is entirely lost in Semitic, because the roots extend themselves to the fixed compass of three or four sounds, and these too in every desirable order, regardless whether they belong to one syllable i. e. may be held together by one vowel, or not, as e. g. *katb*, *nafl*, *nfal* can hardly be reduced within the limits of one syllable. The first consequence of this then is, that Semitic roots, as to pronunciation, have a tendency to fall into many syllables, and only a few short words have remained uninfluenced by this tendency. Secondly greater fluency, softness and pliability of the vowels within the roots, since the language is incapable of holding together such intolerable masses of consonants by a single vowel, and the position of the vowel is more dependent on the consonants. And finally the formation has so availed itself of this pliable polysyllabic internal vocalisation, that the vowels change within the roots (which are regularly of three or four firm sounds) so as to distinguish the meaning of forms, with great ease and regularity; which *internal* formation by means of mere change of vowels is the chief peculiarity and distinguishing advantage of Semitic, by which it effects much by small means [1]). It is impossible therefore to speak of radical vowels in Hebrew, since only in a few old roots, which have not been extended, has a peculiar radical vowel been retained and even that is very yielding and changeable.

1) In Sanscrit., Greek. and Lat. nothing of this sort exists, since their radical vowel can only change according to the nature of the sounds with which it becomes connected. In German, where the roots are all longer, the change in *gebären*, *geboren*, *gebar*, *Geburt*, appears more like, bnt even here there is no perfect resemblance.

As the form then in Semitic, although in some respects 16
farther and more firmly developed, has yet in general not reached the highest developement which is possible, and of which the Sanscrit languages are an example, accordingly the whole *proposition* shows rather a simple succession than a grand combination and subordination. Like the whole genius

of the Semitic nations, like their poetry and religion, their language also, as opposed to the Indo-germanic, possesses rather keen sensibility of heart and spirit, than rest and extended scope of thought and fancy, more lyrical and poetical than epic and oratorical elements. Semitic, and especially Hebrew, has not become so much a pure spiritual expression of thought as Sanscrit, and does not so easily adapt itself to the minutest precision of idea. It stands one degree nearer to the simplicity of nature and antiquity, but possesses on the other hand the warmest feeling, the most enchanting and childlike truthfulness, with the most delightful naturalness and clearness.

17 From this it is clear how it is the business of Hebrew grammar every where to point out this central position of Hebrew between the most unformed (e. g. Chinese) and the most perfectly developed language (e. g. the Indo-germanic). The more simple element in it is to be taken in its simplicity and that primitive and natural artlessness of language, the ground which Sanscrit has left far behind, can be recognised in it more easily than in any other language. But where Hebrew does not perhaps express the thought so definitely as to *form*, there we must observe how the connexion at least of the sentence removes all obscurity for one who seeks its meaning in himself and who combines all that is only represented in broad outlines, and judiciously applies it. This language then is perfectly intelligible in itself, only it must not be judged and misinterpreted according to the externals of other languages.

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18 Since the form is not developed in the greatest perfection very much depends on the position of words in a sentence, so that the *Syntax* forms a very important part of the whole. The *theory of forms* has only properly to explain their origin and force, but presupposes a knowledge of the *sounds* of the language, and of the means by which they are expressed i. e. of the *characters*; which by a peculiar fortune are of two kinds in Hebrew, antient letters and modern superadded punctuation.

FIRST PART.

OF SOUNDS, LETTERS, AND SIGNS *).

FIRST SECTION.

OF SOUNDS.

There exist in Hebrew, as a polysyllabic language (§. 15), essentially three gradations of sounds: the *syllable* as the first and most simple sound, as mere sound indeed, independant and separable, but intrinsically only a member of a word; then the *word*, generally polysyllabic, and in that case, holding together and uniting all its syllables from one syllable, by the tone, externally indeed a whole, but intrinsically closely connected with the proposition; and finally the *proposition*, or a limited expression of thought, generally consisting of many words, keeping all its single words together by the sense of the speaker, and by the rise and fall of the sentence thence arising, from which follows the pause at the end of the proposition. The movements of all sounds are within this circle, and the three ruling powers, or centres, which animate and keep every thing together in its circle, are the *vowel* for the syllable, the *tone* for the word, and the *sense* and the *pause* for the proposition. 19

In the syllable, vowel and consonant form an inseparable whole, but the vowel is the centre, the power which alone moves and unites. A vowel is a sound in itself distinct, either uttered pure (*a*) or compressed by the organs above and below (*i*, *u*), but still resounding uninterrupted from the open mouth: while the vowel is a pure breathing diversly made vocal, at the same time it is necessarily put in motion, sustained, compressed, and bounded by the, in themselves, mute sounds of the organs of speech, as lungs, throat, tongue, and mouth (i. e. by the consonants); and since these sounds are much more manifold than the vowels, the number of possible syllables is very great. Thus the vowels are intrinsically indeed the animating elements of the language, but externally, in comparison with the shorter but firmer consonants, its finer, feebler, more pliable part, and hence in the formation of words the nicer, more intellectual distinctions of meaning are produced by them §. 15. 20

Although vowels and consonants are essentially different, yet there are many gradual approximations between them, since *i*, *u* which are formed by a contraction of the organs, are more substantial and firmer than the pure *a* (*e*) and the consonants are partly softer, more liquid, partly firmer and harder in various gradations, v. §. 67 ff. 21

According to §. 15 it is a characteristic of Semitic that it is rich in vowels, and does not tolerate great accumulation of consonants, and especially never begins a syllable with two, or more, closely joined consonants, as so often happens in our languages, as πρός, κτείνω. This principle is most 22

*) Cf. Hupfeld: *von der Natur und den Arten der Sprachlaute*, *in Jahn's Jahrb. der Philol. und Päd.* 1829. B. 1. S. 451-472.

deeply interwoven with the formations of roots and words, and is one of the fundamental peculiarities of this family of languages.

23 Hebrew however is not the most vocalic of the Semitic languages, it is especially no longer capable of sustaining a short vowel in a simple syllable, as in the Arabic *kătălă*, the Greek *ἐγένετο* etc. A short vowel can only remain in such a syllable when the tone sustains and animates it with new power, if not (a few cases only, arising from particular causes excepted §. 58. 70 ff.) it must fall away. Hebrew however is by no means utterly deprived of a beautiful abundance of vowels: the tone especially powerfully sustains the richer sound of vowels in its neighbourhood, as well after it (as כָּתַבְתָּ §. 287, קֹדֶשׁ §. 317), as before it §. 36; and the vocalization is stinted to what is merely necessary, only in syllables which are very far removed from this influence of the tone §. 65. As the light and rapid vocalization has thus disappeared, those vowels which have remained have become so much the heavier and harder, so that if a vowel originally short remains from any cause in a simple syllable, it regularly becomes long to sustain itself §. 27.

I. OF SYLLABLES AND WORDS.

24 I. The nature and compass of syllables may be defined according to the established laws hence deduced. For as the Hebrew language according to a fundamental rule (§. 23) tolerates no short vowel in a simple syllable, therefore to form a syllable there must be a firm vowel which is either supported by itself (by its length), or by its position, and from this, the compass and nature of syllables may be best defined:

25 1. A simple consonant must necessarily always *precede* this vowel, from the lightest breathing, which may be represented after the Grecian manner by the Spiritus lenis, as אֹמַר *'ômar*, וּמִן *'umin*, אֶכְתֹּב *èktob*, יִשְׁאַל *jish-ál*, to the firmer and most firm consonants, as הַר *har*, לוֹ *lô*, מִכְתָּב *nik-táb.* But a double or compound sound can *never* go before, according to §. 22, since the language cannot combine two consonants before the vowel, as in our words *clam*, *κτείνω*, *creep*, *great.*

26 Every consonant however thus introducing the vowel of the syllable, may be preceded by *one single other consonant*, which without coalescing with the following consonant so as to form one compound consonant, and without even necessarily belonging to the syllable after it, is only ex-

ternally attached to it, or in utterance rapidly carried over to it; such an *appoggiatural* consonant must therefore necessarily be pronounced with a fragment of a vowel (§. 166), and would receive a full short vowel [1]) if the language was richer in vowels; but this relic of a definite vowel is no longer a distinct vowel but the most fleeting sound, yet most like an *e* rapidly pronounced (cf. §. 45). Thus כְּסִיל *k'sîl* or *k^e^sîl* not *xîl*, לְאִישׁ *l'îsh* or *l^e^îsh*, נְהִי *n'hi*, פְּרִי *p'ri*, and in the middle of a word יִלְמְדוּ *jil-m'du*, קֹטְלִים *qô-th'lim*. More than one consonant however cannot be joined on in this way to the following syllable, so that two consonants thus coming together must necessarily be pronounced with a firm vowel §. 66.

1) As in always the case in Arabic. Even in Hebrew there are some traces of it §. 36 ff. 58.

2. As to the *end* of the syllable

1) the syllable may end with the vowel, as בָּךְ *b'kâ*, לִי *lî*, 27
יָקוּמוּ *jâqûmû*; such an *open* or *simple* syllable has a *protracted*, long vowel according to rule; either a vowel originally long, or if short, protracted according to §. 23, because it is in a simple syllable. All exceptions to this rule depend on particular causes.

2) If the syllable ends with consonants, as בַּת *bat*, הִגְדַּלְתְּ 28
higdalt, the vowel in such a *shut* or *compound* syllable must necessarily be short, because it is compressed and firmly attached to the consonant after. It is only when the tone adds its influence at the end of a word, that the voice permits the vowel in a compound syllable to sound full without compression, as בָּם *bâm*, קוֹל *qôl*, מַלְכָּם *mal-kâm*, תְּקִמְנָה *ta-qêm-na*; yet even here there is a limitation cf. §. 48 תְּשׁוּמֶת.

According to its whole structure, and especially accord- 29
ing to its comparatively great abundance of vowels, the Hebrew language tolerates only *one consonant at the end of a syllable in the middle* of a word; but the *final syllable* which is freer and more sonorous, may end in two different consonants, but only if the pronunciation of the last consonant of such a combination is easy, that is to say, if one of the eight mutes with its hard sound (§. 101) can be attached so as to be distinctly heard, especially after a more liquid sound, as אַרְדְּ *ard*, נֵרְדְּ *nerd*, קֹשְׁטְ *qoshth*, יַשְׁקְ *jashq*, יִשְׁבְּ *jishb*, הִגְדַּלְתְּ *higdalt*, כָּתַבְתְּ *katabt*. But where this combination does not exist, then a very short toneless vowel is inserted as *auxiliary* before the last consonant, namely the short *e*, the nearest in such cases §. 45, and even in other ca-

ses besides, this *auxiliary* vowel *) is often inserted, since the language has a tendency to an abundance of vowels from its earliest origin. סֵפֶר, סֵפֶר.

30 The particular cases in which this auxiliary vowel is or is not used, can only be understood by a knowledge of the principles of formation. The following is a brief statement: 1) In the verbal person כָּתַבְתְּ *katabt* §. 281, which is hardly an abreviation of *katábti*, the hard pronunciation is *always* retained, because ת *t* attaches itself closely to any consonant. 2) In those verbal forms which are produced by apocopation the vocalisation takes place only occasionally, as יִרְב *jirb* and יִרֶב *jireb*, v. §. 290. — 3) All nominal forms of the kind described §. 317. 365, and they are the most frequent examples of this kind, which are originally so and have not suffered abbreviation, have most regularly facilitated their pronunciation by this auxiliary *e*.

31 Those compound syllables whose final consonant is also the first consonant of the succeeding syllable, like קַלּוּ *qallu*, כֻּלָּם *kullam*, צִלּוֹ *ßillo*, form a peculiar variety. For in this case, where the two consonants only produce the same sound prolonged, the vowel is not so compressed as before two different consonants which clash with each other. Such *syllables before a double consonant* or *medial syllables* have therefore many peculiarities, v. §. 47. 125.

32 Another variety of compound syllables consists of those whose final consonant, without abruptly ending the preceeding syllable, passes over rather to the following one as יַלְדֵי *jal'de*, almost like *jall'de* (§. 172), בִּכְתֹב *bik'tob*. Such a syllable may be called *loosely compound* or *half shut* as opposed to the usual *close shut* syllables. The cases however in which such syllables arise can be learnt only by a acquaintance with the rules of formation §. 173.

33 II. *One* syllable only in every polysyllabic word has the chief tone, which keeps together and unites the whole word. This tonesyllable, according to the whole character of Hebrew which is remarkably rich neither in formations nor syllables, is not very variable as to its position, but rests for the most part near the end of the word (§. 34). But as the stress of whole pronunciation is thus drawn back to the end, its powerful influence can be extended even to the preceding syllable, and produce there a kind of *foretone*. Thus the tone produces a fuller more sonorous vocalization, and especially many vowels are retained by it which would otherwise fall away. But from the third syllable from the tone on, those vowels only are retained which are indispensably necessary for the pronunciation, as also the whole richer

*) *Auxiliary* is only a substitute for the German *hinterlautend* i. e. *aftersounding*. *Transl.*

tonic vocalisation disappears and only the necessary vocalization remains, if the tone of a word from particular causes either falls away or is removed farther toward the end. From all these effects of the tone a peculiar tonic vocalization has arisen and we must distinguish *a*) between primitive vowels, and vowels either entirely, or at the same, time dependent on the tone; *b*) between short vowels capable and incapable of the tone, and *c*) between vowels long by tone and by stem §. 203.

1. The *chief tone* has its proper seat on the *last* syllable, it can only rest on the *penult* on the express conditions that the ultimate is *either* a simple syllable, as כָּתַבְתְּ *katábta*, גָּלִיתִי *galíti*, תִּכְתֹּבְנָה *tik-tób-na*, *or*, if a compound syllable, that it has a short vowel and follows a simple syllable, as קֹדֶשׁ *qódesh*, כְּתַבְתֶּם *k'tabátam*; no other cases are possible. But since the accentuation *) of the penult, on account of these great limitations, differs but little from the usual accentuation of the ultimate, there is properly speaking only *one* kind of tonic accentuation and it is almost utterly unimportant, as far as further consequences are concerned, whether the ultimate or penult. has the tone. For some cases however the *short*, acute tone, with merely a vowel at the end, as כָּתְבוּ *ka-t'bú*, יֹלְדָה *jo-l'dá*, and the long, *protracted* tone, when either a consonant, or which is the same in effect, a syllable is sounded after the tone vowel, are to be distinguished, as מְלָכִים *m'lakîm*, כְּתָבוּנִי *k'tabûni*. 34

How it is that the tone may rest sometimes on the ultimate and sometimes on the penult can only be understood from a knowledge of forms. The general rule is that the tone can only rest on the penult in two cases: 1) on account of the auxiliary vowel §. 29 s., as קֹדֶשׁ, מֶלֶךְ, שַׁלַּמְת; — 2) on account of an abbreviated postfixed syllable §. 60, כָּתַבְתְּ, יָקוּמוּ; with a compound syllable only in the case כְּתַבְתֶּם §. 305 from a special cause. 35

2. The *foretone*, which may precede the chief tone, consists of a long vowel which some consonant preceding the tone syllable, either assumes, in case it had no proper vowel of its own, or only supports. As pure fore-tone vowel, *á* the nearest and purest vowel, is almost always used, *e* seldomer and only in certain cases. Such a fore-tone vowel however can only maintain its place under very favourable circumstances, and therefore a more accurate explanation of particulars is here necessary: 36

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*) When *accented* and *accentuation* are here used, they are to be understood of the *tonic* not of the Masoretic accentuation. English has no equivalent for *Betonung*, *betont*. *Transl.*

37 1) If a consonant belonging to the stem stands quite alone before the tonesyllable without a primitive vowel of its own, it takes *ā*, as כָּתַב, יָקוּם, יָסֹב, קָלוֹן, חָזוֹן. Indeed this fuller pronunciation extends itself to the prefixes (בְּ, כְּ, לְ, וְ) in cases that favour it. In יְקַל *ē* appears instead of *ā* according to §.270, in לְבָב §.325, and in a few other cases.

38 On the other hand, the foretone vowel is wanting, if an unusually long immutable vowel, introduced into the root for the formation of new stems, does not admit any but the shortest vowels in its neighbourhood on account of its power and protraction, as in the forms גְּבוּל, יְסוֹד, יְקָר §. 328. That is to say, the tone sinks to the weakest vowel sound before those most emphatic vowels, to a short *i* or *e* (according to §. 213) which cannot possibly remain in Hebrew, according to §. 23 but is changed into a mere fragment of a vowel.

39 Before the longer postfixed syllables also §.60, the *a* which was before in the ultimate remains, whether a single consonant goes before, as שָׂאֻהוּ, קָחֶנּוּ from שָׂא, קַח, (which are followed by בָּנִים §. 382 having assumed *ā* as foretone) or a second consonant without a vowel, as יְשָׁרִים, שְׁמָעֵנִי from יָשָׁר, שְׁמַע. On the other hand *e* only remains after *two* consonants, that is in cases where a firm vowel must be pronounced, as כָּבֵד: כְּבֵדָה; יָרֵא: יְרֵאוּ, else it remains seldom, as שֵׁמוֹת from שֵׁם and in similar nouns plural §. 382. On the other hand זֵנִים and always before suffixes שְׁמִי, תְּנֵהוּ etc.

40 2) If two consonants without a vowel long by stem go before, their vowel generally remains after the first, uniting both in a compound syllable, as soon as ever a vowel keeps the two last radicals together, as סְבִסֵב, אַכְזָר, מִכְתָּב, יִכְתֹּב; yet before accented postfixed syllables which assume the last radical, the pronunciation of the two first radicals also, often inclines strongly to the end, so that *ā* is inserted immediately before the tonesyllable. Thus *a*) most purely and regularly in the plural forms מְלָכִים, מְלָכוֹת from מֶלֶךְ §. 382; *b*) in the substantive forms in *ōn* §. 341 although not regularly but rather more variable and impure, as זִכָּרוֹן, אֲבַדּוֹן; for which אֲבַדֹּן is a shorter form, מַלְכוּת too, at least similar in having an halfshut first syllable cf. §. 173.

41 3) Further if an immoveable syllable (i. e. a compound syllable or one with a vowel long by stem) goes before the consonant preceding the tonesyllable, this produces of itself so strong a retention of the voice that it hurries on more rapidly afterwards. Such a consonant therefore has a foretone even less than the preceding cases, and there remains only *a*) in the verbal form הִכְתַּב *a* as foretone for the second radical, which in this case always stands alone §.277. — *b*) in the noun the long *a* before a postfix syllable regularly, much seldomer the feebler e long by tone if it is somewhat protracted, as עוֹלָמִים, מִכְתָּבוֹ, יֹלֵדָה, whereas יִכְתְּבוּ, מִסְפְּדִי, כְּתֻבִים, פִּסְחִים: from יִכְתֹּב, מִסְפֵּד, כָּתֵב, פִּסֵּחַ. — *c*) Besides *a*, *e* remain before the terminations of the persons of verbs if the tone syllable is a *protracted* one (§. 34), so that the foretone is influenced by it; but even then generally only in pause, as יִקְרָאוּ from יִקְרָא: יִקְרָאוּנִי. Prov. 1, 28, יֶחְדָּלוּ from יֶחְדַּל, יֹאבֵדוּ: יֶחְדָּלוּן from יֹאבֵד: יֹאבֵדוּן.

The O-sound has not the same tendency to be foretone vowel as *a-e*. For the sound *o-u* is not so near nor so moveable and fleeting as *a-e*, and an *o* merely long by tone, remains only, according to the rule, in the actual tonesyllable, not before it as foretone; examples are rare according to §. 41, *c:* יִקְצֹרוּן Ruth 2, 9. 42

II. SINGLE ELEMENTS OF THE SYLLABLE AND WORD.

A. VOWELS.

The nearest, most primitive vowels are A, I, U. Among these A is tho purest and nearest sound, hence it is originally predominant in the language, and most frequently used. I and U, pronounced with a more distinct compression of the anterior organs, are of firmer, and, as it were, more substantial sound, and hence 1) they easily change, becoming firmer, into their still firmer semivowels J and V §. 88 ff.; and 2) being more like and nearer to each other they are easily attracted mutually and exchanged for one another, I being only the sharper, U the obscurer sound, but both being deeper than the high A, which is opposed to them both in common, §. 53. The dipthongs *ai*, *au*, the nearest and simplest of all dipthongs are produced by the high A being pronounced together with the deeper I and U. 43

These nearest sounds have however a very strong tendency to *softening* so that each sound may be changed into a feebler, more uncertain sound nearest related to it: A becomes broader and descends to E; I and U expand themselves and ascend to E, O. The dipthongs *ai*, *au* melt into the softer sounds *ae* and *ó*, which again, as a possible case, may be farther changed into the simple *î*, *û*, Since then E thus stands between A and I, the vowels *a-e-i* in this respect, stand much nearer to each other, and are commuted, while U O are much farther from them. Especially the *short* vowels A E I are nearly related to each other, in contradistinction to U O. The important consequences of this v. §. 45 ff. — On the other hand the *obscuration* of the clear high A into the nearly as open, but deeper, O is possible, as *vice versâ* the latter can easily change into the former by dialect. Finally *shortening* and *flattening* of the longer and sharper vowels appears to be only very gradually coming into use.

All these possible variations of the vocalization occur even in Hebrew very frequently, yet many remains of the purer primitive pronunciation have been preserved, which uncertainty has produced great multiplicity and variety of the vowel sounds. To this is to be added the protraction of the vowels by the influence of the tone, by which vowels originally short are prolonged more or less immutably as is described §. 33 ff. The tone however produces sometimes in another manner a gradual flattening of the sharper sounds §. 45. 51. 222. 44

I. *Softening* takes place under the following different circumstances: 45

1. The A-Sound remains pretty generally and pure but is nevertheless often changed into E-I: into E in the tone only

in the two following cases, 1) the short *a* in final syllables, as מֶלֶךְ is changed before the auxiliary *e* into the same *è* with the tonic accent מֶ֫לֶךְ §. 127. 2) The long *a* at the end of words is, in some words and terminations, reduced to *é*, as מֶה *mé* often for *má* (*what?*) and other rarer instances §. 369. — The decay of the A-sound in Hebrew before the tone appears in this respect very frequent, that the nearest short vowel for the formation of compound syllables is not the strong A but I (for E according to §. 47), as indeed the most fleeting vowel sound in general approaches nearest to the feeblest *e*, *i* §. 26. 29.

46 2. The short ĭ and ŭ of compound syllables is very apt to be changed into ĕ, ŏ in the following manner: 1) ĭ and ŭ cannot remain in the tonesyllable, or after it, but are then regularly changed into the broader, flatter ĕ, ŏ. *After* the tonesyllable then we always find e, o [1]; but as enfeebled vowels incapable of being lengthened by the tone, they cannot, according to the rule, remain *in* the *tonesyllable*; in it therefore ŏ is always changed into ô as כֹּל *kôl*, יִכְתֹּב *jiktôb*; but ĕ is either changed into the stronger ă, or ê at once, according to distinctions which are particularly shown in the formation of words [2]).

1) For the only case in which *ĭ*, *ŭ* are obliged to remain v. §. 297.

2) The distinctions are briefly these: in nominal stems we find *é*, and only when they are abbridged *a*; in verbal stems *a*, except where *e* is an important distinction of the form of tense or stem §. 274. For the pause v. §. 133. *ĕ* appears in tone syllables too but very rarely, viz. *a*) retained in short words only as exceptions שְׁכֶם §. 319, אֱמֶת for *emit* §. 385. — *b*) somewhat oftener in longer words in which the voice has more stay at the beginning, as עֲרָפֶל §. 347, not so often in words like דִּבֶּר §. 274. — *c*) before suffixes as בֵּהּ, מְגָדְהוּ, where the original i is hardly changed into é on account of the tone. Yet the case is different if a long vowel is flattened into é in the tone, as מַלְכֵיךְ §. 428.

Only in a few forms arising from sudden apocopation has i remained, although in them not constantly §. 290. — The ĭ has the more easily remained in the particles עִם, מִן, אִם because they only occur as first syllables of longer words.

47 2) ĭ, ŭ may indeed remain before the tone syllable, but these two sounds are differently affected, since ĭ is much thinner and sharper, and ŭ is rounder and more easily prolonged, and therefore the former can more easily support itself in such cases than the latter: *a*) ĭ is retained in all syllables before the tone, whether the I-sound is primitive there, or has only arisen by means of an E reduced from an A. E never appears here except before suffixes, as remains of the E in the tone, partly in close compound syllables of nominal

forms when an E inclined to lengthen itself is retained, in distinction of forms in I §. 426, partly in loose compound syllables §. 308, else very rarely §. 338. 425. — *b*) *ŭ* on the other hand has become much rarer here than ŏ, so that forms as קָרְבָּן Neh. 10, 35 pass for exceptions. Only where û and ô are characteristic of the form, does the primitive sound frequently return in ŭ in such syllables before suffixes §. 427, 3. — *c*) But before reduplicated consonants (§. 31) the sharp sounds i and u have always remained so firm that here i always appears, even in words which have e, as בִּתּוֹ, בַּרְזִלּוֹ from בַּת, בַּרְזֶל, and O is then changed into U as יְכוּנֶנְהוּ for יְכֹנְנֶנּוּ §. 116. Short o is rare here, e still rarer, and for the particular instances in o, a special cause may for the most part be found.

The case is different with long î and û. For î is the sharpest sound, and therefore proportionably longer, more permanent in Hebrew, than ê only long by tone, so that the mutable ê may be changed into the immutable î §. 253. No less immutable is û in comparison to ô long by tone; yet as ô is clearer than û, it sometimes, before new postfix syllables with the tone, descends to û, just as î *vice versa* to ê from the same reason: מָתוֹק : מְתוּקָה, הֵקִים : הֲקִמֹנוּ. Besides on the broad and obscure ô, cf. §. 57, 2. 48

Hence ê, ô are, generally speaking, the nearest long vowels of this class in Hebrew, even before the tone, cf. §. 97, 120. And î, û are so protracted and sharp, as compared with ê, ô, that they cannot remain in the tone before *two* consonants, but must be changed into ê, ô; hence 1) we find תָּקֵמְנָה very regularly, compressed from תָּקִמְנָה [1]); and 2) syllables like נְחוּשְׁתְּ, נְחוּשֶׁת are necessarily compressed into נְחֹשֶׁת, נְחֻשְׁתְּ [2]).

1) î is rarely retained §. 63.

2) Only in the rare form תְּשׁוּמֶת §. 340 has û remained as being radical and therefore firmer.

3. *Diphthongs* appear but rarely in the formation in Hebrew, not at all in the oldest and simplest forms §. 327; most frequently they arise only from the contraction of simple vowels §. 53 ff. But however they arise, the tendency to softening resolves them in every case (a few vestiges only excepted which depend on particular causes §. 54. 254) in such a manner, that ai is changed into ae (= ê) au into ô. These *mixed sounds* ê, ô which thus arise are indeed immutably long, like the dipthongs themselves, but are liable to further changes from particular causes. Thus such an ê between two consonants is sometimes reduced in the forma- 49

tion to î §. 425; and final ae is, in certain cases, very generally flattened into é by the tone §. 222.

50 II. The *obscuration* of â into ô shows itself in some universal traces even in the first period of the Hebrew language, as kôteb for kâteb §. 326. On the other hand, in the second period, the change of the long simple ô into â intrudes itself gradually, from the influence of Chaldaic, v. §. 334.

51 III. Instances of *shortening* of the long vowel sounds, merely from the rapidity of utterance, are extremely rare and isolated in the firmer part of the language, as בָּתִּים *bottim* appears to be so shortened from *bôtim*, that that Ŏ has still remained before the new reduplication §. 47, *c*. But in the singular instance of the particles, whose origin is doubtful not only shortening is more frequent, but even the greatest *flattening* of a vowel, by which all longer vowels change into é, the weakest of all vowels, as אַתֶּם *attém*, אֶת־ *ét*, עֲדֶן *ádén* from *attûm*, *ôt*, *ádên* Koh. 4, 3; אֶנֶּה וָאָנָה (§. 45), where é appears to have arisen from â, at the same time to avoid the recurrence of â, just as in the almost adverbial לְעֹלָם וָעֶד for עַד (*ever and ever*).

52 According to a general law (cf. §. 15), two vowels coming together cannot remain; but the manner in which this concurrence is removed differs, partly according to the nature of the sounds themselves, and partly according to peculiar causes belonging to various forms. The following ways are possible:

53 1. *Contraction* is possible in two ways: 1) where sounds concur which are either of the same kind, or so alike that one attracts and assimilates the other, and thus both coalesce. Only *simple* and *pure* sounds can do so, a + a = â, i + i = î, u + u = û; ĕ and ŏ are equivalent to the more primitive ĭ and ŭ answering to them. According to §. 43 i and u are alike, one of which can attract the other according as it is, or appears in any case, the more important sound, e. g. ú + i = û; u + í = î. The first is a general law without distinction of the concurrence of long or short vowels, as תִּינַק *tînaq* from *tiinaq*, נָקִי *naqî* from *naqîi*, רוּם *rûm* from *ruum* or *ruom*; the second less general, since it takes place, it is true, in short vowels, in the middle of a word always, as הוּנַק *hûnaq* from *húinaq*, but not in the final syllable, where a long vowel more easily preserves its distinction, as עָשׂוּי *ásûi*.

54 2) *a* + *i*, *u* = *ae* (*e*), *ô* according to §. 49. This contraction of two different sounds into a new mixed sound is a universal law, whether the first or the second sound is pro-

perly long or short, as הֵינִיק *hêniq* for *haïniq*, כְּתַבְתּוֹ *k'tabtô* for *k'tabtâ-û*, etc. Yet the language has from particular causes resisted contraction in some cases, in which the diphthong does not appear to be pronounced as one sound, âi, âu, but the sounds being harder are more separated, *ái*; *áu*, hence also the *a* can sometimes be lengthened before *u* which is there sounded as a semivowel *âv* [1]). Thus 1) in forms in which a primitively double i or u is found after a, or, which is the same in effect, where a new i is added to a primitive ai; in this case the mixed sound would be too weak, and the contracted double i or u remains more firmly, as מַלְכַי *m'lacai*, חַי, מַיִם, מְלָכַיִךְ, שָׁמַיִם, קַו *qav* or קָו *qâv*; in like manner גֵּו *gêv*, and the suffix ָיו *âv* from *aiu*, so that the i in the middle disappears indeed, at the contraction of the a-u on each side of it, but the a remains long as a trace of the diphthong. — 2) In forms in which a longer pronunciation is designedly retained to distinguish their meaning from that of shorter, as בַּיִת, מָוֶת §. 318. If a consonant follows after i, it must keep itself more apart, so that at the same time its semivowel becomes nearly audible according to §. 55, as *báït*, almost = *bájit*. Rarely besides, as סָתָו §. 319. גַּיְא according to §. 318, and the ancient form שַׁדַּי §. 324. — If an immutable ô comes before i, there ôi remain without closely amalgamating, as הוֹי *hôi*, גּוֹי, בְּלוֹי; such cases however are very rare.

1) It appears to be evident that final i, in words like עָשׂוּי, כָּסוּי, גּוֹי, חַי cannot be read as a semivowel. It is just as certain that such cases are not close diphthongs, for ûi would not be even pronounceable. Nothing remains then but to sound the i with a short aftersound, which is confirmed by cases like בַּיִת. The only instance in which the diphthong is not loose is in the foreign word חַוְרָן *Haurân*.

2. *Resolution into semivowels* is possible only with i, u: i into j, u into v §. 88 ff.*). It is 1) necessary at the beginning of a word before any vowel, as *jalad* for *ialad*. — 2) and always permitted at the beginning of a syllable in the middle of a word, where i, u come between two syllables, as פְּרִי : פִּרְיוֹ; it is especially necessary before â, since i, u + a cannot be contracted, as שִׁבְיָה *shibjâ*, חֶדְוָה *chedvâ* from *sh'bi*, *chádu*; and after a long vowel of a different sound, as עֲשׂוּיִם, גּוֹיִם from עָשׂוּי, גּוֹי, in like manner צְפִיָּה from צָפוּי, u having united itself with i which becomes a semivowel according to §. 53. Where the same sounds concur, 55

*) I have preferred retaining the German J as representative of the semivowel in Hebrew words, which are spelt in english letters throughout the volume, as it did not appear so consistent to use Y, the only english representative of the *sound* of the semivowel. *Trans.*

contraction also is possible according to §. 53 and takes place, e. g. עִבְרִים and עִבְרִיִּם from עִבְרִי §. 393; the distinction in the use of these forms is shown in the the theory of formation. But in all these cases the vowel is either *entirely* changed into the semivowel, as שִׁבְיָה, or it remains as a vowel at the same time, in its place, as עִבְרִיָּה, עִבְרִיִּם from עִבְרִי; the latter is particularly the case with the more immoveable, heavier vowels. In other cases, where the form requires the resolution, an *a* sometimes is inserted as a heavy counterpoise before the vowel which is resolved, which formation is rather Aramaic, as עֵדְוֹת *édavot* from עֵדוּ §. 345 and the Verbal forms גָּלְיוּ §. 285. — 3) At the end of words, û is resolved after vowels which remain firm, as פִּיו *fîv* from *fî-û* §. 422, קַו, יָמִיו according to §. 54.

56 3. *Elision* of one vowel by another, which on the whole is rare, is only possible in the middle, or at the end of a word, and affects no other sound except *a* and *é*, the most liquid vowels, which have no corresponding semivowels in which they may be resolved. Thus the first vowel, as more important and stronger, elides the one which begins the syllable which follows but which ends in a consonant, as כְּתָבוּם *k'tâbûm* from k'tâbû-âm §. 305; or 2) the second elides the weaker and less important end vowel of the preceding syllable, if it is not at the same time in itself immutable, as שׁוֹבִי *shôbî* from *shôbé-î* §. 427.

It is only extremly seldom and late that neither of these possible elisions takes place, so that the two concurrent vowels remain separated merely by an aspirate (spiritus lenis §. 68), as עַרְבִאִים *'arbî-îm* §. 393.

CHANGE OF VOWELS BY FLEXION.

57 With regard to the many influences which the flexion of stems and words exercises upon syllables and vowels by means of *postfixes*, the distinction and kinds of tonevowels are to be particularly noticed. It is clear from what has been above stated, that three kinds of tone vowels may be distinguished: 1) *short* vowels, ă, seldomer ĕ §. 46. From §. 23 f. it is plain that every short vowel is dependent on, and supported by a compound syllable only, and consequently must immediately disappear, if the compound syllable is broken up, by the carrying on of the second consonant to another syllable. But a short vowel, if supported by the tone, may remain even in a simple syllable §. 23.

2) Vowels *long by tone*, whose length depends on the tone only, and which, as soon as ever that influence disappears, become again like short vowels, and are shortened in a compound syllable, and in a simple one fall away entirely [1]) Such vowels however gradually lengthen themselves more, and resist resolution, partly according to the power, kind, or position, of the particular vowels, and partly on account of the kind and meaning of forms and words. In general â has remained most pure, ê too has often become stabler, o still more so, î, û are always immoveable.

1) It may however be occasionally observed, that in final syllables they more easily accommodate themselves to the former of these two cases; cf. דַּיָּן, but דַּיָּנֵי §. 417; יִכְתְּבְךָ, but הִכְתִּיבָה §. 293. 308.

58 It is especially to be kept in mind that the sound o-u is retained most firmly and immoveably on account of its breadth and heaviness. Where a-e-i are resolved and changed into the shortest, moste-like vowel sound, there o endeavours to sustain itself. It is even sometimes sounded double, as קָרְבְּכֶם *qŏrŏb'kem* §. 62, 2.

59 3) Vowels immutably long, or *long by stem*, which, as entirely independent of the tone and syllable, always remain firm and unchanged, and at the utmost only become shortened occasionally, where compelled by a new and particular necessity. They arise *a*) from the very protracted vowels which are long by tone, therefore always î, û; (v. before N. 2); with ô, ê, â there is sometimes a change with the older weaker vowels. — *b*) from a vowel coalescing with a radical vowel or aspirate, v. §. 88 ff. — *c*) from a long vowel inserted into the root for the purpose of formation, of which kind of forms Hebrew has a great number, as כּוֹתֵב §. 326, גְּבוּל §. 334.

The *postfixes* which influence the syllables and vowels of a word are externally of three kinds:

60 1) Those beginning with *vowels*, as the terminations î, ôn of nominal forms §. 341 ff., the *á* of the fem. sg., the *û*, *îm* of plurals and many pronoun suffixes which begin with a vowel, either because they have become toneless, as the suffix ־ֶנִי *áni*, *éni* [1]), or because a vowel which has been lost after the final consonant, has been thrown back before it; as in the suffix *–ék* [2]) from *'–kí* §. 305.

1) This is the first step to the greatest Aramaic apocopation *an*; the process is *k'tal'ni*, *k'taláni*, *k'talan*.

2) The î indeed sounds pure at the end, but as it is thrown back into a compound syllable, it must become short, therefore *e* according to §. 46, which is then changed by the tone into ê.

The vowel of a postfix, in case a compound syllable precedes it, which is most frequently the case, takes the last consonant of that syllable to itself, by which the syllable is broken up. If then the vowel of this syllable is only an *auxiliary e* §. 29 it always disappears before accented and unaccented postfixes, as קֶדֶם : קֵדְמָה. If it is a *short accented vowel*, it can maintain its place before unaccented postfixes by means of the tone, as כַּרְמֶל : כַּרְמֶלָּה, מִדְבָּר : מִדְבָּרָה; but before accented postfixes it must disappear, as יִגְדַּל : יִגְדְּלוּ. If it is a vowel long by tone, it either remains before accented postfixes, or disappears according to the rules of the foretone §. 36 ff.; from special causes only can a short vowel remain in the foretone, and be lengthened in a simple syllable viz. in כָּתַב, כְּתָבָם, כְּתָבְךָ §. 307, the cause of which

will be clear from §. 65. Before an unaccented postfix, the long vowel remains of course.

61 There is an impurer and rarer formation, in which a short vowel which ought to disappear after flexion, maintains itself in its place, by reduplication of the following consonant; this only occurs in a certain class of words, and may be accounted for partly by the force of the form, and partly by a combination of sounds which favour it, v. §. 316 ff.

62 2. Those beginning with a *loosely* attached consonant, viz. the suffixes ךָ‑, כֶם‑ and a few others §. 305 ff., all receiving the tone. These are not attached by a distinct vowel, nor are they consonants closely attached, but float between both these kinds, since they are joined by a mere fragment of a vowel [1]), which may indeed occasionally be very much compressed, but never entirely destroyed.

1) It was without doubt primitively a vowel, a short ĭ according to §. 23, and as to its power, a ligament, a *connexion* §. 406.

The auxiliary *e*, then, always disappears, since the fragmentary affix-vowel takes the last consonant entirely to the following syllable, as קֹדֶשׁ : קָדְשְׁךָ, סֵפֶר : סִפְרְכֶם, without any further difficulty; just as this affix-vowel must also always become an audible sound, after a vowel long by stem, as לְבוּשׁ : לְבוּשְׁךָ *l'bû-sh'ka.* But before merely accented vowels, there is much uncertainty, on account of the doubtful nature of the affix-vowel, which easily yields to the sounds in its neighbourhood. For first, the last consonant can be entirely drawn over to the last syllable, in *loose* connexion, by the affix-vowel, so that the accented vowel before the tone being left in a simple syllable, either remains long, or becomes so; this *longer* pronunciation however, only takes place before the light termination ךָ‑ (not before the heavy ones, that end in consonants) and even before that, only regularly with *a*, seldom with *e*, and never with *o;* a kind of foretone therefore, according to §. 36, as דְּבָרְךָ, אֶנְהָגְךָ, תְּכַבֵּדְךָ from דָּבָר, אֶנְהַג, תְּכַבֵּד. Where the vowel cannot thus maintain itself as foretone, it may extricate itself in two possible ways: 1) the vowel remains in its place, but is there necessarily so shortened, that the following consonant floats between both syllables, without attaching itself closely to the following syllable, for some trace of the affix vowel must remain; thus of *a*, דְּבַרְכֶם *d'bar'kem*, אֶנְהַגְכֶם; of *e* where short e generally remains from the ê long by tone, as יֶשְׁךָ, יְחָנְךָ, יַגֶּדְךָ, יְבָרֶכְכֶם, yet according to §. 47 even *i* may be inserted, especially before the heavy suffix, as כֹּתִבְךָ, יְאַמִּצְכֶם; lastly of *o*, as יִכְתָּבְךָ from יִכְתֹּב. Or 2) the vowel seeking

a firmer seat forward, advances to the preceding vowelless consonant, whereby the fragmentary affix vowel becomes then separate and perfectly distinct. This however is only easy, where a single consonant without a vowel goes before, and therefore very seldom with *a*, as הֲפֵרְכֶם Lev. 26, 15 from הָפֵר, הֲפֵרְכֶם §. 426, only frequent with o, which generally maintains itself more firmly, especially before the lighter ךָ, כְּתָבְךָ *k'tob'ka* and כָּתְבְךָ *kotb'ka* from כְּתֹב, so that in this uncertainty, short o establishes itself perhaps in both places at the same time, as קָרָבְכֶם *qŏrŏb'kem*. This is much more difficult and rare, if a compound syllable goes before, which must thereby be broken up, as יְחָבְרְךָ Ps. 94, 20 from יַחְבֹּר.

3) Those that begin with a *closely* attached consonant, generally persons of verbs, as כָּתַבְתָּ §. 281, and the nominal forms קְטֶלֶת for קְטַלְתְּ §. 365 ff.

Where a consonant is thus closely attached to the compound syllable, its vowel becomes compressed and shortened, as well in accented as in unaccented syllables. Then the vowels are affected as follows; â is always shortened to ă in tone and out of tone; i and u are so shortened, that in the tone the accented *é* or *a*, and *ó* according to §. 46 are used for the corresponding short vowels; in unaccented syllables, the short vowels according to §. 47. Even the protracted ô must be shortened sometimes. 63

Although this forced shortening is rather frequent in Hebrew, yet there are many ancient traces of the primitive resistance of the vowels long by stem against this shortening §. 288. î, û and ô too resist it more than the pure â; and on the other hand, the mutes, like ת, are attached so as more to preserve their hardness, and therefore necessarily shorten the vowel more than the softer ך [1]).

1) Hence rarely תְּקִימֶנָה, at the same time a singular form.

A similar forced shortening affects also certain forms, from the force of the meaning, even without such postfixes §. 289 ff.

A sound thus elided on account of the constraint of the pronunciation, returns again in the progress of flexion 1) in an unaccented compound syllable, as נְחשֶׁת : נְחֻשְׁתּוֹ from נָחוּשׁ §. 427. — 2) in a simple accented syllable, in which a vowel which has been shortened in a compound syllable, can again be prolonged and return to its primitive sound: הִכְתִּב, תַּכְתִּיבָה §. 293. 64

3. If the vowel merely long by tone becomes by means of postfixes the *third* syllable from the tone, it necessarily falls away, since it must then be reduced to its primitive shortness, and a short vowel cannot remain in a simple syllable, thus 1) the â of the foretone regularly, as גָּדוֹל : גְּדֹלִים, כָּתַב : כְּתַבְתֶּם; in some cases the sound is retained immutably long, from special causes, v. S. 285. 298. 386. 431. 65

440. In the verbal forms כָּתַב the short vowel of the final syllable is lost before the very abbreviated vowel terminations of the persons of the verb, so that the â of the foretone remains: כָּתְבוּ, כָּתְבָה; while before the longer suffixes the vocalization, according to §. 40, is drawn to the middle of the word, that vowel therefore remains in its place, and the â of the foretone disappears: כְּתָבוּם, אֲהֵבְכֶם. — 2) The vowels long by tone which remain before the tone, as אֶזְכֹּר, אֶזְכְּרִי and then אֶזְכְּרָה; yet many of this kind, especially ê, and still more ô, have always lengthened themselves; particulars of which see in the theory of formation.

66 In cases where two consonants without a vowel would come together, either from the flexion, or from the accession of a vowelless prefix בְּ b', לְ, כְּ before the vowelless consonant at the beginning of a word, then the first, according to §. 26, must take a short vowel. The nearest in such case is the weak sharp *i*, which appears universally with prefixes, as לִמְלָכִים, בִּשְׁמִי, unless the first consonant of the word from some cause requires a more distinct vowel (§. 70). But in the middle of a word, *i* occurs only where the sound i-e-a lies primitively in the full form of the word, as קִבְרֵי, סִתְרֵי shortened from קְבָרִים, סְתָרִים, since the stem is קֶבֶר, סֵתֶר; yet *a* sometimes returns from a primitive *a*, as יִלְדֵי and יַלְדֵי, always מַלְכֵי; but where *o* is in the stem, it alway returns according to §. 58, at כָּתְבוּ, כָּפְרֵי from כְּתֹב, כְּפָרִים derived from כֹּפֶר.

B. CONSONANTS.

67 The difference of the consonants, as well as their resemblance and approximation to each other, arises partly, from the different organs of their pronunciation, and partly from the different manner in which they are sustained, and compressed by the organs. According to both these influences, all consonants may be arranged as to their classes and gradations in the following table, in which the nearest corresponding vowels are noted at the side:

	vowels.	aspirated	liquid consonants: liquid: semi-vowels	nasal.		sibilant	mute		
gutt. ging.	a	ח ע ה א ch _ h '					ג g	כ k	ק q
	i		י j		ר r				
ling.				נ n	ל l		ד d	ת t	ט th
dent.						ז ס צ שׁ z s ß sh			
labial.	u		ו v	מ m			ב b	פ p	

I. The *aspirated* consonants (gutturals), a class peculiar in its number and definite gradations tothe Semitic languages, propel a softer or harder breathing from the throat, according as the breath either comes pure out of the breast, or grates against the organs of the throat and calls them into action. If the breath flows quite pure, there arises the gentlest aspirate, which without a vowel is not audible, א answering at the beginning of a word to the spiritus lenis of the Greeks. If the breath is more sharply propelled against the side, the sound will be the pure but harder aspirate h ה, answering at the beginning of a word to the Greek spiritus asper. If the aspiration grates still more against the epiglottis, there arise *gh* ע weaker and *ch* ח stronger, two very rough, raucous sounds which border on the firmer consonants g k q, but pronounced deeper in the throat than g and k, and grating against the epiglottis less than q, and therefore merely rough aspirates which utter the vowel from the throat. 68

Accordingly we would most naturally expect א and ה at the beginning of words. For the way in which א and sometimes ח arise in the middle and at the end of words, v. §. 220. 222.

These sounds have many weaknesses and peculiarities in their nature by which they are distinguished from all others, and are indeed different from one another in degree, since the hardest sound ח is very far from א. All their weaknesses proceed from *three* causes: 69

1. The gutturals, as aspirates, approach nearest to the *vowels*, since they can only become distinctly audible with vowels. There is therefore no difficulty where full vowels are pronounced after them; but where according to the principles of formation a consonant should be pronounced without any, or without a firm, distinct vowel, in such cases vowel sounds readily intrude; and this weakness is greater where two gutturals stand near each other. Therefore 1) a guttural as appoggiatural consonant at the beginning of a syllable, can never be pronounced with the most fleeting vowel sound (§. 26) but assumes a distinct vowel sound. 70

As such, a *fleeting* but distinct sound is generally usd, cf. עֲמָקִים *ghamâqîm* with מְלָכִים *m'lâkîm* and §. 76; but before another guttural, this fleeting sound is often changed into a full short vowel [1]); and the vowel sound *e* and *o* (not *a*) makes itself sometimes so broad and strong after א, as the softest of these sounds, that it becomes a full long vowel [2]).

1) Viz. in the three different cases mentioned §. 289. 455 in which special causes assist it: in all others the fleeting vowel sound remains.

2) Very seldom in the verb, as אֵסָעֲרֵם Zach. 7, 14 for אֲסָ׳; oftener in the noun, especially if a guttural comes before a guttural, as אֹהָלִים for אֳהָלִים; but most frequently in a peculiar class of nouns that have a tendency to it §. 328.

Before a guttural too,. a vowel which would else fall away is often retained complete, especially *a* or *e* before א. Cf. some examples §. 387. 417.

71 2) A guttural which ends a syllable after the vowel is harder to pronounce, especially after any other vowel besides *a* §. 75 ff., than at the beginning of a syllable. Hence *in syllables before the tone*, which can therefore be easily opened and loosed in transition to the following syllable, a fleeting vowel is inserted after the guttural, but of course only as a weak *echo* of the proper vowel of the syllable, therefore always of the same sound, as מַחֲנֶה *mach*[a]*|né*, יֶחֱרַד *jech*[e]*|rad*, יְדַעֲנוּךָ *j'dagh*[a]*|nûka*, בְּאֱרוֹת *be'*[e]*|rôt*. However the firmer pronunciation without this vowel is also used, as יַחְסֹר *jech|sár*, so that nice distinctions between these two possible pronunciations have been established upon certain principles which will be explained below §. 168.

72 Sometimes the proper vowel of the syllable is so much separated that it becomes quite isolated, and therefore *long* in a simple syllable (§. 48) and the guttural, being entirely separated, is carried over as appoggiatural consonant to the following syllable; which especially happens with a guttural before a guttural, and generally only with *e* and *o*, as הֶעֱבַרְתָּ for הֶעֱבַ׳, הֹעֲלָה for הָעֳלָה.

73 In case that an appoggiatural consonant follows a vowel echoing on account of the guttural §. 71, it must become a full vowel, because then two fragmentary vowels would come together, one of which, and generally the first according to §. 66, must become a full vowel; this vowel however which is caused by the guttural is always pronounced without emphasis, since the power of the pronunciation remains with the former original vowel; as יֶחֶזְקוּ *jéchez'kû* for *jech*[e]*z'ku*, נַעֲמְדָה from נַעֲמֹד, יְשַׁעַשְׁעוּ, הָעָמְדוּ.

In the rare case that the appoggiatural consonant is also a guttural, this evasion is impossible; rather the two gutturals coming together, which are properly without a vowel, have then so much vowel power, that the first guttural takes the vowel of the syllable to itself alone, as §. 75 with א in שְׂאֵת for שַׂאְתְ; there is a similar example with א in תְּאֵהֲבוּ for תְּאֶהֱבוּ, which cannot remain §. 285.

The case is similar if א, as the softest most vocalic guttural, as appoggiatural consonant attracts the preceding vowelless consonant so that the preceding compound syllable is broken up, and its vowel becomes a pure long one in a simple syllable. This however happens only with the heavy o inclined in itself to be lengthened, and in the form כָּתְבְךָ §. 62, 2, the first syllable of which is not closely shut. Thus מֹצַאֲכֶם Gen. 32, 20 for מָצְאֲכֶם, from inf. מְצֹא.

74 3) But *at the end of the word*, where the syllable must end abruptly, such echoing and carrying over of the vowel of the syllable is impossible; here the guttural must attach itself hard and firmly to the accented vowel of the syllable, and its aspiration must be distinctly audible after long vowels (which besides are very frequent here) as well as after short ones;

as יִשְׂמַח *jis-mách*, שֹׁמֵעַ *sho-méagh* (cf. 78, *γ*). This takes place also in the *accented* penult, as יָדַעְנוּ *jadágh-nu*, שָׂעֲרָה.

75 A final syllable with two consonants at the end (§. 29 f.), when the last consonant or the last but one is a guttural, requires a full short vowel for the guttural. There a guttural as last consonant easily attracts the vowel of the syllable entirely to itself, as בֶּטַע §. 409; not so often where the guttural is the last consonant but one, as מֵעַט, קַחַת §. 319, but more frequently and regularly if the weak א is in this place, as שְׂאֵת, פְּאֵר §. 318. — Apocopated verbal forms only, ending with a hard ח can retain a guttural in the middle without a vowel: שָׁמַעְתְּ §. 287, וַיַּאת §. 297.

76 2. But among all the vowels the A-sound is the nearest and easiest with gutturals, because, like them, it proceeds from the complete opening of the throat. Only the weakest sound among them, א, associates itself often with the weak and broad *e*, which seldom appears with other gutturals besides א, especially towards the end of the word, where we should besides expect broader sounds §. 46. The vowel sound however which is nearest and most accordant with the guttural, can only so far influence and dislodge hostile vowels, as the strength and importance of the hostile vowel partly, and partly its position permit; in which chiefly this general rule holds, that the I-E sound easily yields to the A, the favorite vowel of the guttural, but the U-O sound, on the other hand, maintains itself, according to §. 58, much more firm and immoveable. But even where the sounds hostile to A are retained from particular causes, the A-sound intrudes itself as much as possible; the most frequent consequence of which is, that I and U, the most opposed to A, never appear as short and fleeting vowels, but in their stead E and O universally. After all this the following particulars are clear:

1) A guttural as appoggiatural consonant, because its vowel sound is least of all before hand determined, takes generally the fleeting *a* (§. 70), seldom, according to what is alove said, *e*, and *o* only where that sound is essential to the formation and has been retained.

77 2) A guttural *concluding a syllable* takes *before* it *a*, *e*, *o* as *short* vowels, before the tone, not *i*, *u* [1]); in this case, where the distinction of the vowel is for certain reasons more strictly maintained, *e* can seldom be changed into *a*; the *o* sound always maintains itself. Cf. concerning all this §. 168 for examples and more copious detail.

1) i remains very seldom and only before the hard ח, separated, שִׁחֲדוּ according to §. 291. That is to say, here there is a very loose compound syllable before the guttural.

78 But at the end of the word, where the aspirate sounds most freely, it also most effectually preserves the clearer sound of its A; therefore every hostile vowel *α*) in an unaccented syllable, i. e. according to §. 46 a perfectly short vowel, is changed into *ă*, as נֶצַח *néßach* for *néßech*, יָנַח *jánach* for *jánoch*; — *β*) in an accented syllable a vowel not long or not strongly sustained, is also displaced by *ă*, as פַּעַם *pá-gham* for *pégham*, יִשְׁלַח *jishlach* for *jishloch* [1]); but — *γ*) a vowel which cannot be dislodged remains, but only with a fleeting *a* intruding itself before the guttural, as שֹׁמֵעַ *sho-méagh*, שָׁמוּעַ *shamûagh*, concerning which see farther §. 168.

1) Only in syllables ending with two consonants, where the guttural in the middle is not so free, and with the hard ח, does the usual pronunciation with *e* remain, as לֶחֶם, רֶחֶם §. 318, and with *i* in יִחַן according to §. 290; the *o* protracted from a short one remains with every guttural, as פֹּעַל, אֹהֶל,

79 3) Any long vowel remains of course *after* the guttural; but it exercises the same influence upon short or mutable vowels after it in a *closely shut syllable*, as upon a vowel before it, though not so regularly; hence

1) in unaccented syllables e, o rather stand for i, u [1]) especially with א, as אֶכְתֹּב, חֶלְקָה, but there is no further change again of *e*, *o* for *a*.

1) *i* remains only *a*) in loosely shut syllables §. 291; *b*) for the more definite distinction of tense §. 275; *c*) before reduplication according to §. 47, *c*, for which reason, since this is a new influence, א can retain the i in cases in which *e* else prevails after it §. 283.

2) in final syllables *e*, *o* are sometimes, but not regularly, changed into *a*, as יַמְעֵל and יִמְעַל, see farther §. 269 ff. In unaccented final syllables *e*, *o* may remain, as אֹהֶל, וַיֶּחָם *vajjáchos*, but also change into *a*, as פֹּעַל and *e* is always changed into *a* in a syllable of three sounds (מֶלֶךְ), as soon as ever the *e* has been changed before the guttural into *a*, because the second vowel is generally only an echo of the first, according to §. 127, as פַּעַם.

80 Since, according to all this, the guttural in a final syllable can exercise quite a different, influence to what it has in the syllable before the tone, therefore the pronunciation proper in the last case ceases when there is a sudden apocopation of the end, as יֶחֱנֶה (from יִחְנֶה) : יִחַן according to §. 290, *c*.

81 3. The gutturals are indeed consonants, but very weak ones, which give up all stronger pronunciation, and even easily suffer all their aspiration, and with it their peculiar

power and whole sound to disappear; all this may be seen in gradations from the weakest א to the strongest ח. This shows itself in two chief consequences:

1) They are utterly incapable of *reduplication* [1]), even where the formation requires it; therefore the traces of reduplication gradually disappear, from certain causes which with its consequences will be more fully described below §. 120 ff.

1) Reduplication is indeed *possible* by force or undeviating regularity of the pronunciation (as in Arabic the medial guttural is doubled in the second stem), but has something very rough and hard in it; therefore even in Sanscrit and Greek the aspirate *h* and the aspiration can neither be doubled nor come together, cf. *Βακχος*, *Ματθαιος* etc.

2) They loose their aspiration and cease to be heard en- 82
tirely; this however affects only the pure and weak aspirates ה and especially א, and has a very different influence according to their position in a word and syllable:

1. at the beginning of a word the aspirate remains most distinctly and strongly, because there is no impediment to its sound. But at the beginning of a syllable, in the middle of a word, there arises an hiatus after the preceding sound, i. e. a disagreeable effort to bring the pure weak aspirate out of the breast to begin the syllable. This hiatus indeed generally remains in Hebrew, as יִשְׁאַל *jish-'al* שָׁאַל, מַלְאֲכוֹת; but the effort to suppress the aspirate by bringing forward the following vowel and attaching it, after the aspirate is thrust out, to the preceding consonant, appears partly more regularly in frequent common cases, and partly occasionally in isolated instances. Thus

1) most easily after a mere appoggiatural consonant; especially as the beginning of a word, as is very easy with א, as שְׁאֵלָה *sh'élá* is easily changed into שֵׁאלָה, שֵׁלָה *shêlá*, חַטְּאַת into חַטָּאת [1]); not so often with ה, as in לַבֵּן *labben* for *l'habben* from the ה of the article; in proper names, as יְהוֹנָתָן and יוֹנָתָן [2]).

1) But very seldom with an *external*, casual and easily separable prefix, as וַאעְשִׁר for וָאַעְשִׁר Zach. 11, 5.

2) בֵּל for בְּעֵל Is. 46, 1 only occurs later, in a Chaldaic proper name according to Chaldaic pronunciation.

2) Not so easily after a compound syllable, which is then broken up by the vowel following pressing forward, as קִרְאַת *qir-ât* becomes קְרַאת *q'rat*, מַרְאוֹן מְרָאוֹן, נִכְאֹת נְכֹאת. This only happens with א, and only in certain cases.

The hiatus is least difficult to pronounce and most easily avoided after a full vowel, as שָׁאַל, in which case it always remains; however it

sometimes happens that a preceding strong â destroys a succeeding fleeting one, â + a = â, as וָאַבֶּדְךָ Ez. 28, 16 for וָאְאַבֶּ, which in this case is also particularly defended by §. 296; cf. הָרַמִּים 2 Chr. 22, 5 for הָאֲר 2 Kgs. 8, 28; הָאסַפְסֻף Num. 11, 4 and still later and worse הַשְׁפּוֹת Neh. 3, 13 for הָאַשׁ v. 14.

83 Where both the vowels on each side the aspirate must remain, a harder, more separable sound, a semivowel, can gradually intrude in the place of the weakest aspirate, especially *j;* but this is rare in Hebrew, as in the proper name דוֹיֵג *C'tib* 1 Sam. 22. 18. 22, and דוֹאֵג 21, 8. 22, 9. Ps. 52, 2.

84 2. At the *end* of the syllable, the aspiration of the weaker gutturals א ה easily becomes too feeble to be distinctly audible after the vowel of the syllable; so that the vowel is uttered without the clear aspirate after it. But this is

1) very rare in syllables *before* the tone, because the guttural there, according to §. 71 can easily assume a fleeting vowel and be drawn over; only in a certain frequent concurrence has א here become mute, as נָאוָה *nâvâ* for נַאֲוָה *na*ᵃ*-va*, לֵאמֹר as adverb. The vowel of the syllable is then according to §. 23 regularly lengthened [1]).

1) Yet the Masoretes have retained the short *a* with prefixes of the word אֲדֹנָי *the Lord* (God) and the same word in a profane sense, as וַאדֹנָי, לַאדֹנָי, לַאדֹנֶיהָ etc. Grammatically we should here expect neither the omission of the Chatef-vowel, nor the א becoming mute, nor even a short vowel; we find too לַאֲדוֹן, לַאֲדֹנֵי in *stat. constr.* according to the usual pronunciation, and indeed וַאֲדֹנֵינוּ, לַאֲדֹנֵינוּ, לַאֲדֹנֵיהֶם always. Apparently therefore, that has only proceeded from the holy name and was intended as a distinction of it.

85 2) But as the end of a word where the guttural, to be heard, must sound pure and clear, א has always lost its power, so that a preceding short and *accented* vowel becomes lengthened according to §. 23, as קָרוּא *qarû*, קָרָא, where although the vowel going before is not *a*, the peculiarily of of the gutturals mentioned §. 78, *γ* does not have effect; and קָרָא *qarâ* for *qarà*. Hence the form מֶלֶךְ §. 318 in this case sounds פֶּרֶא, גֶּמֶא without changing (according to §. 78, *α*) the unaccented *e* into a; yet as a short vowel is according to §. 23 excessively rare in a simple syllable, forms in which the *e* has entirely fallen away easily arise, as חֵטְא §. 318 [1]). On the other hand a syllable ending with א retains its vowel and the tone if the form is shortened, from the same cause, because the short vowel must be immediately lengthened on account of the weak א and the tone must remain in its place,

as יָרֵא from יָרֵא cf. with סָבֵב from סָבַב §. 410 וַיָּבֹא, וַיְכַלֵּא §. 297.

1) All this shows that א becoming mute is a very late phenomenon in Hebrew, and that formerly א must have been pronounced as a guttural at the end also.

הּ has seldomer thus given up its aspiration at the end, 86
most frequently in apocopated terminations, as in proper names whose last member is shortened from יהוה, יָהוּ, as עֲזַרְיָה; also in the root, as וַיִּתְמַהְמָהּ Gen. 19, 16.

II. The *liquid* consonants, which are formed by the 87
anterior organs, from the posterior palate to the edge of the lips, are firmer than the gutturals, but are only produced by a softer, laxer shutting of the organs. Their sound is therefore more distinct and audible than that of the gutturals, but not short and hard, but drawn out, melting, *liquid*, easily lost and resolved. There are however great distinctions between them, which may be reduced to three kinds:

1. The semivowels י *j* and ו *v* are closely connected with 88
the vowel sounds *i* and *u*, since they are properly nothing more than those vowelsounds hardened into consonants. The vowelsound i, u when compressed in such a manner that the upper and lower organs are, at least, laxly shut, becomes necessarily j, v; from the posterior palate, where i is formed, *j* also is produced, and *v* on the lips. Hence these semivowels, which are not so firm as our j (Y) v, stand always very near to the vowels i and u in origin, pronunciation, and reciprocal change: i, u become hardened at suitable occasions to j, v, and j, v are as easily resolved into i, u. In this respect they are, indeed, both alike: J however is somewhat harder and firmer than V in Hebrew, so that in many formations in which a consonant must necessarily always appear, V has been supplanted by J. (cf. §. 223 and else where).

The general rule is that these sounds which float between 89
vowel and consonant, only become hardened into consonants where the vowel sound can not maintain itself, but must according to its position become either entirely, or at the same time a consonant. This therefore depends intrinsically on the relation of the vowels and on their concurrence, as is explained §. 52 ff. Regard however must be always had at the same time to the laws of formation of the roots. On the other hand, softening has occasionally intruded into Hebrew, according to which the consonants also, contrary to the ori-

ginal necessity, have been changed in certain common cases into their vowels. According to all this therefore:

90 1) At the *beginning of syllables*, these sounds are most regularly maintained as consonants, because they must there be always pronounced immediately *before* a vowel sound, according to §. 25, and are consequently hardened by it into consonants. And this rule again holds:

a) of the *beginning of words* most necessarily, where י ו can be pronounced with any vowel, even with the most fleeting fragmentary vowel §. 26, because even this preserves the trace of a vowel, as יָלַד *jalad*, יִכְתֹּב *jiktob*, יֻלַּד *jullad*, יְלָדִים *j'ladim*, וְלוֹ *v'lo*, as this *v'* is only more fleeting than *va*. Yet there are some cases in which י ו begin even here to be resolved into their simple vowel sound. Viz. 1) the copula וְ *v'* is regularly resolved in two cases into *u*, before another labial (ב, פ, ם, ו), to facilitate the pronunciation, as וּבוֹ, וּמֶלֶךְ, and before every consonant without a firm vowel, in which case, according to §. 66, a firm vowel must be spoken after the first consonant, only that here ו does not assume the discordant vowel *i* and become a consonant, but is at once resolved into its own vowel *u*, as וּלְמֶלֶךְ *ul'mélek*, וּתְהִי *ut'hi*. — 2) *ji*- or *je*- are seldom resolved into *i* since the vowel sounds i-i are identical and easily flow into each other, as in the proper name אִישַׁי *'ishaï*, according to later pronunciation, for יִשַׁי *jishaï* 1 Chr. 2, (12.) 13. and in the particle אִשׁ *ish* for יֵשׁ *jesh*, which however does not occur before Mich. 6, 10 and 2 Sam. 14, 19 and only in close connexion with the preceding word, which easily produces a softer prónunciation. After a vowelless prefix, *ji* is sometimes more easily resolved into *i*, since the vowel can then attach itself more easily to the affixed consonant, this however only occurs where the pronunciation of the word is as the same time shortened (in stat. constr.), as וִיתְרוֹן *vitron* for *v'jitron* Koh. 2, 13. Jer. 25, 36. Pr. 30, 17.

91 *b*) But, at the beginning of a syllable notat the beginning of a word, י ו are so much the more easily and regularly resolved, as the vowel which then remains can attach itself closely to the preceding consonant; hence י ו are also most regularly resolved where they stand *in the middle of a root between two firm consonants* (cf. farther on these roots §. 218 ff.). There are only three possible cases here: 1) where an *ŭ* (or for it *ŏ* according to §. 46 f.), would come in contact with a ו, or an i with a י there is a necessary resolution of u + u into û, i + i into î, according to §. 53, as רוּם *rûm* יָקוּם *jaqûm*. — 2) where an *ă* comes before ו, a and u can be so united that *a* is first sounded, and thus from a + u ô arises, as נָקוֹם *naqôm* for נְקָוֹם, מָקוֹם; with י then ae (ê) would arise. — 3) but where the vowel after י ו is immutable, either on account of its length or its importance,

there it remains with elision of the weak וי, but in such a manner that even a short vowel then becomes long, just as if two vowels had coalesced, as הֵקִוִּים, קָוֵם, מָוֵת, שָׁנְיָה are changed into הֵקִים, קָם, מֵת, שָׁנָה.

92 From this it is clear when וי at the beginning of a posterior syllable must become consonants: *a*) if a reduplicated consonant follows וי, because by this the vowel after וי is more firmly held, as הִתְיַלֵּד [1]).

1) Yet once, Ex. 2, 4 וַתֵּתַצַּב stands as a shorter form (§. 297) for וַתִּתְיַצַּב, י being indeed elided in its place as consonant, but throwing back its sound into the preceding *é* and thus maintaining it. —

93 *b*) if וי themselves must be doubled according to the formation of roots, although this is rather avoided, and if it takes place, ו is easily changed into י, as יִוָּלֵד, קַיֵּם.

94 *c*) if there is an immutable long vowel before וי, as גּוֹיִם *gôjîm*, נְטוּיָה *n'thûjâ*; in this case though, kindred vowels may unite before וי become consonants, according to §. 55, צִפִּיָּה.

A short *a* then does not maintain itself after וי as 2nd radical, but â after this second radical separates itself from the preceding וי, because i + â, u + â according to §. 55 cannot be contracted; such formation however is very rare in Hebrew, as עֲיָם, מְדְיָן §. 334. י is most necessarily maintained if no compound syllable goes before, since if a compound syllable does go before, it can also be elided, as מִדְיָנִים : מְדָנִים Prov. 10, 12 comp. with 18, 18. 19. 19, 13.

If a mere *aspirate* (guttural), or vowel in the root, *follow*, וי easily remain consonants, as they do at the beginning of a word, as צָוַח, גָּוַע, רָוָה, חַיָּה, or even go before, as בָּאוָה, מְטַחֲוִים, הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה. This is just in the same way as u, i before â, or between two strong vowels in general, easily become semivowels. Such וי then form a firm consonant in the subsequent formation, which always remains the same, as צְוָחָה : צִוְחַת,

Thus also a guttural at the end of a syllable remains firm, if the following one begins with וי, contrary to §. 71, as מִחְיָה, יִהְיֶה, בְּעִיִּם Is. 11, 15, instead of which we should else certainly find יְהְיֶה, בַּעְיָם. Yet הֶחֱיָה with two gutturals.

95 2) וי *after* the vowel of their syllable (where there is no ground for their being pronounced as consonants) generally endeavour to sound as vowels and are only from special causes converted into consonants. To this then the rules on the concurrence of vowels §. 52 ff. especially apply, from which it is clear that:

a) ו always coalesces with a preceding u into û, and י with an i into î, without any possible exception. So that even a י as appoggiatural consonant at the beginning of a word, if a prefix with *i* is put before it, necessarily coalesces with this *i*, as יְדֵי : בִּידֵי, יָמִין : מִימִין, and even after the copula וְ *î* contrary to §. 90 prevails here because this vowel sound already exists there, ready to attach itself to any possible consonant, as וִידֵי, וִימִין.

b) ĭ before ו and ŭ before י endeavour mutually to attract each other in order to coalesce, according as the first or second sound is the more important, as the principles of formation teach us, as הוּנַק *hûnaq* from *hŭinaq*, where the *u* is the more important. An *i* merely shortened down out of a-e may return before ו י to its primitive sound, as נוֹלַד *nôlad* for *nivlad* = *navlad*.

c) *a* before ו becomes ô, before י ê, v. §. 54. If ו י are primitively diphthongal then they resist resolution (§. 96): a however before י has been sometimes resolved into *e*, as in שֶׂה, פֶּה according to §. 222 for *saï*, *paï*.

It is also possible, though rare, for the semivowel to be elided for the distinctness of the form, as in the case יֵלֵד *jêled* for יִוְלֵד where ו is elided after *i* which is in this place an important sonnd for the form, but the short *i* has not only become at once *long* in a simple syllable, therefore *ê* according to §. 48, but also in compensation immutably long.

96 ו י accordingly remain unresolved at the end of a syllable only in the following cases: 1) if ו י after *a* are originally diphthongs and consequently of stronger sound, as קַו, יָמַי, v. §. 54; cf. however §. 95, *c.* — 2) in the middle of a syllable of three sounds with *a* after the first consonant, in forms therefore like מֶלֶךְ §. 45; for in this case the short auxiliary vowel easily intrudes according to the firm nature of these forms, before the last consonant, whereby therefore ו י are made consonants, as מָוֶת *mávet*, בַּיִת *bájit*, in which the kindred *i* as being already represented by the י is sounded instead of the auxiliary *e;* in many words however there is resolution, as שׁוֹק, לֵיל. Where the auxiliary vowel has fallen away on account of א as last consonant (§. 85) the rest of the vocalization generally remains, as שָׁוְא, גַּיְא; the generally softer *aï* however is sometimes even here resolved, גֵּיא *gé.* The forms קָו beside קַו, מָוֶת, שָׁוְא cf. §. 54 show that *a* in order to resist coalescence so much the more, has a tendency to be lengthened before ו when it becomes a consonant. — 3) in the final syllable after every *immutably long* and *discordant* vowel, as גֵּו, בְּלִיו, כְּתַבְתִּיו, גָּלוּי; to which also belongs the suffix ָיו *âv* from ai-u, as from the compression of the two exterior sounds of this group the *i* in the middle is absorbed in the *u* after it without the primitive diphthong coalescing entirely with the following vowel [1]).

1) Besides this, ו remains as consonant after a discordant vowel in the ancient root שָׁלֵו, שָׁלֵו to *rest*, concerning which v. §. 222.

From all this it is clear that י ו are easily elided, on occasions, by sharper sounds in their neighbourhood, although it is rare. Where it happens, if the following vowel elides them, no trace of them remains, but if the elision procedes from the syllable before, its vowel becomes long, and thus retains the trace of the vowel sound which has been elided, cf. above מְדָנִים and for the latter on the contrary יֵלֵד, וַתֵּתַצַּב. — It is by a peculiar, rare kind of elision that י disappears after a strong inserted â and before the vowel of a postfixed syllable, viz. in the plural forms צְבָאוֹת, גְּדָאִים from צְבִי, גְּדִי for צְבָיוֹת §. 382. 97

Concerning another of their weaknesses v. §. 114.

3) י ו can by no means be sounded as semivowels when they stand at the end of a trilitteral syllable; then they must necessarily be pronounced as vowels *i*, *u* because they have no support there. Indeed י, which is much more frequent here, attracts the tone of the syllable so strongly to its *i*, that the vowel sound of the first consonant entirely disappears, as שְׁבִי (as to mere form = יֶלֶד, יָלַד, יֵלֵד) שְׁבִי *sh'bí* פְּרִי, נְהִי, and only the o-sound before, according to §. 58 does not easily suffer itself to be entirely expelled, as דָּמִי *d°mí;* while ו as vowel remains toneless and leaves the vowel of the syllable before it, as יִשְׁתַּחוּ *jishtáchu*, בֹּהוּ *bóhu*, קָצוּ *qáßu*. On the other hand, as soon as ever a vowel becomes audible after such a י ו, they become semivowels, according to §. 55, as פִּרְיוֹ, יִהְיֶה, יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, קְצָוֹת. 98

2. Among the usually so called *liquids* ן ם ל ר, the open, or palato-nasal sound ן *n* is the weakest and most liquid, while the shut or labio-nasal ם *m* is much firmer and nearer the third class of consonants; at least so are they distinguished when with vowels: but either nasal, when closely attached to a *mute*, most naturally accommodates itself to its sound, and if necessary is changed. 99

The lingual ל *l* is the most liquid and soft after *n*. The rattling, rushing ר *r*, which is rolled out from the throat and posterior part of the tongue, must border on *l*, but be rougher and harder, especially in Hebrew; hence it participates of many peculiarities of the gutturals, viz. *r* loves 1) *a* according to §. 76 ff., so that it causes a discordant short vowel at the end of a word to be expelled by *a*, as וַיָּסֵר *vajjáser*, וַיָּסֹר *vajjásor*, וַיִּרְא *vajjir* are changed into וַיָּסַר, וַיַּרְא; and before the tone takes *ĕ* or even *ă* instead of *ĭ*, as מֶרְכָּב; מַרְכָּבִים. — 2) r like the gutturals, is incapable of sharp reduplication, concerning which see farther §. 124.

3. Finally, the firmest are the sibilants, which approach near to the T-sounds, formed by a propulsion of the breath against the tip of the tongue, which hardly touches the teeth 100

and anterior palate. The simple sibilant has three gradations in Hebrew, which perfectly correspond to the T-sounds §. 101, the usual hissing sound ס *s* answering to the *t*; the softer sibilant ז *z*, pronounced with the lip of the tongue bent backwards, answering to *d*; and the strongest and sharpest ץ *ß* like the german *heiße*, corresponding to the aspirated ט *th*. But the usual sibilant *s*, if the back of the tongue recieves the air also, becomes the broad, obscure *sh*, which, like ס *s*, only corresponds to the nearest among the T-sounds, the *t*.

101 III. The firmest consonants are produced by a harder or softer *pressure* of one organ on another, by which the breath is for a short time entirely interrupted in order to be propelled stronger, more condensed from some point. Their sound is short, abrupt and hard, although in different degrees. They are therefore farthest removed from the vowels (hence called *mutae ἄφωνα*), form the firmest, most unchangeable basis of the sounds, and are least exposed to peculiarities and weaknesses. The chief distinction between them is produced by the three organs by which they are formed: K being palatal, T dental and P labial. But in every one of these chief sounds another softer or harder sound is again distinguished; the hard one is the shortest, most abrupt, the soft one is looser, more prolonged; thus ג *g* soft, ך *k* hard; ד *d* soft, ת *t* hard; ב *b* soft, פ *p* hard; these six are the *simple mutes*. We also find in either of the first two classes another more peculiar, hardest sound, produced by the strongest pressure and with an aspiration added and therefore broader and longer than those six, viz. ק *q*, among the palatal sounds, most like the rough aspirates ח ע, and among the linguals, ט *t'* or *th* just as deeply formed and pronounced with a grating of the epiglottis, to which the strongest sibilant ץ *ß* corresponds.

102 Such rough aspirated mutes are peculiar to many ancient languages; the corresponding sounds in Sanscrit are *kh*, *th*, *ph*. But in the progressive development of language, such sounds always become softer, hence also ק ט in Hebrew were perhaps not always accurately distinguished in later times from *k*, *t*. The Romans retained q before the obscure *u*, but ק is represented by κ in Greek and hence often ך by χ, as כְּתֹן χιτών, *tunica*. ט was unknown to the Romans: the Greeks have used their ϑ for it which undoubtedly is not very far from it [1]); but the LXX for the most part express it by simple τ which corresponds originally with ת.

1) It corresponds to the *dh*, or the aspirated *d* in Sanscrit.

103 Those six mutes ב ג ד כ פ ת latterly acquired a softer, aspirated pronunciation; *b'* or *bh* (almost like *v*) *gh*, *dh*, *ch*, *f*, *th* (lisping as in English), while the ancient hard as-

pirates ט ק descend more and more to the simple hard k t. This only takes place according to the nicer distinction, if a full or a fleeting vowel precedes, which favours the softer aspirated pronunciation [1]), as כָּתַב *kathabh* כָּתְבָה *kath'bhá*, on the contrary מִכְתָּב *mikhtabh*, cf. §. 173; however the LXX almost always put ϑ for ת, and often χ for כ without this distinction.

1) As in Sanscrit ta-daham for *tat aham.*

COMMUTATION OF CONSONANTS.

Since all consonants only differ in degree, a sound can easily be commuted for another bordering on it. Thus especially in Hebrew where there is so little firmness, a frequent and important commutation of consonants takes place, by which the same word often becomes very different, as צָפַן, טָמַן, כָּפַן *to conceal;* often too one intermediate member of the commutation is wanting, as טָבַח (דָּבַח) זָבַח. All commutation however of this kind arises from three sources: 104

1. *historically*, according to the historical progressive modification of the sounds, dependant on their nature and on the influence of the human organs on language. The general process of modification is, that the harder, rougher sounds become more and more exhanged for the softer, weaker ones, and indeed more or less in all classes of sounds; such changes began first in isolated words or particles, but then extended gradually farther. In any one language of the family however, a more or less general reaction may take place, by which the harder sounds again become predominant. In Hebrew, softening is indeed very frequent, especially in some classes, but on the whole rather beginning and scattered, and even uncertain and alternating, while in Aramaic and Arabic, every thing is more regular. Here and there too there are examples of reaction, as in Aramaic, and the language in the later periods, and in the poets, follows in most respects the usage of Aramaic. The following is a particular statement: 105

1) The T-sounds are easily changed into the S-sounds, since they are nearly connected, and in this change, the distinction of each individual T-sound is preserved in the S-sounds also, as ת into ס, or obscurer into שׁ, ד into ז, ט into צ. Some changes of this sort are of primitive antiquity in Hebrew and constant, as the pronoun זֶה *ze*, aramaic *di*, related with the German *da*, Greek το (Latin *tu*, *hu*), in which the T-sound is undoubtedly primitive; others are only just arising, as פָּתַר (to *loose*, interpret) a later form like the Aramaic פְּשַׁר Koh. 8, 1. A strong reaction however, has again taken place in Aramaic and the T-sounds again predominate [1]); this same reaction gradually invades Hebrew, partly irregularly, especially in the poets and late writers, as חָרַת = חָרַשׁ (χαράσσω = χαράττω) Ex. 32, 16, בְּרוֹת (fir) Cant. 1, 17 = בְּרוֹשׁ; partly more frequently, as בָּטַר often, with the still more frequent בָּצַר (*tueri*), דָּעַךְ oftener than זָעַךְ (to be *extinguished*). 106

1) This is sufficiently proved by cases like ܕܬܐ for דִּשְׁאָ.

Moreover, T may by means of S be changed even into the mere aspirate *h*, as the pronoun *ta* — (*sa*, Sanscrit) — *ó* in some instances, as *vice versâ* an aspirate may become hardened into s, t though not so often. The aspirate is seldom so hardened at the beginning of a word (§. 238); the change of a nonradical aspirate into t in grammatical flexion is more frequent and in certain cases necessary in the formation §. 365.

It is something similar when the hardest sibilant ץ is changed into the harder ע, which occurs frequently in Aramaic, in Hebrew seldom, as עוק (to be narrow) Am. 2, 13. נָתַע (to strike out) Iob 4, 10. רָעָה (to take delight in), רעע (to break in pieces), compared with צוּק, נתץ, רצה, רעץ [2]).

2) Forms like יַרְחָע (proper name) 1 Chro. 2, 34. chald. חלע, חמע, עלע, which violate the rules of the formation of roots §. 226, prove that that ע is not primitive here.

107 The stronger sibilants change repeatedly into the softer ones, viz. ץ into ז, as צעק (to cry), עָלַץ (to exult), צָעַר (to be little) into זָעַק (very rare in the Pentateuch), עָלַז, זָעַר (very rare) and ץ and שׂ into ס (שׂ), as צחק, עלץ, and צָפַן, into שׂחק (not in the Pentateuch), עלס, ספן or שׂפן (rare and poetical), שִׁרְיוֹן (coat of mail) and סִרְיוֹן only Jer. 46, 4. 51, 3. בּוֹשׂס (to act basely) Am. 5, 11 for בּוֹשׁשׁ; cf. §. 170 on שׂ.

The liquids ר ן ם ל are more irregular in their softening, so that ר as being harder and rougher not unfrequently, in the later periods of the language, is changed into ל, as אַלְמְנוֹת (of doubtful etymology) Is. 13, 22, הִצְהִיל (to make bright) Ps. 104, 15, for ארמ', הצהיר; ל on the other hand sometimes into the softer ן, as לִשְׁכָּה and נִשְׁכָּה (cell), פְּסַנְתֵּרִין Dan. 3, 5. 10, 15 (with ט only v. 7) for ψαλτήριον. ם is changed into the weaker ן, but seldom at the beginning of words and in the root, as נוּט (to tremble) Ps. 99, 1 = מוּט, מוּר, שָׂטַם and שָׂטַן (to persecute), frequently as the end of formative syllables, v. §. 360, 2. On the contrary בָּחַה Is. 48, 10 = בָּחַן (to try) is a later and Aramaic change.

On the change of ן into ר v. §. 88. 93.

108 3) The harder gutturals are gradually softened, especially ע into א, as פִּתְאֹם (in a moment) from פֶּתַע (a moment), תָּאַב (to abominate) Am. 6, 8. גָּאַל (to defile) Mal. 1, 7 for תעב, געל.

109 2. Other commutations, which belong to the oldest period of the language, are most intimately connected with the formation and meaning of the roots. There is a manifold variation of the sounds observable in the most ancient period, as the root takes this or that modification, has the same sound as its basis, but changes it into many different shades and varities; cf. above §. 14. It is seldom however that such permanent changes are without an important difference of meaning, as נָתַץ, נָתַשׁ, seldom נָתַס *to destroy*, נָשַׁב, נָשַׁם, נָשַׁף *to blow*, קָשָׁה and קָשַׁח (to be hard); there is usually a clear, definite dictinction of meaning connected with it, and we may also remark that the derived, remote, more

limited sense has usually the softer sound, as סָגַר *to shut up* סָכַר rather *to stop up;* טָבַח *to slanghter* זָבַח *to sacrifice;* נָתַךְ *to pour,* נָסַךְ rather used of casting metal, or of libation; נָאָה *to be beautiful,* רָאָה *to be suitable.* Such commutations are the greatest and most unlimited.

3. Finally there are many purely casual changes produced by the near affinity of the sounds, partly within the language itself, especially in isolated foreign words, and partly according to the difference of dialects, which may perhaps concur again in one language. 110

The following are some special instances of this and the former kind: 1) the firmer palatal, lingual and labial sounds are sometimes changed for their softer, aspirated representatives, as תָּעָה (to wander) hebr. for טְעָה aram. only Ez. 13, 10; פָּזַר (to scatter) hebr., בְּזַר aram. only in Daniel. These sounds however are very seldom changed into those of a different organ, as the pron. *atta* (thou) from the oldest time forms, as suffix, *ka* (§. 305), cf. *κοίρανος* and *τύραννος*. — 2) Among the softer sounds r—l, n—l are most easily commuted; נאה and ראה are only commuted in the root. — 3) The guttural and palatal sounds עחגכקי, as יָשַׁר and כָּשֵׁר (to be straight); עָטַר and כָּתַר (to surround). — 4) L seldom with the T-sounds as being linguals like L, as קַלַּחַת (kettle) Mich. 3, 3 from קדח; פּוּל (proper name) probably = פּוּט, in the root עָטַף and עָלַף (to be dark), cf. also זבד and זבל Gen. 30, 20. — 5) The labials easily, especially at the beginning of a syllable, as דִּיבוֹן and דִּימוֹן (proper name) Is. 15, 2. 9. פָּלַט and מָלַט (to escape); but מְפַלֵּט always; גַּף, גַּב, גֵּו (back).

C. SOUNDS OF A WHOLE WORD.

The nature of the sounds and the general euphony of the language are first shown in perfection when the sounds of a word are pronounced in connexion. There are therefore many general rules concerning this, which are yet to be collected. 111

1. *At the beginning of a word,* in the first sound and first syllable, the voice is most hurried and rapid. All kinds of affixes to the root are therefore most rapidly pronounced, and the *h* of affix syllables is most easily changed into the simplest aspirate §. 238 etc. Very weak sounds also, which are entirely unconnected are also gradually lost before the stronger syllable, although this is rare and only evident in the following cases: *a*) the א without a firm vowel in the pron. נַחְנוּ (we) seldom for אֲנַחְנוּ. — *b*) seldom also י and נ without firm vowel in isolated substantives, which can also be explained from §. 223. 225, as בּוּל (produce) for יְבוּל, שִׂיא (elevation, greatness) Iob 20, 6 for נְשִׂיא [1]).

1) This so called *aphaeresis* is generally extended too far and admitted without ground.

On the other hand, the word is inclined to begin soft, with vowels, if the first consonant easily admits such softening. Thus the short *e* is sometimes assumed in Hebrew, if the first consonant is without a vowel 112

(§. 26), especially with *sibilants*, which are strongly disposed to it, seldomer with liquids and mutes, but always only in isolated substantives, or adverbs, as צְעָדָה and אֶצְעָדָה, צְרוֹעַ, and more rarely אֶצְרוֹעַ (arm), always in אֶצְבַּע (finger) and אֶשְׁכֹּל (cluster); moreover always in אַרְבַּע (four, the guttural ר seems to be the cause of *a* for *e*), and אֶתְמֹל (yesterday) with תְּמוֹל Iob 8, 9. — This also takes place still more rarely, before a consonant disposed to it, with a firm vowel following, as זִקִּים and אֲזִקִּים (chains) Jer. 40, 1.

113 2. When two different consonants clash immediately with each other at the end of a preceding close shut syllable, or in the final syllable with two final consonants §. 29, one sound is easily changed into the other more important one; and the softer, more attrited the language becomes, the more does this encrease. Accordingly, either the first sound may be changed into the second, or assimilate it, which is the most frequent case, or the second into the first.

1) According to the rule, only a soft weak consonant can be assimilated by the second; the second consonant therefore must be a firm sound, a mute, or a sibilant, and it is only seldom that the language goes farther in its aim at uniformity in the formation. Thus ן is most easily nnd frequently thus resolved, as יִגַּשׁ *jiggash* for *jingash*, נָתַתָּ *natatta* for *natanta*, תֵּת *tet* for *tent*; much seldomer ל, as יִקַּח *jiqqach* for *jilqach*; it is also possible for an aspirate, or semivowel, to be so lost, that is at the beginning of a word, where there is a tendency to hurry over such sounds; but it is very rare, as מַכֹּלֶת (food) 1 Kgs. 5, 25, for מַאֲכֹלֶת, is the only example of א; concerning י ו in the root, where other influences at the same time affect them, cf. §. 223 ff. ת as a firm consonant is, in an affix syllable only, sometimes assimilated with the radical sound §. 242.

That the language continued to go farther in such contractions in its later periods, is proved by the name of the town כַּלְנֵה Gen. 10, 10 compared with כַּנֵּה Ez. 27, 25.

For some rare instances of *n* bounding off before *t* v. §. 175.

114 There is also a mode of facilitating the pronunciation in such cases of concurrent sounds, by which, just as the concurrence of a hard T-sound is avoided before an S-sound in the root (§. 226), in the same manner, in the formation, a T at the end of a syllable followed by an S changes places with it, because it is easier to pronounce ST than TS; and the T-sound must then always accommodate itself to the accompanying sibilant; therefore according to §. 100 f. הִסְתּוֹלֵל, הִשְׁתַּמֵּר, הִצְטַדֵּק for הִתְס, הִתְשׁ, הִתְצ. Only in הִתְשׁוֹטֵט Jer. 49, 3 has the transposition been avoided, the rather, be-

cause otherwise there would be too great a concurrence of T-sounds.

2) The second, weaker sound in assimilated by the preceding firmer one, in the termination ַתְהוּ *át-hu*, in which the aspirate is in fact harder to pronounce, which is often changed into ַתּוּ *áttu*, and in אַתְהָ *át-ha*, which on account of the affinity of the vowel *a* is regularly changed into ַתָּה *átta*, v. §. 305. 115

When the same consonants come together without a long vowel to separate them, they endeavour to unite in a single double sound; for the recurrence of the same consonants has something disagreeable in it, and never happens at the beginning of roots (§. 226) and is only possible, at the beginning of words, in external affix syllables, as תְּתַכֵּן; but afterwards is always if possible avoided. It is however only possible for them to unite, when there is not an immutable long vowel either between [1]), or before the two sounds, which keeps them apart and hinders their union; it is still less possible for them to be united, if the first of these consonants is in itself double, since its vowel is then as firmly supported as if it was long, as הִלֵּל; the contraction is also more difficult, if the postfixes are not closely attached [2]). If the first of these sounds is without a distinct vowel, the union remains without further consequences, as נַתְנָהוּ is simply changed into נַתָּהוּ §. 297; but if it has a distinct vowel, the vowel is first displaced by the union, but presses forward and returns again before the double sound, as רָבַב *rabob* (the *a* of the first syllable is not essential §. 37) רֹב *rob* (for *robb* §. 118). 116

1) The preceding vowel, however, may be more easily shortened in this effort at contraction; thus in a word in which too many similar sounds come together in an extraordinary manner, וַיְכֻנֶּנּוּ Iob 31, 15 for וַיְכוֹנְנֵנוּ §. 47. A parallel instance is וַתְּמוּגֵנוּ Is. 64, 6 for וַתְּמֹגְגֵנוּ, where the obscure, heavy *u* has opposed the audible reduplication of the hard consonant. — But these are perhaps the only examples, and according to §. 296 f. וַ is not without influence on this shortening.

2) Hence always before suffixes, as יְבָרֶכְךָ without union.

A very kindred consonant, however, is only resolved into the following one, when they come in actual contact §. 113, and even then, very seldom with a radical letter, as אַחַת for אַחַדְתְּ §. 4\5; oftener and almost regularly with ת of the affix syllable הִתְ §. 243, as הִדַּמָּה, הִטַּהֵר for הִתְדַּמָּה; at the same time we find הִתְדַּפֵּק Jdgs. 19, 22. 117

118 On whatever cause the reduplication of a consonant may depend, still a peculiar and appropriate condition of the sounds themselves is necessary to render the reduplication audible. It is most audible between two distinct vowels, and firm consonants are more capable of distinct reduplication than weak or liquid ones, the unaspirated ones than the aspirated. Hence there are gradations according to which reduplication becomes gradually less audible and distinct:

1) Reduplication is not distinctly audible at the end of a word without a vowel; to which is to be added, that the final vowel, according to §. 33, must assume the longer tonic pronunciation, which removes all trace of audible reduplication, cf. מְסִבּוֹת : מֵסַב ; גַּלִּים : גַּל ; וַיְצַו : יְצַוֶּה.

119 2) If the consonant to be doubled begins the following syllable as *appoggiatural* consonant, and consequently *without a distinct vowel*, it is more difficult to hear the reduplication distinctly and it gradually disappears, without altering the pronunciation of the word in other respects [1]). This however does not affect all sounds equally: most easily the soft, liquid sounds which are so easily extended, especially ל י ו ן; with the firmer sounds it decreases by degrees. Reduplication is also more easily lost in words and formations of very frequent use, just as when the same consonant occurs twice following (§. 116). Thus וַיְהִי, עִוְרִים, הִנְנִי (*behold me*) (but not in הִנְּכֶם), הַלְלוּ (*praise ye*); with the מ of participles, as הַמְבַקֵּשׁ (*the seeker*); not so often with sibilants, as נְגַשְׁשָׁה Is. 59, 10. יִשְׂאוּ (*they raise*), כִּסְאוֹ (*his throne*), הַצְפַרְדְּ׳ for הַצְּ׳ Ex. 7, 29; often too with the aspirated ק, as מַקְלִי (*my staff*) מְבַקְשִׁים (*seekers*) נְבַקְשֶׁנּוּ Cant. 6, 1; very seldom with ט, as תְּטַעִי Is. 17, 10 in some editt.

1) So that the short vowel before, and the fragmentary vowel after, both remain. See some rare exceptions to the latter, in which the short vowel takes the following consonant entirely to its own syllable §. 122. The short vowel appears too to beome long sometimes in a perfectly simple syllable, if the two exanples יְחָלְקֵם 1 Chr. 23, 6. תְּרָצְחוּ Ps. 62, 4 are correct as to the reading; cf. the var. lectt.

120 3) The gutturals א ה ע ח are absolutely incapable of audible reduplication §. 81. The influence if their reduplication, however, may be more or less sensible in two degrees: 1) the vowel going before may remain short and sharp, as it was, and be pronounced *on* the guttural without actually doubling it (this may be called *weak* reduplication); or 2) even this trace of audible reduplication may disappear, so that the vowel before becomes separated and long, in a simple syllable, so that ă, ĭ, ŭ according to §. 48 are changed into â, ê,

ŏ, e. g. מַאֵן, מְאֵן, מֵאֵן into מָאֵן, מֵאֵן, מֹאֵן. The complete separation of the syllable, however, produced by the second method, does not take place if the guttural becomes the final consonant by apocopation; for then, as that consonant is in itself incapable of reduplication (§. 118), the prolongation of the vowel may also not take place, cf. תִּתְרַע from תִּתְרָעֶה Prov. 22, 24, תְּעַר from תְּעָרֶה Ps. 141, 8 compared with תִּתְגָּרֶה תִּתְגָּר Dt. 2, 9.

This distinction follows certain principles, in general, even though the transition from the first to the second mode be only gradual: 1) the *harder* gutturals recieve most easily weak reduplication, ח regularly, ה frequently, ע not so often, א most rarely. To this must be added 2) that weak reduplication is only inclined to remain where reduplication is essential to a word §. 231. 328. etc., with external affixes it regularly, disappears entirely and without distinction of the guttural, as יְעָזֵב §. 277, and only very rarely then does the short vowel before ח remain.

If, in an instance of weak reduplication, a short *a* 121
would be to be pronounced before a guttural with â, then é is always used for it, as הֶחָכָם, לֶהָבָה for הַחָכָם, לַהָבָה. The soft e appears to have been easier to the language than *a*, before so sharp a concurrence of a guttural end a long â, since the A-sound generally is inclined to change into E §. 45. The same change takes place before a guttural with a fleeting ŏ 1), as הֶחֳדָשִׁים; in this case too ă descends to ĕ, but it is to keep the following fleeting ĭ more easily separate, since áo— would be easily changed into áa—.

1) Chatef-Qamess. v. §. 168.

The short vowel keeps itself, according to rule, separate from the 122
following vowel; yet some cases with the hard ח occur in which the short vowel has drawn over the following guttural entirely to its own syllable, so that יֵחַמְנָה becomes יֶחֱמְנָה Gen. 30, 39. 41. Jdgs 5, 28, הִתְיַחֲשָׂם becomes הִתְיַחְשָׂם. The same happens rarely in the cases mentioned in §. 119 *note*, in which the reduplication has entirely disappeared without trace; the only examples however of it are כִּסְאֲךָ from the word כִּסֵּא (throne) of doubtful etymology, and in רִידְּךָ for רִירְדְּךָ §. 119.

The too frequent concurrence of gutturals is avoided (as in the root 123
§. 226), in varions ways; in הֶחֳדַלְתִּי (*have I caused to cease?* Jdgs. 9, 9. 11. 14) for 'הַהֶחֱד the middle one is expelled, but 'הַחֲד has not remained which would be indistinct, but the second *ă* has been changed into ŏ 'הֶחֳד *hĕ-cho*, to separate the interrogative more distinctly. Another instance הַאֲחֵיכֶם is explained §. 443.

ר, which, according to §. 99, excedingly rarely permits 124
reduplication 1) removes at once all trace of reduplication and always lengthens the preceding vowel 2), as בָּרֵךְ, בֵּרַךְ, בֹּרַךְ for בִּרֵּךְ, בִּרַּךְ, בֻּרַּךְ.

1) Viz. ŏ remains sometimes in rare nominal forms, as מָרָה *morra,*

שָׁרְּךָ *schorrek* (thy navel) Prov. 3, 8. 14, 10 which has been once imitated in a verb כָּרַּת Ez. 16, 4 for the sake of the assonance; besides there, only שֶׁרֹּאשִׁי Cant. 5, 2 according to §. 479, and another peculiar instance §. 129.

2) Only Gen. 14, 10 הֶרָה according to §. 121 for הָרָה from הַר, which however may be explained by §. 420.

125 It is also possible for the reduplication of any consonant to become gradually difficult to the language, by the too great protraction and lengthening of the vowel before. This especially happens in awkward, unpolished languages, in which the light and sharp distinctness of the vowel disappears, as is always the case in Syriac. In Hebrew, this is still rare, expecially in the earlier period, in which it only occurs in proper names and a few isolated substantives; in general too only with *i*, *u*, which as sharp and heavy vowels are more easily lengthened, as קִימוֹשׁ for קִמּוֹשׁ (a weed), מוֹרִיגִים (threshing-sledge) 1 Chro. 21, 23 מוֹרִגִּים 2 Sam. 24, 22; יוּקָשִׁים Koh. 9, 12 according to §. 351, participle for יֻקָּשִׁים. — It is also possible for a liquid, an *r*, on *l*, to intrude into the syllable thus becoming resolved, especially after *a* which is not so easily lengthened, but this is more rare and impure, as in tho proper name דַּרְמֶשֶׂק according to late pronunciation 1 Chr. 18, 5. 6 for דַּמֶּשֶׂק (Damascus) 2 Sam. 8, 6.

126 3. *At the end of a word*, where the influence of the tone shortens and flattens, a final *m* is easily changed into *n* §. 360; and a nasal sound is also easily entirely lost after the vowel, as מְגִדּוֹ (name of a town) for מְגִדּוֹן §. 341. Other examples of the kind see §. 222.

127 With regard to the vocalization of a word, the vowel of a syllable, in languages more rich in vowels, often accommodates itself to the more important one of a neighbouring syllable. But in Hebrew, because it is generally poorer in vowels, there are very few examples of this change. The form מֶלֶךְ, in which the original *a* is, according to §. 45, regularly changed into *e* before the auxiliary *e*, offers a regular and frequent example of it, and the original monosyllabic nature of the word is much better preserved with the redoubled *e*, than it would be with different sounds; hence where the latter *e* is wanting the first also disappears, cf. בַּיִת §. 51, (פַּחַת §. 78 proves nothing against this) and *vice versâ* the second *e* must be changed into a if the first is, פַּעַם §. 79. Rarer instances are וְצַעֲקִי Jer. 22, 20, לֻקֳחָה Gen. 2, 23, where the fleeting *o* instead of a mere fragmentary vowel, merely depends on the heavy *u* in its neighbourhood, §. 169. Gram. Arab. I. p. 86.

128 With regard to the *transposition* of the sounds of a word, the case is the same as with the more frequent commutation §. 104 ff. It is for the most part derived from the earliest period of the language, without the language in its present form being conscious of it, as e. g. ברד (hail) and פזר (to scatter) are originally the same words. Further, the frequent occurence of a vowel at the beginning or end of a root §. 216 ff. depends on a particular cause. Other transpositions may be explained on the ground of facilitating the pronunciation, as כֶּבֶשׂ and כֶּשֶׂב (lamb)

since the liquids stand more easily before the Mutes than *vice versâ*. The liquids in general, and especially *r*, most easily change their places.

III. CHANGES OF SOUND IN A PROPOSITION. PAUSE.

Two kinds of changes of sounds arise from the connexion 129
of words in a proposition. First, on account of the close *conjunction* [1]) of two words, by which a *monosyllabic* word or at least a word with the accent on the first syllable (§. 34) becomes attached to another more independent word. This conjunction consists in the vowel which ends the word becoming shorter, by its shortness doubling the first consonant of the next word, and being so drawn over to it that they are pronounced together. Only *a* however, or the kindred *e* (§. 45) are most easily thus carried over; it is much rarer with the sharper and heavier vowels. There is a difference too according to the words: 1) the particle מָה *what?* (but not מִי *who?* though in other respects so like it) which, on account of its interrogative power, may be pronounced so rapidly and close on the following word, that its *a* becomes quite short, and the first consonant of the following word is doubled, as מַה־זֹּאת, מַה פִּשְׁעִי Gen. 31, 36; hence too in the ancient writing מה was sometimes joined on to the following word, especially if it was a short one, as מַזֶּה, מַלָּכֶם Ex. 4, 2. Js. 3, 15. Ez. 8, 6. Mal. 1, 13. — 2) a monosyllabic word is easily attached to a preceding one, and usually in such a manner that the final vowel of the unaccented final syllable is not shortened before the reduplication, and the reduplication is therefore only weakly audible, as עָלִ֫יתָ שָּׁם almost *'alitashshâm*, הָשְׁלְמָה־לָּךְ Job. 5, 23. יִרְאֶה־לּוֹ 6, 5. 8, 11. תֵּלַכְנָה מַּיִם, אַרְצָה כְּנַעַן [2]); very seldom with the vowels *u*, *i*, as קוּמוּ צְּאוּ (two imperatives, which are disposed to a rapid pronunciation) Gen. 19, 14. Ps. 94, 12. 118, 5. 18 (where *u*, *i-j* coalesce according to §. 53). The particle נָא (*quaeso!*) is more closely attached, and its ן is doubled even when the last syllable is accented, as לְךָ־נָּא Nu. 23, 13. 22, 17. Gen. 24, 42. and even with a complete shortening of *ê* into *ĕ* הִנֶּה־נָּא Gen. 19, 2. [3]) — With the liquids, which are most easily and frequently thus doubled, and especially with ל, reduplication occurs, although rarely, after accented syllables also, as Gen. 19, 2. 1 Sam. 8, 19 and before a polysyllabic word Ex. 6, 29. Lev. 4, 1. Cf. §. 198.

1) With *Maqqef*, or the *accentus conjunctivi* §. 180 ff.

2) That Dagesh is not Dag. lene is clearly proved by אַרְצָה פַּרְעֹה Gen. 47, 14. 1 Rgs. 1, 18.

3) The Masoretes go still farther in resolving a final *ê*, *â* by reduplication of the following consonant, as אֶרְאֶלָּם for אֶרְאֶה לָם (I look upon them) Js. 33, 7. סַאסְּאָה for סְאָה סְאָה 27, 8: but in these instances from a wrong interpretation.

Much more important, however, are the changes of 130
sound produced by the *pause*, or division and close of the proposition. The pause in Hebrew does not influence the

voice only casually, as in more modern languages; but, as in many ancient languages, in which sound and form are more living [1]), according to general principles, which effect important changes in the sounds of forms. The principal influences which the pause exerts are the two following: first, a strong retention of the sound, opposed to the hurrying on of the unfinished proposition, and hence, where the form permits it, a *retraction* of the sound and support of it on firmer ground; and secondly, greater protraction and delay of the expiring sound; both these however can only affect the moveable part of a word and, consequently, can only influence the pronuntiation of the vowels, and of consonants, which approach near to vowels. In cases where this impulse of the language is not hindered by the form from expressing its influence clearly, pausal forms are distinguished from the usual forms; for the power of the pause cannot be distinctly expressed in all cases, as e. g. a monosyllabic word with a long vowel, as בָּם, גּוֹי, קוֹל cannot be rendered longer by the pause. And since, on account of the manifold diversity and perpetually advancing development of forms, this influence is very differently exerted, the distinctions of the pausal forms are very nice and can only be thoroughly understood by a knowledge of forms; here therefore a few general rules only can be given:

1) cf. *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 78. 373 f.

131 1. *Retraction* of the sound is only possible when the final syllable is either by origin, or by attrition, a weak, mutable one, not when it is firm and immoveable. This retraction takes place usually in this most easy manner: a vowelless consonant before the final syllable §. 26) assumes the tone and a vowel at the same time, as גָּדְלוּ *ga-d'lú:* גָּדֵ֫לוּ *gadélu.* Thus in the persons of verbs which end in vowels, the tone goes back to the primitive vowel before the last radical, which had fallen away in the flexion, as (גָּדֵל, כָּתַב) כָּתְבוּ, גָּדְלוּ : כָּתָ֫בוּ, גָּדֵ֫לוּ, (imper. I. עֲמֹד) עִמְדוּ : עֲמֹ֫דוּ Nah. 2, 9. (שָׁמַע) שָׁמְעוּ : שָׁמֵ֫עוּ; this is very seldom neglected, as Job. 17, 11. The cause why this is not applicable to the termination of nouns in general nor even of participles, is because their terminations have not become so weak as those of the persons of verbs. — 2) Since the *suffixes* §. 304 become gradually shorter, ךָ *'ká* is changed into ֶךָ *éka*, in such a manner, that as a new vowel thus arises, the nearest short vowel is assumed in pause, as לְבוּשְׁךָ, שִׁמְךָ : לְבוּשֶׁ֫ךָ, שְׁמֶ֫ךָ; moreover, the final a thus losing the tone is sometimes entirely thrown back, as הַשְׁמִדָ֫ךְ Dt. 28, 24, which is regularly the case with the particles בָּ֫ךְ, לָ֫ךְ, עִמָּ֫ךְ, אִתָּ֫ךְ, אוֹתָ֫ךְ (also אֹתָ֫כָה Ex. 29, 35 which occurs between אֹתְךָ and אֹתָ֫ךְ). — 3) Syllables of three sounds, which for special causes have thrown the vowel on the second consonant, assume again an accented vowel instead of the first, and most

naturally short *ĕ*; *o* only where the sound *o* is primitive, and *ê* (§. 46) only rarely for a primitive *i*; thus שֶׁכֶם Ps. 21, 13 for שְׁכֶם §. 319; of forms whose last sound is י according to §. 98, in the noun, as מֶרִי, עֱרִי, לֶחִי, חֱצִי 1 Kgs. 10, 7, צֳרִי, הֳלִי, עֳנִי from מְרִי, עֲדִי, לְחִי, חֲצִי, צְרִי, חֲלִי, עֳנִי, in the verb, as תֶּשִׁי, יֶחִי, יֶהִי; Dt. 32, 18 from יְהִי, יְחִי, תֶּשִׁי; the pronoun אֲנִי recieves a long accented *a*, אָנִי.

The tone is more rarely carried back to the preceding syllable if it is in itself already a full one: a) in the case וְשָׂבָעְתָּ Dt. 8, 10 for וְשָׂבַעְתָּ according to §. 298, where the tone on the last syllable is weak. — b) in the particles אָנֹכִי, אָתָּה, עָתָּה, which are, out of pause, אָנֹכִי, אַתָּה, עַתָּה. — c) very seldom does this affect persons of verbs farther, as כָּלוּ — כָּלוּ, where the same word is repeated, but the second time, on account of the stronger opposition, in a new pausal form Ps. 37, 20. 137, 7. cf. Idgs. 5, 12. 132

The longer, more protracted vocalization of the tonesylla- 133
ble in pause, is only longer in comparison to the usual one. The following is a statement: 1) for ă in the usual tonesyllable there always stands â in pause, כָּתָב : כָּתַב, וַיִּישָׁן : וַיִּישַׁן Gen. 2, 21. — 2) where *ĕ* = *ĭ* originally belongs to the word, it is often changed in pause into *ă*, according to §. 46 while it may, out of pause, remaining in its original sound, be at once changed into *ê*, since *ă* has a fuller sound than *e* merely lengthened to support the tone, as בַּז (booty) Js. 8, 1. הֵחַז (he has shortened) 18, 5, קָמַל (intransitive verbal stem) 60, 4, תְּרַמְּסֶנָּה 13, 16, 18. 28, 3 הֵשַׁב 42, 22 instead of which out of pause בַּז (not בֵּז), קָמֵל, הֵשֵׁב; this however only affects compound syllables (see the contrary קָמֵלָה), and in the most frequent formmations we always find *e* in pause, as כָּתֵב §. 253. On the other hand, *e* flattened from other sharper sounds always remains unaltered in pause, because it is already without the influence of the change of sounds, as אַתֶּם, כְּתַבְתֶּם, בָּבֶל, לְעֹלָם, וָעֶד, גָּלָה §. 51; so also the other very isolated cases of e in the final syllable, as אֱמֶת, בַּרְזֶל, from which we are to distinguish the e arising in pause from a mere fragmentary vowel, as in שֶׁכֶם, ךְ §. 132. *é* arising according to §. 45 from *a* may return in pause to the original *a*, as מָלֶךְ from מֶלֶךְ; however *e* remains sometimes even here, as דֶּרֶךְ and דָּרֶךְ, and always in certain words, as the adverbial קֶדֶם (*eastward*). On the other hand an original *ă* remains very seldom unchanged in pause, as in the adverb עַד (*always*). — 3) *ŏ* can remain in no tonesyllable according to §. 46, so that with ô as with î, û the pause can make no difference.

In apocopated verbalforms which end in two unaccented consonants §. 289 ff., the pause may be distinguished in a peculiar manner by a vowel which is accented, but in other respects as short as possible, *a*, or *ó* where *o* is the original sound, returning to the last consonant but one, as וַיֵּלַךְ, וַיִּגְמַל, תּוֹסַף, וַיָּקֹם for וַיֵּלֶךְ, וַיִּגְמֹל, תּוֹסֵף, וַיָּקָם. This is very regularly observed.

134 The pausal pronunciation may be still more lengthened, if the consonant after the accented penult in *doubled*, which is only possible after the lighter vowels (not after î, û etc.); and the liquids again are most easily prolonged by reduplication. Instances however are rare, as חָדֵ֑לּוּ Idgs. 5, 7. נָתָ֑נּוּ Ez. 27, 19. מֹרָ֑טָּה 21, 15 f. in which verbal forms the last radical is always doubled; only כ of the suffix ךָ— is more regularly doubled when attached to verbs or particles i. e. when loosely attached, as תּוֹדֶ֑ךָּ Is. 38, 18. אַיֶּ֑כָּה Gen. 3, 9. מִמֶּ֑ךָּ Iob. 26, 4.

On more rare and irregular effects of the pause, as the form יִקְרָ֑אֻנְנִי for יִקְרָאוּנִי §. 41 *c*, v. the theory of forms.

SECOND SECTION.

OF THE LETTERS.

1. EXTERNAL HISTORY.

135 According to all historical evidence, the Semitic alphabet, of which the Hebrew is an ancient branch, was not first used or made known by the Hebrews, nor probably by the Phoenicians (Luc. Phars. 3, 220), who have only the merit of having communicated this alphabet to the Greeks, and through them, to the other nations of Europe; but by the Aramaeans Plin. Nat. Hist. 7, 56. It must at any rate have been discovred by a Semitic people, because it is only perfectly adapted to the peculiarities of the Semitic languages, and the name, figure and use of every letter can only be explained from these languages.

The most ancient mode of writing was undoubtedly by pictures, which represented the object to the eye and, at the same time, recalled the name for it; and all alphabetical writing has proceeded from this. The inadequacy of such a mode must have been soon felt, since it could only represent objects cognizable to sight, could only imperfectly signifiy intellectual ideas, and was totally unable to express the *words* of a foreign language. The insufficiency of a picture-character was still more evident, when a language became developed and extended its monosyllabic roots by flexion and terminations for number, person, gender and case, and it was impossible to represent by signs the modifications of sound by which all those distinctions were expressed [1]).

1) It is perfectly in accordance with what is here stated that the Chinese language, which has no alphabetical character, but only a picture-character more or less faithfully a representation of objects, has at the same time never advanced in its development, but continues still utterly devoid of all flexion.

From picture-character has the Semitic alphabet also proceeded, but in such a manner, that the definite image of an object and at the same time a word, which had the sound to be expressed for its first sound, was fixed upon for each of the 22 firm sounds (consonants) into which all the words of the language may be resolved: e. g. with the figure of a camel ג its name also *gimel* would call to mind the sound *g*. Hence the signs of all the 22 sounds are originally signs of objects easily cognizable to the senses, and their *names* correspond to this origin. These names indeed have been very faithfully preserved by the Hebrews, but the signs have been for the most part very much altered and disguised, because in writing they retained the dead traces only from habit, without thinking of their meaning according to the intention of the first discoverers, and thus insensibly modified them.

Since the Hebrews recieved their alphabet from a Semitic people, it is perfectly adapted to the peculiarities of their language. It embraces just so many sounds as existed in the language of the early Semitic nations, as for instance, the gutturals, a class peculiar to them in their gradations; and though it wants signs for many sounds, which other languages have, yet it never has recourse to joining different letters to express a single sound (e. g. *ch*, *sh*), as other nations do, who have recieved from foreigners an alphabet not adapted to the sounds of their language.

A tradition of a fundamental alteration of the Hebrew alphabet has been preserved in the Talmud and Fathers, which must at any rate have some historical foundation. According to this tradition, the present character, which is found with unimportant variations in all Mss. of the old. Test., and was even in the time of Jerome (in the fourth and fifth century) the same as we now have it, was brought by Ezra from the Assyrian, i. e. according to the later confusion of names, the chaldaic exile, and hence it is called *assyrian* character כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִי. The earlier, ancient Hebrew character, on the other hand, is called כְּתָב עִבְרִי *Hebrew* character. 136

There is much inaccuracy it is true in this tradition, especially as to Ezra's having introduced this alteration of the character, since the Samaritan Pentateuch, which was introduced into Samaria from Jerusalem about the end of the 5th Cent. B. C., and the new coins of the Hasmonaeans, which were struck in the 2nd Century, afford sufficient evidence that the ancient character was still in use as late as the last century B. C. But Ezra is considered by the later Jews, in general, as the author of all additions and external alterations, which the text of the old Test., according to obscure tradition, has undergone. If all the other historical traces

contained in that ancient tradition are put together, perhaps the following connected view might be gathered from it:

137 The Semitic character, from the time that we have any certain knowledge of it, was divided into two very different branches. The *western* branch, which has become especially celebrated in the *Phoenician* character, was also the character of the Hebrews until the last century B. C., was retained by the Phoenicians still later, and by the Samaritans even to the present time [1]). Its alphabetical characters are antique, but stiff and heavy, angular and uneven, without proportion and beauty. The *eastern* branch, on the other hand, in Babylonia and the other countries on the Euphrates and Tigris (hence called by the later Jews, according to ancient custom, *assyrian*) became by frequent use much rounder, more regular, more ductile and beautiful, and was, even at an early period, gradually modified into *current* character. These distinguishing advantages procured it the supremacy in the course of time; it extended over all Syria and Arabia, and the Jews were so much the less able to resist its influence, because after the Babylonian exile, the northeastern or Aramaic language and litterature made deeper and deeper inroads upon them. This powerful influence, perhaps in the last century B. C. and first A. C. must have abolished, or rather, only renewed and modified the ancient character. Soon after, however, in the encrease of Jewish superstition and worship of the letters, it became consecrated in all copies of the old Test. and immutable, as it has been preserved through all centuries, without essential alterations, until the present time [2]).

1) Cf. Correspondance des Samaritains de Naplouse pub. par Silvestre de Sacy. Paris 1829.

2) Cf. Kopp *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*. T. 2, and among the earlier authors the Buxtorfs etc.

The present character, arising from this source, has, according to its peculiar development, preserved a great regularity and grand simplicity in the form of the letters, and hence it is called, in distinction to other alphabetical characters, כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע *scriptura quadrata.* All letters therefore are equal in size except the three יקל, among which י appears to have been early so shortened, cf. Math. 5, 18. Moreover all letters have either a broad stroke above, as it were a foundation stroke, as ב, ד, ר, ח, ו, or at least firm points of support, as ע, א, ז, צ, ת. In others where the stroke would descend too far, it has been bent inwards, as נ, כ, צ; not so however with ק compared with the corresponding Q. From these changes some letters too, whose figures were originally more unlike, have become more similar, and

therefore more liable to be exchanged, especially ר and ך which are often exchanged, and ה and ח.

This character shows some tendency to the connexion of letters, and capabilities for it, since many strokes are contracted, and some bent up on the line; in some Mss. too we find beginnings of connexion. General usage, however, resisted this incipient tendency, even from early times, so much the more, as the sanctity and dignity of this character appeared to require the antique separation and distinctness of single letters; for even the connexions of letters, which are possible, are forbidden in the Talmud. If this character had been already a connected character at the time it became a holy one, it would undoubtedly have remained so, as the Kufic character in the Koran.

This character has only very few figures for *final letters*. 138
In the progressive development of a character becoming more and more ductile, current and connected, there are always found peculiar figures for final letters. This is especially the case in the more common Semitic modes of writing, in which the words are not separated, in the manuscripts, with sufficient regularity and distinctness; for the involuntary object and intention of final letters is, beyond all doubt, to distinguish the end of the word and sentence, by an external sign also. But as this tendency of the mode of writing also was only gradually unfolded, according as any letter offered a more or less convenient occasion for its exercise, the extent of its influence depends at the same time on the peculiarities and history of each alphabetical character. Only five letters have been influenced by it in Hebrew: ן, ך, ץ, ף in which the stroke, which was bent upwards on the line, is prolonged straight downwards, thus representing the abruptness of the end, in distinction to their usual form; and ם which, being shut on all sides, marks the end of the word in a different manner [1]).

1) Very rarely is a usual letter found at the end of a word, as Iob 38, 1 (where, however, the particle מִן is, in the idea of the writer, a part of the following word) and *vice versâ* ם, not so unlike מ, in the middle Is. 9, 6 through mistake.

The alphabetical poëms in the old Test. (Ps. 25. 34. 37. 139
111. 112. 119. 145. Prov. 31, 10-33. Lam. 1-4), in which the same arrangement is always found, with only unimportant variations, are sufficient proof that the 22 letters were early brought into a definite order. It is not clear, however, upon what principle this arrangement is founded; it certainly is not founded on a scientific one, as only the liquids ל מ נ come together; many of the others appear to have been arranged with respect to the meaning of their names, and at a time when these meanings were still understood, as ז and ח (*weapon* and *travelling scrip*), י and כ (*hand* and *hollow hand*), מ and נ (*water* and *fish*), ע, פ, ק, ר and ש (*eye*,

4*

mouth, *ear*, *head* and *tooth*) are certainly not undesignedly arranged; but the Hebrews have only adopted this arrangment from some other Semitic people, as they have the names. The following is a table of their names and order; the letters, when formed into words, being read, according to Semitic custom, *from the right hand to the left:*

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו
אָלֶף	בֵּית	גִּמֶל	דָּלֶת	הֵא	וָו
'alef	*b*et	*g*imel	*d*alet	*h*e	*v*av
7.	**8.**	**9.**	**10.**	**11.**	**12.**
ז	ח	ט	י	ך ,כ	ל
זַיִן	חֵית	טֵית	יוֹד	כַּף	לָמֶד
*z*ain	*ch*et	*th*eth	*j*od	*k*af	*l*amed
13.	**14.**	**15.**	**16.**	**17.**	**18.**
ם ,מ	ן ,נ	ס	ע	ף ,פ	ץ ,צ
מֵים	נוּן	סָמֶךְ	עַיִן	פֵּא	צָדֵי
*m*em	*n*un	*s*amek	*gh*ain	*p*e	*ſs*ade
19.	**20.**	**21.**	**22.**		
ק	ר	שׁ שׂ	ת		
קוֹף	רֵישׁ	שִׁין שִׂין	תָּו		
*q*of	*r*esh	*sh*in *s*in	*t*av.		

The force of the letters has been more particularly treated cf. §. 67 ff. and 173; concerning *shin* and *sin* v. §. 170. To give a detailed explanation of the *names* of the letters is the business of Palaeography, inasmuch as the suitableness of many of the names is only to be recognised in the ancient figures; the following short explanation, however, may be still not unacceptable.

1. אָלֶף. The name means *bull*, and the figure of a bull's head with two horns is still plainer in the Aethiopic alphabet.

2. בֵּית. The name means *house;* the figure should properly be turned thus ∩, very like what it is in Chinese, and also in Aethiopic v. Kopp II. p. 93.

3. גִּמֶל. Properly *camel*, and the long neck may be still recognised in the present figure.

4. דָּלֶת. Since it properly means *door*, it should be of a long quadrangular form, and the Greek Δ still shows this figure abbridged, as also the ancient Hebrew alphabet. ד which is only half of the figure, arose from the endeavour to write more rapidly.

5. הֵא. It means something *deep*, a *hollow*, pit (cf. هُوَّةٌ, مَهْوًى) and the Phoenician figure (almost ⏀) most nearly answers to this,

from which ה arose, and by changing its posture, the Greek *E*. The Hebrews omitted the stroke on the left and then wrote ה.

6. וָו. The name means *hook*, to which the original, but rare, reverted figure J better corresponds. v. Kopp II. p. 92. 382.

7. זַיִן. It means *weapon*, *armour*, perhaps *shield*, from which latter meaning its figure is derived, which was originally H, as it yet is in Aethiopic, from which the Greek Z arose. But just as the Greek Ζῆτα was shortened into ζ, the Semitic figure in Phoenician became almost a straight stroke with a hook as the top, from which then ז arose.

8. חֵית. Its name means something *encompassing*; we may either suppose *a wall*, *or fence*, *or a travelling scrip* (ܚܝܬܐ חֵיתָא pera from حاط *to surround*). Its figure, as in ancient Hebrew, is properly H̄, a bundle with a thong in the middle. The upper and lower stroke, however, of this complicated figure was soon omitted, H, as in Greek and ancient Aramaic, from which gradually arose the still shorter ח.

9. טֵית. The name means *snake*, and in this letter the ancient figure has been very faithfully preserved.

10. יוֹד. Since the name certainly means *hand*, the ancient Hebrew, Phoenician and Samaritan figure with three strokes, is the most primitive; it was shortened in Aethiopic, in which however a bend at the top still remained, P; when that fell away the Greek I arose, and the new hebrew character is only a still shorter crooked stroke.

11. כַּף. Its meaning is *hollowed hand*, and the figure is still recognisable.

12. לָמֶד. The name is probably connected with מַלְמַד *oxgoad*, stimulus, κέντρον, (לָמַד is properly *to strike*, then in an intellectual sense, to urge one *to accustom himself* to some thing, *to learn* something, cf. terere, callere. The third Phoenician figure in Kopp II. p. 388 corresponds most to the name.

13. מֵם. The certain meaning *water* is a proof how much the ancient figure has been modified; perhaps the original figure was like the Chinese ≈ to represent the *waves*, and by uniting both strokes and straightening the last crooked one, the Phoenician and Samaritan figure in Kopp p. 389 arose, from which at length מ was formed by a shortening of the first stroke.

14. נוּן. According to its meaning, *fish*, its figure ought to be ♀ body and head; the circle at the top was omitted in Phoenician (as in ע) Kopp p. 390 from which the transition to נ ן is easy.

15. סָמֶךְ. The name is not easy to explain, but the Phoenician figure in Kopp p. 217. 391, which represents a prop supporting something, suggests thc idea that it comes from סָמַךְ *to support* (cf. مِسْمَاك) and means a pole, a prop to keep the tent up. The present He-

brew figure, in which however there should always be a crooked stroke at the top, was only so shortened at a very late period.

16. עַיִן. The name means *eye*, and the figure should properly be ○, to which the Greek O and Phoenician figure approach very nearly.

17. פֵּא. The name undoubtedly means *mouth*, to which the Phoenician and Palmyrene figures in Kopp p. 199. 393 best correspond.

18. צָדֵי. The most probable meaning of the name is *screech owl* (صَدًى, צְדִידָה chald.) but the figure has become hard to recognise, though its may be still traced from the Samaritan, ancient Heb. and Phoenician letter in Kopp p. 394, down to the present form. It is also not impossible for it to mean *net* from צוּד, צָדָה *to hunt, lay snares.*

19. קוֹף. Paulus Memor. VI. p. 124 explains the name by ثَقْب *eye of a needle*, but it would be more in accordance with Etymology and the oldest Phoenician figure (Kopp II. p. 395) to suppose قَوْف *circle* (תְּקוּפָה Ps. 19, 7) especially of an *ear*, to which the figure is not without resemblance.

20. רֵישׁ. The Phoenician figure q, which was easily shortened into the Hebrew ר, perfectly suits the meaning *head.*

21. שִׁין. The name *tooth* is clear; hardly any letter has so faithfully retained its ancient figure Kopp II. p. 397.

22. תָּו. The Phoenician and Greek figure T suits the meaning *cross*, and the present Hebrew form only arose late.

The names, when considered together, prove that some other Semitic people, and not the Hebrews, invented them, and with them, the signs of the letters, for בֵּית, רֵישׁ, מֵם and others, are perfectly Aramaic, and the Hebrews have only formed עַיִן and זַיִן according to their language. This people must have had a language still more unlike any of the now known Semitic languages, as the forms אָלֶף, דָּלֶת, and on the other hand גִּמֶל, שִׁין, for אֶלֶף, גָּמָל, שֵׁן prove. It is also just as evident that the names were discovered long before Moses, in the earliest period of the language, for all the names are still of the shortest, most simple form (§. 307) even though longer forms afterward arose for the same objects, as גָּמָל, מַלְמַד Jdgs. 3, 31 for גִּמֶל, לָמֶד. Moreover, וָו is a formation foreign to the usual analogy of the Semitic languages, as they are found after the Pentateuch; and hence this name almost entirely disappears in Hebrew (except. Ex. 26, 32 ff.), and in the later dialects is utterly lost.

On a review of the names we find too that the objects from which they are borrowed are 1. animals, as ox, camel etc.; 2. members of the body, as hand, mouth etc.; 3. instruments, as hook, ox goad etc., all being from that class of objects which would be observed and recieve names even in the simplest state of society.

From the endeavour at distinctness and regularity, it is a constant rule to finish the word at the end of the line, but at the same time to make all lines of the same length. If the last word did not entirely fill up the line, they dilated the letters. In the usual editions we find 5 of these litterae *dilatabiles* in which it is easy to lengthen the stroke: א, ה, ל, ם, ת; in Mss. still more. 2) Or the superfluous space was filled up by always the same unmeaning letter or other sign e. g. with ק in the editions of Bomberg; if the space was still greater, it was filled up by as many letters of the word, which was to begin the line following, as it would contain, but without points. 140

The later Jews, after the example of the Greeks and others, used their alphabet as numerals also: א—ט for 1—9; י—צ for 10—90; ק—ת for 100—400; the numbers 500—900 were expressed either by ת 400 in composition with other hnndreds, as ת ש 700, or by the final letters ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ; 1000 is א̈ again; instead of יה 15, which two letters can mean the divine name Jehova, and were therefore avoided out of reverence, טו 9+6 is used. 141

2. INTERNAL HISTORY.

The ancient mode of writing was intrinsically very concise and sparing, expressing only what was most indispensable, prominent and firm in the language. 142

Accordingly, it regarded the actual usage of the living language, and only expressed what was actually spoken, not adhering to etymological minuteness, nor writing letters which could not be read (as the Syriac does, which at the same time has departed much farther from the original pronunciation). There are only a few instances in which a sound has been retained, in writing, out of regard to the ancient usage, after it had ceased to be audible or had been changed, as in the suffix יו—*âv* according to §. 54, and in the forms יאכל jôcal for jacal according to §. 50.

Moreover, it expressed a *double sound* which was not clearly and distinctly separated by an intervening vowel, but only prolonged and pronounced as if coalescing with each other (§. 113 ff.) by a single letter, leaving the rest to the living language, as מלל *millel*, דבר *dabber*, ממנו *mimménnu*; cf. farther §. 171. But as soon as ever the shortest vowel-sound, or fragmentary vowel, came between, the two sounds must be written separately, as אללי *ál'laï* רננת *rin'nat* according to §. 32. 143

A fundamental peculiarity, however, of the ancient mode of writing was, that the alphabet consisted essentially of consonants only [1]). As, at the time of the discovery of the alphabet, the language was still very simple and poor in flex- 144

ion, such a mode of writing was not so very inadequate for its purpose. And although the language afterwards became more developed, still it was the more easy for their alphabetical writing to remain long stationary, without advancing above this imperfect rudimental method, since it is a characteristic peculiarity of the Semitic languages, that the *meaning* of the *roots* never depends on the *vowels*, nor on the change of vowels, (as in Sanscrit, Greek etc. 2) but always on three consonants, and the vowels change in *all* roots of three sounds in the *same* manner to express, according to laws as regular as they are clear and easy, the various *modifications* only, of which a word is capable *in a proposition* §. 15; e. g. its modification as *noun*, *verb*, *active*, *pass.*, *intrans.* etc. Accordingly, if an ancient Semite wrote only the chief sounds which are essential for the formation of a word, the fundamental idea was distinctly intelligible, and the reader had only to discover the peculiar modification of the meaning from the connexion of the sense of the words. And since the change of the vowels within the three radicals is very regular, e. g. קָטַל, קָטֵל, קָטֹל, any one acquanited with the language (and for the ignorant and foreigners they did not write) could at once supply the appropriate vocalization, without the least difficulty. To this is to be added, that in the oldest and most frequent forms of the language the vowels are, for the most part, very short (§. 203); that no syllable can *begin* with a vowel §. 25 those that appear to do so having at least an aspirate before it, and thus the language is not so weak and diluted with vowels, since the consonants are still the predominant elements, and two vowels can only come together under very great limitation §. 23 ff.

1) Among the Moderns who have maintained that an alphabet of consonants is impossible, and that י ו א were anciently only vowels cf. HERDER *Geist der hebr. Poesie.* Vol. I. p. 28 (or in the spirited translation of Prof. MARSH, "HERDERS *spirit. of Heb. Poetry*", Burlington U. S. 1833 Vol. I. p. 43 ff.) KOPP *Bilder und Schriften* II. p. 114; SEYFFARTH *über die ursprünglichen Laute der hebr. Buchstaben* p. 13 ff. This opinion, however, is refuted among others by the fact, that the letters י ו א are always treated as consonants *in the stems*, and consequently admit the most discordant vowels, as יָסַף, יוֹסֵף, אֵיב. On the very limited extent, however, to which י ו א were used as vowel letters etc. cf. §. 146 ff.

2) Of so much greater importance are the vowels in Greek, where the radical meaning of words often differs according to the mere change of vowels (e. g. *δέω* to bind, *δόω* to give, *δύω* to put on) that if they had been the inventors of the alphabet, it would have been impossible, however imperfect it was in other respects, for the vowels to have been omitted. Indeed they were soon obliged to use some of the letters in the place of vowels, although it is manifest that they did not recieve them as such from the Phoeni-

cians, as א α, ה ε, י ι, ע ο. They recieved ו as *w* first (Digamma) and ח as *h*; out of this latter they gradually formed the vowel η, and they left off expressing the digamma in writing, because every language, according to eternal laws, casts off its rough sounds more and more.

Much, however, was wanting for this principle to be observed with all rigidness. For cases nevertheless occurred in which it was absolutely necessary, for distinctness, to express the vowel-sounds, e. g. in case, though it is a rare one, that two vowels come together, as הוי *hôi*, גלוי *galûï*, cf. §. 147. The mere progress of time too, produced an endeavour to render the mode of writing more complete; the consequence of which, as far as regards Hebrew, was, that they gradually became accustomed, since it was absolutely impossible to do without the vowels altogether, to write them in places where they seemed most indispensable. In this manner there was a commencement of writing the vowels, although so rarely and irregularly, that it is only a very distant approach to a regular, systematic vocalization. 145

No new letters, however, were discovered for this purpose, but already existing signs for consonants, with whose sound a vowel easily accorded, were used as representatives of the vowels. Viz. ו י were most frequently used as vowelletters, because their sound, when they are consonants, is little more than a hardening of the vowels û, î, and the softer pronunciation necessarily forms the pure vowel sound §. 87 ff. Hence ו י are usually employed to express û, î; seldom for the mixed sounds ô ê, concerning which v. §. 148. א also may indeed be used to express â, since the gutturals correspond most nearly to â among the vowels (§. 76), and א, as the weakest guttural, is at the same time least removed from the vowels. But the use of א, even for the longest â, is exceedingly rare [1]), partly because this transition is not so easy as it is with ו י, but still more, because a, as the nearest vowel, appears least of all to require to be distinguished and signified in writing §. 43. To what extent, besides, ה, and rarely א, might be written at the end of a word on account of a vowel, cf. §. 153 f. 146

1) As קָאם *qâm* Hos. 10, 14. ראמות *râmôt* Prov. 24, 7 רָאשׁ (poor) somewhat oftener. In these words א supplies the place of the second radical. Without the root, א is much seldomer written for â, and in the later period, as את— *at* (plural ending) Ez. 31, 8. 47, 11. In צַוָּאר (neck) *ßau'ar* must be contracted into *ßayvar*, so that א has only remained because it is primitive.

There is an occasional later use of א for ê in the middle of a word: רֵבָאץ, רֵאשׁ, because its sound leans strongly to ê §. 76; â, in general, is gradually changed into ê.

147 The particular application of this method of writing the vowels depends on the following rules:

1. If the vowel, as is usually the case, immediately follows the consonant, and is so closely attached to it that the consonant cannot be pronounced without it, it is generally not written; the unity of consonant and its vowel in the written characters is so indivisible, that the firmer element alone is written. But when a new vowel follows a long or short vowel immediately, the former must necessarily be written, because it is attached to no consonant, and is in an entirely new relation, as עלי *álaï* הורן *'hauran* according to §. 54 nt., in the same way בית *bájit* always; after a long vowel, הוי *hôi*, גוי *gôï*, דוי *davvâï*, גלוי *galûï*.

148 Among the usual vowels then, i. e. those that are dependent on the consonant, the short ones were not at all written [1]); but the long ones are so different on account of their length and weight, that they often appeared more important and to require to be expressed in writing. The degree of frequency, however, in writing them, or not, depended chiefly on the nature of the vowelsounds themselves. For, according to §. 146, the rule was not to write â at all; î, on the other hand, and û, were easily and rather frequently represented by ו י, and especially in cases where they have a very sharp sound, or are primitive, as in נירש *nîrash*, מישר *mîshor*, from ירש, ישר. And just as י was written for the diphthong *ai*, and ו for *au*, according to §. 147, so also ו י were very regularly used to represent the mixed sounds ê, ô, which arise, accord. to §. 49, from the diphthongs, as ביתך *bêt'ka*, מותם *môtam*, קול *qôl*. This, however, does not hold of ê, ô, not arising in this way [2]), and י is only rarely written for ê, while for the obscurer ô, which is more prone to be lengthened, ו is the more regularly written, the more lengthened the ô is in a word; as it usually is written with ו in the stems גדול *gadôl* §. 322, גבור *gibbor* §. 328, and in the interjection הוי *höï*, and is wanting in the stems יכתב *jiktób* קטן *qatón* §. 268, 249. The ancient mode of writing adheres very regularly to this different relation of the protraction of the long vowels, but the later mode less closely, in that it uses the vowel-letters in general more frequently.

1) See some exceptions in the final syllables §. 149. 153 — The obscure *u* appears, only before *medial* syllables to have been so lengthened, that afterwards it could be written by ו, as כֻּלָּם Jer. 31, 34. The case is different with הֲמִיתִיךָ for *hamit'ti* where the primitively long radical vowel resists complete shortening, even after the contraction, as §. 288.

2) as תִּיעָשֶׂה *té'asé* Ex. 25, 31. In שְׁלֵיו *shalêv* Iob 21, 23 cf. Jer. 49, 31 it is more excusable, because ê stands before the very weak ו, which remains there as consonant, cf. קֵו for קָו §. 96.

Moreover, since the tone of a word has a leaning to the end of the word §. 33 f., and the vowels are the more lengthened by the tone, the nearer they stand to the end, it became a rule to write the vowels most frequently in the final and the tone-syllable, and to diminish the frequency the farther the vowel was from them, as כֹּתֵב *kôtêb*, כֹּתְבִים *kô-t'bîm*, שִׂים *sîm*, כָּתוּב *katûb*, כַּבִּיר *kabbîr*, תַּגְלִינָה *tiglênâ*, in which the penult has a short, but accented and radical vowel §. 222. Hence this vowel which was so expressed was very often left out, when new accented syllables were added, as כְּתֻבִים *k'tûbîm* (כְּתוּבִים only later), גָּדוֹל *gadôl:* גְּדֹלֵי *g'dôlé*, שׁוּעָל: שְׁעָלִים *schuâlîm*, in which manner even the mixed sounds arising from diphthongs may be omitted in writing, although, on account of the greater indistinctness in certain forms, more rarely, as עֵינֵהֶם Ez. 33, 25 from עֵינֵי §. 148 הֵינִיקִי: הֵנִקְהוּ *hêníqîhu*, יוֹלִיךְ: יְלִכֵהוּ *jôlîkûhu* Ex. 2, 9. 10. 34, 18. And because the recollection of the ancient infrequent usage of יו as vowelletters was still retained, it became a custom to avoid writing two ו or י, the second of which was in a compound syllable, in two successive syllables, as צַדִּיק: צַדִּיקִם or צַדִּקִים *ßaddîqîm*, מָקוֹם: מְקוֹמֹת or מְקֹמוֹת *m'qômôt* (although according to the most ancient method it would only be מְקֹמֹת Gen. 1, 14. 15); צִוִּיתִי *ßivvîti*: צִוִּיתִם *ßivvîtîm*. 149

It is also clear from all this, to what extent the mode of writing was irregular and uncertain, and in what cases the use of יו could be extended in the later periods. In the most ancient writing, they are most rarely used; in those of the middle period a certain aversion to their too frequent use is observable; while in those of the latest, the endeavour after distinctness in writing transgresses even these limits more and more. The more sparing mode of writing is especially retained longer in certain words, which have remained unaltered from the more ancient periods, as נְאֻם (*oracle*), and the proper name דָּוִד *David*, instead of which we find in the latest books only (and in Amos, Hosea, and the song of Solomon, on account of the popular dialect) דָּוִיד. 150

2. A vowel at the end of the final syllable, which, contrary to the general rule of a consonant ending the word, sounds free and uncompressed, is of a peculiar kind; the final vowel too is often one which has been originally an independant, important word, but is converted into a suffix. For this reason, the ancient mode of writing regularly ex- 151

pressed it in many cases, whether is was accented or not, and in *monosyllabic* words it must necessarily be written. In particulars however there are many peculiarities here.

152 1) Final *u* and *i* are always expressed by יו, since their use is so near; as כתבו *ka-t'bû*, לי *lî*, ידי *jadî*, ימני *j'manî*, and in an unaccented syllable כתבתי *katábti* [1]), ממנו *mimménnu*. On the other hand, as soon as ever a sound is added, this vowel may disappear, since the rules §. 148 f. take effect, as צויתי : צויתך *ßivvîtîka*.

1) Very rarely is כתבת written, which is probably not to be read full but shortened *katabt*. v. §. 281.

153 2) To express the other final vowels ה is used, a mere aspirate, showing that the word ends in a vowelsound without the proper vowel itself being more distinctly signified; only it can never be *u* or *i*, because יו are the nearest signs for them §, 152. This is a very ancient, concise method which is characteristic of Hebrew. ה can accordingly be so written *a*) for â, which however is never expressed in the middle of a word, but is necessarily written at the end, where it belongs to the root, as גלה *galá* §. 222; or where â alone distinguishes the meaning of the termination, as in מלכה *malká* §. 360, אכתבה *ekt'bá* §. 293. 433; and could only be omitted where â does not alone determine the meaning of a termination, as כתבת is written more frequently than כתבתה *katábta*, and מלכך for מלככה *malk'ká*. In אתה *attá* (*thou* msc. sg.), where â is not radical, but also not suffix, ה is more frequently written than omittted. In the later period only, and very rarely, is א used in the same manner, the more customary it became to write א in the middle also for â, as חגא *choggá* Js. 19, 17 cf. §. 360, 1.— *b*) ה is written for *e* and *o*, as well for ê in itself long, as for é only long by tone, as איה *ajjê* (where?), כלנה *Calnê*, זה *zé*, מה *mé* §. 45, תגלה *tiglé* §. 222; פרעה Φαραώ, שלמה *Sh'lômô*. יו can indeed be also written for *e*, *o* according to §. 148: and where the mixed sound *ae* has arisen from *ai*, and is very clearly and distinctly sounded, י was regularly written at the end, as מלכי *malké* §. 414, עלי *âlé* (preposition); but for the simple ê, and the flattened é, whether flattened from â or from ae, ה was always regularly written. For ô, on the other hand, ה is used rather as the ancient mode of writing merely, which has been longer preserved in certain words, without any difference whether o has arisen from a–u, or not; in general ו was more frequently written for every ô: thus always פרעה, שלמה (ô being shortened from the adjective termination *ôn* §. 341); but שלה and שלו irregularly, נכה and נכו, always כה *cô* (adv. *thus*); but in the usual suf-

fix ô (from a-u) ה- is only anciently written, but usually, ו- §. 305; always מגדו *M'giddô* beside *M'giddôn*. Still more rarely was א i. e. *â* in the later period written also for ô: פה *fô*, in Ezech. often פו, and פא Iob 38, 11.

All these modes of writing with ה cease, if the vowel is no longer at the end of the word, and then the common rules §. 148 f. come into force, as תגלינה or תגלנה *tiglêna* from תגלה *tiglê*, מקנהו *miqnêhu* מקניכם *miqnêkém* from מקנה *miqné*.

3) An א could also be written after ו י at the end, standing for the long protracted sounds û, î, if the final syllable was at the same time strongly accented; this א marked that the word ended in a strong vowel, just as if a strong aspirate was uttered after the vowel, (as *h* in german is written after a vowel, as a sign of its being lengthened, as in *Ehre*). This mode of writing, however, has remained more rare in Hebrew, as נקיא Joel 4, 19. Jon. 1, 14 compared with the more usual נקי *naqî*, הלכוא *ha-l'kû* once §. 281. This is also sometimes extended to ו written for ô, as עדו and עדוא Zach. 1, 1. 7. רבוא *ribbô* §. 346, אפו and אפוא *efô* (adverb). 154

3. If the vowel itself is sounded at the *beginning* of the word, its presence is so much the more consistently expressed by the softest aspirate א §. 68, as א is there a substitute for any other possible harder consonant, to which the vowel attaches itself. Unless this א as aspirate was written, the vowel must be represented alone, by itself, since it has no firm consonant to attach itself to at the beginning of the word; but by thus writing א as introductory of the vowel and indicative of its presence, the mode of writing preserves its consistency with itself. Whether the vowel itself must be written, or not, depends entirely on the preceding rules, as אמר *âmar* or *emor*, possibly also *'ômer*, for which, however, אומר may be more distinctly written; אזרוע *ezrôagh* §. 112, אש *'esh*, או *'ô* §. 148, אור *'ôr*. When therefore a semivowel at the begining of a word has been resolved into its vowel §. 90, it can be more distinctly expressed by א, as אישי *'Ishai* 1 Chro. 2, 12 for ישי *Jishai* v. 15, and with a short vowel איש *'ish* Mich. 6, 10 for יש *jesh*. Only the very frequent préfix û (*and*) is always, more simply, written with ו, where it is softened from the consonant *v*, as ובית *ûbêt* §. 90. 155

According to all this, whenever the same letter would occur in the same syllable, as consonant and vowel, in the ancient sparing use of the vowel letters, they regularly wrote the consonant only, even though they would have written 156

the vowel in any other case. Later writers indeed gradually give this practice up, in accordance with the general progress of the mode of writing. Hence 1) we find examples like לויים *l'vijjîm*, נקיים *n'qijjîm*, גויים *gôjîm*, sometimes even at the end בלויי *b'lojê* Jer. 38, 11; double י remains often, but only in the forms ייִרא *jîrâ*, §. 271, where î is very sharply sounded; although we also often find ירא *jîrâ*, יראו *jî-r'û*, ירש *jîrash*, but not תרא, נרש for תירא, נירש. — 2) for אאמר *'ômar*, which we should expect according to §. 142, we always find אמר (1st. person sg).

3. ORIGIN OF THE SIGNS FOR READING.

157 According to this then, this ancient mode of writing is still very defective and imperfect, contenting itself with expressing only the firmest and most necessary elements of words. An advance to greater clearness and perfection is, indeed, observable according to §. 145 ff., but its effects are so insignificant, that the characteristic peculiarity of this mode of writing remains unimpaired, For the ancient Semitic mode of writing is, according to its nature and origin, only the first step from a picture-character to a regular alphabetical character, and still retains the freshest traces of its early infancy. And since the peculiar nature of the Semitic languages renders the imperfection of this mode of writing very tolerable, (§. 144) that primitive mode, which has been inherited from early civilization as something sacred, has remained in all Semitic nations and languages essentially unaltered [1]; just as the development of the language itself has rather stood still at a certain stage §. 12 [2]. To decipher the writing then must have always cost more trouble and attention, and only few possessed the requisite skill for it (Js. 29, 11. 12), although as long as the language lived, no reader of any reflection could be in doubt as to the sense of what was written.

1) For such isolated exceptions as the mode of writing used by the Aethiopians, Sabians and European Jews, in which each innovation must be historically traced, cannot be used as evidence against this truth.

2) It is perhaps not a casual coincidence that the most perfect language, the Sanscrit, has also the most perfect and concise mode of writing.

158 Even during the gradual decay of the ancient Hebrew language, the mode of writing remained for a long time without essential additions; for the memory of the sense and pronunciation of the text of the old Testament was preserved in the very flourishing Jewish Seminaries of that time, as far as it was possible for it to be preserved by the mere strength

and uninterrupted succession of tradition [1]); for the faithfulness of tradition does not extend to the uncorrupted preservation of particulars. But the deficiencies of such an imperfect mode of writing for a language already dead, which were even in themselves very sensibly felt in the progress of time, were still doubly so, when after the composition of the Talmud the learned seminaries in Asia fell to the ground, and the Jews were more and more scattered abroad and dispersed. Many causes thus conspired to further the endeavour of supplying the deficiences of the ancient mode of writing in such a manner, that the reading and understanding of the sacred text might be rendered perfectly easy and certain, and be established immutably for ever. This complement of the ancient mode of writing could not be a further development of the alphabet, because the basis of the ancient mode of writing was already considered sacred and inviolable, and the firmer, more essential elements of words were already represented by it; but the nicer, more minute shades of the pronunciation, which was all to be yet supplied, was superadded as a external complement by means of little signs, fine points and strokes, as a commentary for the interpretation of the ancient text; hence too, these additions to the text, or *signs for the reading*, agree most intimately with the marginal observations, or *Masora.* So great a reverence for the ancient litteral text, as it was handed down by tradition, was preserved among the Jews, that the Grammarians, who made the new additions to the text, left the written text still unchanged, even in cases where they believed it necessary to follow a different reading and interpretation. Hence arose the distinction between the ancient text, the *written* or *K'tîb* which they conscientiously preserved inviolable, and the text which was to be *read* or *Q'rî*, for which the punctuation was accommodated, and which not unfrequently departs from the other. And though the Masoretes appointed for public reading the text which they had established and rendered intelligible, the *Q'rî*, yet they did not venture to introduce the signs for the reading themselves, into any but private manuscripts of the old Testament; while the public manuscripts, or rolls of the Synagogue, were obliged, as in every thing else, so also in the omission of the points, to preserve the ancient form.

1) v. *die Abhandlung über Geschichte der Vocalization von* Hupfeld, *in den theologischen Studien und Kritiken* 1830 S. 552 ff.

When once attention was turned to this endeavour at perfecting the ancient mode of writing, a boundless field was opened for the minute observation and distinction of what 159

was defective; for it is, in fact, an endless task perfectly to comprehend, and distinguish by signs, the sounds of a language in all their most delicate shades and relations. The greater the former imperfection of the mode of writing was, the more comprehensive and unlimited was the attempt to supply every thing, with the utmost minuteness and precision; to which is to be added, that the object of all this minuteness, was the preservation of what was most holy; and even in the execution of this attempt in the minutest and most insignificant particulars, the deep reverence of the later Jews for the very letters of the sacred books is displayed. Accordingly, this so called system of punctuation was farther and more minutely developed, and applied with more regularity and strictness by the Hebrew punctuators, than by the Syrians, and Arabians, in whose sacred books, and especially in the Syrian Bibles, a very similar system is found. Not only the accurate pronunciation of every letter, every syllable, and every word by itself, but even the inexhaustible variety in the pronunciation of every word in a sentence, according to the sense and connexion of the passage, have they endeavoured to determine by fixed signs and rules, so that the voice of the reader, following these directions closely, can no longer anywhere err, either in what is greatest or what is least. All manuscripts, however, do not perfectly agree in these points; for first, the very task is an infinite one, and many new developments of this system are still possible, as is evidently shown by a comparison of different manuscripts. Secondly, precisely in the more minute observation, and most delicate distinction, a variety of views and methods are unfolded in this very complicated province, and not even the greatest severity of the Masoretes could prevent the copyists from adopting them. Finally, the system, as it is developed, with its immense number of little signs, has something so heavy and awkward in it, and is, moreover, so loosely connected with the writing itself, or the letters, that the scribes often sought to lighten their task, and either usually, or occasionally, omitted many of the least necessary signs.

This system in its present state of development is found in all known manuscripts, which have signs. None of those that are known, however, are older than the 11th century. But it may be assumed as certain that this system has been preceded by more simple ones; as is partly proved by the figure of the signs themselves, partly by some, even now, distinct historical traces. The rudiments and first attempts may be dated in early times, and three epochs of the signs for reading may be now distinguished. The most simple distinction for the vocalization is a stroke over words of uncommon meaning, merely to attract the attention of the reader to something unusual, e. g. דבר̄ i. e. that *déber* (*pestilence*)

is to be read and understood, in distinction to the usual דבר, as noun *dabár* (word), or as verb *dibbér* (to speak). Such strokes may have been occasionally used in some Hebrew manuscripts at an early period, just as they are now found in the Samaritan copy. The second stage consists in a point differently placed to distinguish the sounds in a general way; a point *above*, therefore, for the high and strong vowel sounds, like *a*, *o*; one *below* for the lower and weaker ones, like *i*, *ĕ*; a point in the middle of a letter to denote its hard, heavy pronunciation, in distinction to its light and simple one (§. 171 ff.). Immediately from this stage then, because it is a beginning of signifying the sounds in a right way, has the *third* gradually arisen, in which every thing is developed, as far, and with as much minuteness, as is possible; and from that simple point, a number of more determinate signs has been produced. The development of the accentuation is similar. The second stage, the use of that simple point in various positions (which is distinctly found in Syriac Mss. even of the 6th century), and also the rudiments of accentuation, are possessed by the Syrians, Hebrews, and properly speaking, by the Arabs also, in common; these must all flow from a common source, and it is impossible to doubt but that that source is to be sought in the early seminaries of the Aramaic christian Grammarians [1]). Its further development, however, to the third stage, is peculiar to each people, Syrians, Hebrews, Arabians; but with this distinction, that the Hebrew system has remained truer to its origin than the Arabic. An accurate history however, of the study of Grammar among the Syrians, of the manner in which it came from them to the Hebrews and Arabians, and of the consequences which it produced, is yet to be expected from future researches.

1) cf. *die Abhandl. über das Syrische Punctationssystem, nach syrischen Handschriften, in* Ewald's *Abhandlungen zur biblischen und orientalischen Litteratur.* T. I. (Göttingen 1832) S. 53-129.

From this it is easy to determine the value of the 160
punctuation. It is a very useful aid and guide to the meaning for later times, whose minuteness cannot be sufficiently prised. It is true it is only the representation of a tradition, but that tradition is the best and oldest which we know. We must set ont from it, but not therefore omit to appreciate the traces of the nature and life of the ancient language, which are at variance with the punctuation, which are often still preserved in the K'tîb. For critical acumen is not the province of the punctuation, which treats all books of the old Testament as if they belonged to precisely the same period of the language, subjects them all to the same standard and constraint, and does not enquire whether Moses had exactly the same pronunciation as Ezra. The origin and value of the Greek accents is similar.

THIRD SECTION.

OF THE SIGNS.

1. SIGNS FOR THE CORRECT PRONUNCIATION OF EVERY LETTER AND SYLLABLE.

161 I. *Signs for the vocalization.* 1. The *vowels* themselves. The following is a view of them according to their signs and names with reference to their peculiar relation in Hebrew:

	A–E–I.		O–U.
	1. A.	2. E–I.	3. O–U.
Pure long	◌ָ ā Qámeß.	◌ֵ ē ßére.	◌ֹ ō Chólem.
Pure short	◌ַ ă Pátach.	◌ֶ ĕ Ségol.	◌ָ ŏ Qameß chathûf.
Medial vowels.		◌ִ i Chíreq.	וּ u Schúreq or ◌ֻ Qibbuß.

The progressive steps, by which the signs arose, are probably the following: 1) the most simple and ancient is a point *above*, to signify the high sound, and a point *below* to signify the deep sound. 2) These were afterwards, when they began to distinguish each of the five vowels, so limited, that ◌ֹ continued to be used for *ô* ◌ִ for *î*, which is in accordance with the nature of these sounds §. 43. ◌ַ must have been early appropriated to *a*, because they endeavoured as much as possible to write the signs *under* the letters, which was a more convenient method. Moreover, they distinguished the sound *e* from *i* ◌ִ by adding a point, thus ◌ֵ. The obscurer *u* was expressed by bringing down the ô-point to the middle of the letter; and thus a point is always placed in the middle of וּ, whenever that letter was used in the ancient mode of writing, which was very often, to express *u*; where it was not, the more distinct sign ◌ֻ was written under the letter, whether the vowel there was long or short; so that both are often mutually exchanged, as being perfectly the same, according as ו was written in the ancient mode, or not, as כְּרֻבִים and כְּרוּבִים Gen. 3, 24. 1 Kgs. 6, 23, אֻלַי and אוּלַי Gen. 24, 5. 39 הֻכָּה and הוּכָּה Ps. 102, 5 זְבֻלֻן and זְבוּלוּן Jdgs. 1, 30. 4, 10. — 3) Last came the distinction of the sounds as to length or shortness. Only not in *i* and *u*, because their length or shortness is more limited, and may be, partly from the connexion of the word, and partly from the ancient mode of writing, most easily inferred; but from ◌ֵ they distinguished ◌ֶ so that the former remained for ê, and the latter was used for sharp é; ◌ַ was lengthened by another stroke to ◌ָ for the distinction between *ă* and *â*; and short *o* is now represented by the same sign below ◌ָ.

162 This last, however, is the most singular: for *â* and *ŏ* cannot have been originally written with the same sign. Probably this has arisen from a later confusion of two signs, which were only alike originally (e. g.

ָ and ָ) promoted and established by the later Jews confounding the sounds *a* and *o* themselves very much. The incorrect reading of *á* as *o* may be traced back to very early times, and extended over large tracts (even over the east, cf. Abulfeda's orthography *in his Historia ante-islamica*), and even the fact of the name Qamess being common to the signs for *a* and *o* is a sufficient proof of this; but it is impossible that the punctuation, which, in other cases, distinguishes long and short vowels so minutely, can have originally set out with this utter confusion of *á* and *ŏ*, and such total forgetfulness of all forms. Great indistinctness and perplexity has actually come into the otherwise clear system by the confusion of the signs for *á* and *ŏ*; for if we attempt to distinguish *á* and *ŏ* in pronunciation, as we ought, the sign ָ is of no service, nor are even a reference to the rules for the syllable and tone, nor a consideration of the other signs in the neighbourhood, sufficient to decide the question with certainty, but in the end it must be determined by a consciousness of the etymology alone, and an intimate knowledge of the language; the object of the sign therefore, which is to be intelligible to the eye, is frustrated. We will give a statement of particulars as regards the signs for reading, though we must in so doing anticipate a knowledge of the accents etc.

1. With regard to the *final syllable*, the *accent*, in accordance with the rules for the syllable and tone, shows that ָ in a syllable with the tone-accent must be *ā* (§. 46), in a compound unaccented one *ŏ*, as דָּבָר *dabār*, יָשֹׁב *jāshob;* so also ָ before Dagesh forte is always *ŏ* in an unaccented syllable (§. 47), as כָּסּוּ *kossu*, but if the penult recieves the accent, *ā*, as לָמָּה *lām-mā*.

According to §. 198 the vowel before Maqqef in a compound final syllable is usually short, as כָּל־אָדָם *kol-adam*, תְּסַפֶּר־לָךְ. If there is an immutably long *ā* in the final syllable, it usually recieves Méteg accord. to §. 198, as שָׁת־לִי *shāt-li* Gen. 4, 25; but as Méteg is not always written in such cases, §. 198, we must read ָ as *ā*, where the form and the meaning require it, even without Méteg viz. in מְנָת־ Ps. 16, 5 according to §. 401, קָרָב־ Ps. 55, 19. 22, סְבָךְ Ps. 74, 5 (if we are not to read סְבָךְ Gen. 22, 13) accord. to §. 334. There are also, on the other hand, a few cases in which ָ in a final syllable with a conjunctive accent (because it is very like Maqqef) is to be read *ŏ*, as סְעָד לִבְּךָ Jdgs. 19, 5 (8). Ps. 35, 10. Prov. 19, 7.

2. For syllables which have not the tone and do not stand immediately before Maqqef the following rules hold: 1) unless Sh'va follows, ָ is always *ā* in a simple syllable; except *a*) in very few words in which an *o* which ought to be shortened into Sh'va remains (§. 58) viz. in קָבָל־עַם *Qóbol-am* 2 Kgs. 15, 10. קָדָשִׁים *kódāshim* שָׁרָשִׁים §. 382. *b*) before Maqqef in קָבָה־לִּי *kóbal-li* אָרָה־לִּי Num. 22, 11. 17; 6. 23, 7 because it is derived from קָב־ *kób* with very loosely attached ה §. 293. — 2) If a Sh'va follows ָ it may be S. mob. or S. quiescens, or S. medium; but only with the first, where there arises a pure simple syllable, can ָ be read *ā*. *a*) wherever ָ stands in a simple syllable, Méteg must always be placed before the Sh'va mobile accord to §. 181 and this always distinguishes ָ as *ā*, as כָּתְבָה, צָרְעָתִי 1 Chro. 2, 58. *b*) if ָ stands in a *close* compound syllable, which, however, strictly speaking can only be the case in the middle of a word before Dagesh

lene, it must be ŏ; and since the vowel there never has Meteg accord. to §. 181 ◌ָ may by this too be known to be ŏ, as אָרְכּוֹ. *c*) if ◌ָ stands in a *loose* compound syllable it must also necessarily be ŏ; but since accord. to §. 181 Méteg also can be written in such syllables, we can only conclude from the meaning and form whether Sh'va is S. mobile and ◌ָ consequently ā, or S. medium and ◌ָ therefore ŏ. Méteg is however often not written in the editt. and the cases which occur are: before *suffixes* עָמְדְךָ *amod'ka* accord. to §. 310, Obad. 11. 1 Sam. 24, 11; before ◌ָה §. 293, as שָׁמְרָה *shom'rā* Ps. 86, 2. 16, 1; in קָרְבָּן, קָרְבַן *kor'ban* according to §. 341; before a consonant not admitting Dag. lene, as דָּבְרוֹ *dob'ro* Mich. 2, 12. Num. 24, 7; and especially in the penult. before Maqqef §. 198 Ps. 30, 4 (where another influence acts at the same time) and Ps. 38, 21 where the accent. conjunct. is not right. — 3) Since Meteg is written before every Chatef-vowel accord. to §. 181, ◌ָ may be *a*) *ŏo*, if the O-sound belongs to the first consonant according to the form, as מָאֳסוֹ for מָאְסוֹ, and therefore before Sh'va mob. מָאָסְכֶם *mŏos'kem* Am. 2, 4. Js. 30, 12; and if the O-sound is transferred from the Chatef-vowel to the preceding properly vowelless consonant, as וָחֳלִי, בָּאֳנִי §. 462. *b*) but *ā-o* if the first consonant with ◌ָ stands perfectly unconnected with the succeeding one, in a simple syllable, and the consonant with the Chatef-vowel belongs to the syllable after; this can only happen from the article being put before, as בָּאֳנִי *bāoni* §. 464 *nt.*

163 The names for the 8 (9) signs are for the most part borrowed from the nature of the sounds in pronunciation which they are intended to represent, and so far resemble the names of the Syriac and Arabic vowels very much: 1) פַּתַח *ă opening* of the mouth; 2) צֵרֵי *é fracture,* חִרֶק *i rent*, from the fine, as it were, broken, trembling pronunciation; 3) קִבּוּץ *u gathering* and קָמֶץ *ŏ* (*ā*) *contraction* from the contraction of the mouth in u, o; the appellation Qamess for *ā* and *ŏ* arose from those who read o for a incorrectly; to distinguish the short sound *ŏ* it was afterwards called קָמֶץ חָטוּף *Qâmeß acceleratum* (§. 168). Moreover חוֹלֶם *ô abundance, strength*, from the full, rich sound of *ô*, and שׁוּרֶק *u hissing;* 4) one of the last signs only is called from its *form:* סֶגּוֹל *è cluster.* The names *Pátach*, *Ssére*, *Chireq*, *Qâmeß*, *Shúreq*, *Ségol* have been altered from פַּתַח, צֵרֵי, חִרֶק, קָמֶץ, שֻׁרֶק, סְגוֹל, that they might have in the very first letter the vowel-sound which they are intended to represent.

164 After they began to attach these signs for the vowels to the text, they often came in contact with the ancient vowelletters §. 147 ff. e. g. כָּתִיב, כָּתוּב, and although a double vocalization often thus came together, yet they both remained unchanged beside each other; the ancient one, because they could not omit the ancient vowelletter §. 158, the new, because it far exceeds the old one in perfection. When ו or י for instance thus concur with a sign for a vowel, as in כָּתוּב, it is called *scriptio plena;* when the sign for the vowel stands alone, as in כָּתֻב, *scriptio defectiva;* which names however easily lead to the misconception that י for instance is necessary with Chireq, and that the ancients *must* have

written י to express *i* §. 144 ff. The Grammarians have called ִי *Chireq longum*, and ִ *Chireq parvum*; names which are rather superfluous and easily lead to misconception.

All *inferior* signs for the vowels are placed before, or in the middle of the consonants to which they belong; but *above*, Cholem, to avoid its being mistaken for the accent R'bia, is written after its consonant; yet for distinction sake a little before ו where ו was written as vowelletter for *o*, as עֲוֺנוֹת *avonot*. In the same manner the inferior vowel-sign is written *before* its vowelletter, as else it be might be incorretly read as a consonant, as לִי, לִין.

2. The sign ְ called *Sh'vâ* [1]) is the direct opposite to the signs for the vowels and expresses the absence of a full i. e. distinct vowel. Hence for accuracy sake, it stands in general under every consonant not followed by a vowel; but from the laws and nature of the syllable §. 24 ff. it is clear that this is only possible in the following instances: 165

1) It is often indeed written שְׁוָא, which must then stand for שָׁוְא (as *Pâtach* for *Pêtach* §. 163); but the meaning *nothingness*, *vacancy* is not very appropriate. The other orthography שְׁבָא that is *rest* (softened for שְׁבַת as ܫܒܬܐ = sabbath) expressing the contrary to the motion i. e. the vocalizing of the sound, appears to be the more correct one.

1) *Sh'vâ* is placed under that consonant which, attaching itself to the *preceding* vowel, closes the syllable, and according to §. 29 there can be only *one* such consonant in the middle of a word, as נִמְשַׁחְנוּ; but letters which from any particular cause are not sounded after that vowel, do not recieve this sign, as קָרָאת, תִּינֹק, the י in עָרָיו §. 54. A vowelless consonant *at the end of a word* too does not recieve Sh'vâ, as אֵם, קָמְתֶם because according to the principles of the formation of stems all words almost end in a consonant without a vowel, so that the last consonant may be almost assumed to be vowelless. If therefore the rare case occurs that the word ends in *two* vowelless consonants (§. 29 f.) they *both* recieve Sh'vâ for the very rarity, as יַפְתְּ *jaft* יֵשְׁתְּ *jesht*, to which also properly speaking cases like חֵטְא §. 85 belong, where א has no sign because it has also no sound. In the verbalperson כָּתַבְתְּ, which regularly ends so accord. to §. 30, 1 Sh'vâ remains under the ת even in cases in which the preceding weak sound has been resolved into a vowel, as הָיִיתְ, בָּאתְ 2 Sam. 14, 2. 1 Kgs. 17, 13 (it is wanting, however, in other places) or where it is contracted, as נָתַתְּ, אַתְּ cf. §. 175.

Sh'va is written with ךְ, even when it is the only vowelless consonant at the end of a word, from a mere calligraphical reason. Because they preferred writing the vowels, which are usually placed below, in the

middle of the long ךְ, they wrote Sh'vâ also in its middle as a similar calligraphical improvement: בָּךְ like בָּךְ.

166 2) Sh'vâ is likewise written under that appoggiatural consonant which, according to §. 26, may go before any syllable, although the pronunciation is obliged to attach it to the following syllable with the most hurried vowelsound, or the shortest *e*. The Grammarians have therefore called Sh'vâ in this situation Sh'vâ *mobile* i. e. pronounceable, audible, and the Sh'vâ of the first kind §. 165 Sh'vâ *quiescens* (because it *rests* i. e. is without all vowelsound); this may be more properly called Sh'vâ *closing a syllable*, for Sh. quiescens, and Sh'vâ *beginning a syllable*, for Sh'vâ mobile. From the rules of the syllable §. 55-62 it is already evident where we are to find Sh'vâ mobile, viz. besides at the beginning of a word, after every complete syllable in the word itself: therefore after a simple syllable with a long vowel, as כּוֹתְבִים *kô-t'bim;* after a compound syllable, as מַמְלְכוֹת *mam-l'kot,* and therefore after reduplication, or Dageshforte §. 171, as כִּתְּבוּ *kit-t'bu.*

167 3) In certain cases a consonant which is without a vowel, and which is therefore to recieve Sh'vâ, belongs neither to the preceding nor to the succeding syllable entirely, but, being as the end of *a half shut* syllable, floats in the middle between both; such a Sh'vâ may be very appropriately called *floating* Sh'vâ, or Sh'vâ *medium*, as in יַלְדֵי (not *jă-l'de* nor *jal-de*, but as it were *jál'de*) בִּכְתֹב; cf. §. 32. 173.

168 3. The great intermediate gap, however, between a full vowel and its direct opposite is filled up, in some places where it appears necessary, by the *fleeting* or *Chatef-vowels*, as transitions from the pronunciation which is without vowels, or has only obscure ones, to the distinct vocalic pronunciation. In such cases we are properly always to expect an absence of the vowels according to the analogy of forms; peculiar circumstances however introduce instead a vowelsound which is indeed distinct, but absolutely fleeting and rapid; hence the punctuators leave Sh'va indeed always in its place, but place the distinct short vowel after it. Only *a*, *e*, *o* however are found as fleeting vowels, proceeding from the three pure short *ă*, *ĕ*, *ŏ* §. 161; for *i* and *u* are too sharp. These compound signs have recieved corresponding compound names ֲ *Chatéf-Pátach*, ֱ *Chatéf-Ségol*, ֳ *Chatéf-Qdmeß*. These fleeting vowels are used

1) most necessarily and frequently with *gutturals:*

Viz. according to a correct feeling of the punctuators, the more frequently for simple Sh'vâ the more Sh'vâ itself without the guttural would be inclined to be obscurely audible. Therefore a Chatefvowel must always be used for the Sh'vâ beginning the syllable §. 70; so also for Sh'và

medium §. 167 always, on account of the loose connexion of the syllable, as שְׁחָדוּ , אֱחָזֵי , צַעֲקִי = צַעְקִי , כְּתָבוּ , כְּתָבֵי ; at the end of a *close* compound syllable, on the other hand, the *harder* pronunciation i. e. with simple Sh'vâ, may remain, and does so very often, but is also changed under favourable circumstances before the tone (§. 71. 74) into the softer pronunciation not unfrequently. These circumstances are the following: a weak guttural, and consequently most of all א, prefers the softer pro-pronunciation; it is also more frequent *before* a liquid especially ל , ר , נ ; cf. מַחֲנֶה , יֶחֱרַד , יְדַעֲנוּךָ Hos. 9, 2. 2 Sam. 21, 6 compared with יְדַעְתִּיךָ ; the vocalization is also easily resolved if the vowel according to §. 198 acquires a new retention by the emphasis or Méteg before Maqqef, as יַחֲשָׁב־לִי from יַחְשֹׁב 2 Sam. 19, 20. Ps. 40, 18. To all this, however is to be added that the fleeting echo-vowel is very easily shortened again, if the following vowel is shortened by flexion and the form favours a more rapid pronunciation according to its force, as מַחְשֶׁבֶת , נֶעְבְּרָה from מַחֲשָׁבוֹת , נֶעֱבַר while in יְשַׁעֲשְׁעוּ from יְשַׁעֲשַׁע §. 73 this rapidity is not according to the force of the form, although it can still take place, as יַחְלְקוּ from יַחֲלֹק.

The fleeting *a*, however, which intrudes after a discordant vowel, before the guttural at the end of a word §. 78 *γ*, is in most Mss. and in our editions not expressed by ֲ but by full Pátach itself and bears the particular name פַּתַח גְּנוּבָה *Pátach furtivum*, as שֵׁמַע , שָׁמוּעַ.

2) They are much more rarely and irregularly found 169
with non-gutturals, since the Mss. and even the editions stretch many possibilities to a wider use. The only general cause which favours fleeting vowels here, is the easy exchange of a Sh'vâ to be read with a mere fragmentary vowel for a silent Sh'vâ in the middle of a syllable. There is no doubt or danger of mistake whatever with Sh'vâ at the beginning of a word, as וְלוֹ , פְּרִי , פְּאַר , or *after* a compound syllable, as יִכְתְּבוּ , מַחְשְׁבוֹת where Sh'vâ may be known to be Sh'vâ mobile by the necessity of the pronunciation. But in other cases, where there is this danger, the audibility of Sh'vâ is on the other hand rather encreased as much as possible, i. e. it is spoken as a Chatef-vowel, especially where this lengthening is at the sametime favoured by other circumstances of the sounds. Hence too the nearest and easiest only of those three fleeting vowels, *a*, is most prevalently used; *e* is never found; and only seldom does an *o* intrude itself on account of a powerful U-O-sound in the neighbourhood §. 127. The particular instances are: *a*) to show very strongly that the syllable is only a very loosely shut one, especially on account of the obscure, heavy *u* which likes to be separate, as רֻטֲפַשׁ Iob. 33, 25, וּזֲהַב Gen. 2, 12. 1 Kgs. 14, 21. Ez. 26, 21. וְצַעֲקִי Jer. 22, 20; moreover after the sharp *i*, as אִמֲרוֹת Ps. 12, 7. Gen. 30, 38. שִׁבֲּלֵי with Dagesh dirimens at the same time §. 172. Zach. 4, 12; more rarely after *a*, as הַבְֲרָכָה (from the interrogative הֲ and בְּרָכָה) Gen. 27, 38. in a close compound syllable only where it is broken up by Maqqef and Méteg, as יִצְחַק־לִי Gen. 21, 6 (it is to be observed that a guttural follows there). — *b*) if the consonant has lost its reduplication, according to §. 119, where therefore both syllables may be more easily intermixed, as תְּאַלֲצֵהוּ Jdgs. 16, 16, לֻקֳחָה Gen. 2, 23. — *c*) seldom after a long vowel, as

תְּאכְלֶנּוּ Ez. 4, 10. especially with the semiguttural ר, as יְבָרֲכֶנּוּ Gen. 27, 27-31. The influence of all these instances is stronger if the same consonant occurs twice following, to keep the two sounds farther apart, as שְׁמָמָה Ez. 35, 7. Zach. 11, 3. פִּלְלוֹ 1 Sam. 2, 25. 3, 13. גָּלְלוּ Gen. 29, 3. 8.

Wherever else *o* is found for a possible Sh'vâ, that sound, according to §. 58, has on account of its weight at least remained of this length without being resolved into Sh'vâ, as קָסָמִי = כָּתְבִי 1 Sam. 28, 8, יִרְדֳּפֶךָ Ez. 35, 6. כָּתָּנוֹת §. 389.

170 II. *Signs for the pronunciation of the consonants.* Under these is included the point over שׁ Shin and שׂ Sin. According to all traces ש was originally the broad, obscure sound *sh*, not the clear thin *s*. But as many nations and tribes always avoid that obscure sibilant and resolve it into *s* (as the Ephraimites Jdgs. 12, 6), ש *sh* appears to have been gradually softened in 1/3 of the words in Hebrew, without the ancient orthography being altered. ס however is often written as *s* for ש, especially in the later period, as סָכַר Ez. 4, 5 for שכר; more rarely *vice versâ* ש as *s* for ס, as שִׂכְלוּת Koh. 1, 17 for סכלות; if they wished however in the ancient period to distinguish clearly the sound *s* from *sh*, they were obliged to write ס, as סִבֹּלֶת, שִׁבֹּלֶת Jdgs. 12, 6. The punctuators then distinguished the ש to be read *s* by a point on the left, as שׂ *s*, in opposition to שׁ *sh*. — If this point comes together with a point which ought to be written in the very same place to express Chólem (without ו, §. 164) then, instead of there two points concurring together on the same leg, one only is written; hence 1) שׂ, is to be read *so* if it begins a syllable and has no other vowel-sign nor Sh'vâ, as שׂנֵא *sone;* 2) שׁ must be read *osh,* if the preceding letter has no other vowel-sign nor Sh'vâ, as משֵׁל *mô-shel.*

171 The most frequent and important sign for the pronunciation of the consonants is a *point in the middle* of a consonant, producing its heavier or harder pronunciation. This mode of pronunciation however may be very variously modified according to the nature of the syllables and sounds, and three chief varieties may be observed; in the first two the point is called דָּגֵשׁ *Dagésh* i. e. *contundens,* clashing, therefore harder, heavier pronunciation.

1. The most general and important kind is, when a consonant is sounded double after a short vowel, that is to say, not successively repeated, but only prolonged and therefore pronounced harder; and hence in the ancient mode of writing only written once §. 143; this point is therefore called *Dagesh forte.* As this pronunciation can only, according to §. 119, be perfectly distinct and strong between two vowel-sounds, it follows further that Dagesh forte has its most proper place in the middle of a word, as סַבּוּ *sabbu,* יְקַלְּלוּ *ji-*

qallu; in final letters without a vowel it cannot be written, according to §. 118. It can only be written in the first consonant of a word on account of the connexion of the sense, according to §. 129, and has there a much weaker power; this peculiar kind may be distinguished as *Dagesh euphonicum*, or better *conjunctivum.* The gutturals according to §. 120 never recieve Dagesh.

Modern Grammarians distinguish two kinds of Dagesh forte, a Dagesh *characteristicum* i. e. essentially belonging to the stem, as in גִּבּוֹר, 172
כִּתֵּב, and a Dagesh *compensativum* i. e. representing a sound which is contracted or resolved, as סַבּוּ from סָבַב, נָתַתָּ for נָתַנְתָּ §. 113; these names however, are rather superfluous and at the same time inappropriate. The distinction of *Dagesh dirimens* on the other hand, is important: when the final consonant of a syllable in the middle of a word is not attached closely to the following syllable, but floats between both with a short vowelsound (§. 32), the voice doubles it after the preceding short vowel almost spontaneously; and hence a Dagesh forte is sometimes placed in this consonant to point ont this *separation* of the consonant with Sh'vâ from the following syllable, and to distinguish the Sh'vâ (as Sh'vâ medium accord. to §. 167) from Sh'vâ mute. This use of Dagesh dirimens is not quite regularly observed; it is however properly found *a*) most frequently, where the consonant with Sh'vâ, although attached to a preceding (just arising) short vowel, and therefore floating over to the preceding (just arising) syllable also, still suffers an original Sh'vâ mobile to be very distinctly heard. The principles of formation show where and how such very loose compound syllables arise; the principal cases are *α*) with the interrogative הֲ, which is most loosely attached, as הַכְּתֹנֶת (not to be read *hak-tonet* הַכְּתֹ, but *hak-k'tonet*, because it is derived from *k'tonet*) Gen. 37, 32. 18, 21. Am. 5, 25. *β*) in the *construct state* where Sh'vâ as being shortened from a full vowel always remains as Sh'vâ mobile (or at any rate as S. medium [1]) and the preceding vowel is only assumed from the necessity of the pronunciation, as עִנְּבֵי Deut. 32, 32; קַשְּׁתוֹת, הַלְּקֵי Js. 5, 28. 57, 6. Gen. 49, 10. Am. 5, 21. *γ*) so also עַנְּתוֹתִי *Anatotensis* Jer. 29, 27 from עֲנָתוֹת. — *b*) A vowelless consonant in the middle of a word does not attach itself so closely to a liquid as to a firm consonant [2]); hence to point out this looser connexion the same Dagesh may be written; it is most frequent before ר, as אֶכְּרֶהָ Hos. 3, 2. more rarely before other liquids in are *unaccented syllable*, as נְתַקְּנֻהוּ Jdgs. 20, 32. Ps. 58, 9; for in such an accented syllable the pronunciation is firmer, while in an unaccented one it is resolved (cf. יִדְעֶנָה with יְדַעְנֻהוּ §. 71. 74). — Moreover, ר itself sometimes recieves this lighter reduplication 1 Sam. 1, 6. 10, 24. just as it does Dag. conjunct. also Prov. 15, 1.

1) Viz. Sh'vâ most easily remains as Sh'vâ mobile where a rather long vowel like *ē* is shortened, according to §. 416.

2) This is very clear from §. 29; just as it is easy to pronounce יָפְתְּ and impossible to pronounce יָפְךְּ, so יָפְתָה, is easier (since ת attaches itself very easily to the preceeding vowelless consonant) than יָפְכָה, in which this attachment is not so close.

173 2. The six mutes בגדכפת have, according to §. 103, a very strong tendency to a softer, that is, an aspirated, vocalic pronunciation, by which *b*, *k*, *p*, *t* especially are gradually changed into *v*, *ch*, *f*, *th*, and *th* still further, is pronounced lisping, as in other languages *ϑ*, *th*. In Hebrew, according to the distinctions which the punctuators have established, this tendency is only commencing and has its limits; but as the aspirated pronunciation of these letters appeared in the later period to be the prevailing rule, the punctuation has therefore considered the cases in which the original, or harder pronunciation remains, as a *hardening* rather, and has therefore marked them with Dagesh, which is distinguished by the name *Dagesh lene*.

This influence of Dag. lene by which פּ בּ etc. are pronounced unaspirated at the beginning of a word, but the instant another consonant or a word ending in a vowel goes before (פַּרְעֹה *paroh*, but לְפַרְעֹה, לִפְנֵי פַרְעֹה *l'faroh*, *lifne faroh*) become hardened, is only in accordance with the pronunciation of the period when the points were established; it cannot be maintained that it was the pronunciation of the time of Moses or David. On the other hand, we have traces from the sixth Century B. C. that פ *p* must have been sounded *f* in certain words, independently of the distinction produced by Dag. lene. These words cannot now be pointed out; but it was probably sounded *f* in פְּדֵה, as that word occurs twice in two alphabetical Psalms (Ps. 25, 22. 34, 23) at the end of the alphabet. In both ו is omitted, because, except the conjunction, hardly a single word begins with that letter; but פ occurs the first time in its right place as *p*, and the second time at the end, to supply the place of ו, as *f*: the distance between *f* and *v* is not very great. In Arabic, פ is always sounded as *f*, while in Syriac it follows the regulations of the Masoretic punctuation in Hebrew.

The prevailing rule is that the softer pronunciation can only take place from its nearest cause, that is *after a vowel*, the soft aspirated sound of which influences the mute following it. Consequently

1) in a single word, Dagesh lene can only occur after a *close compound syllable* where the following consonant is in immediate contact with the one before, as יִכְתֹּב, קָמַתְּם, and in the final syllable יָפְתְּ, אֵרְדְּ according to §. 29. Where any vowel, however, even the shortest fragmentary vowel, comes between, the pronunciation is at once softened: therefore *a*) after a distinct vowel itself, whether it be the longest, or most fleeting, as כ and ב in יִכְתֹּב, פ in יָפֶת etc. — *b*) after the appoggiatural consonant (with Sh'vâ mobile §. 166), as לְכָה, the ב in יִכְתְּבוּ — *c*) after the floating Sh'vâ, or S. medium, where there is a slight sound of a fragmentary vowel, with the half shut syllable, cf. §. 32. 167. The absence of Dagesh lene here is of great importance even for the distinction of forms; the following is a general summary of the cases: *a*) close compound syllables are always produced in the formation of stems; they are only sometimes wanting before the last nominal terminations, as אַבְדָן, מַלְכוּת accord.

to §. 40, עַרְבִי (Arabian) from עֲרָב accord. to §. 343. In יַרְכָה (*fem.* compared with the longer יָרֵךְ) and שַׁרְבִיט or שַׁרְבִט Est. 4, 11. 5, 2. 8, 4 Dagesh lene appears to be wanting, because the guttural ר was *burred* in reading and pronounced with a fragmentary vowel. — β) half shut syllables always arise at the resolution of a vowel by flexion, where the consonant properly without a vowel assumes one before the consonant whose vowel is resolved, on account of the necessity of the pronunciation (§. 66), as הִרְדוּ from חָרַד, מַלְכֵי from מְלָכִים cf. 291, 415 f.; or with very loosely attached and separable prae- and postfix syllables, as with the suffix הָרְגֶךָ §. 62, with the preposition בִּכְתֹב. In cases like כְּתָבְךָ from כְּתֹב §. 62 the preceding syllable is indeed more closely attached by force, but the softer pronunciation still remains, because the stem-vowel *o* has hardly disappeared entirely from the consonant before; in the same manner תּוֹסְףְ Prov. 30, 6 from תּוֹסֵף. — γ) with gutturals the peculiar case יַעַזְבוּ from יַעֲזֹב according to §. 73.

2) The same influence is also extended to the first sound of a *word*, in such a manner, that the soft pronunciation takes effect whenever the first of two words closely connected in sense and pronunciation ends in a simple vowel, as וַיְהִי־כֵן Gen. 1, 7. In all other cases the hard pronunciation remains; at the beginning of every single word and of a sentence therefore; moreover, when the preceding word ends in a consonant: to which class of compound syllables those too which end in a full diphthong are for the most part attributed (v. on the contrary Js. 34, 11, Ez. 23, 42. Ps. 68, 18); lastly, after a word ending in simple vowel, but separated and disjoined by the sense (and consequently by a *disjunctive* accent §. 184 ff.) 174

3) It is remarkable that a double sound is not capable of being softened, because the softer, or aspirated, pronunciation according to its nature, only easily affects a single sound, but with a doubled one is difficult and disagreeable (cf. in general on the proper aspirates §. 81). Dagesh forte in the middle of a word, §. 171 therefore, becomes at the same time Dagesh lene, as רַבִּים *rabbim*, סַפִּיר *sappir* (although the Ancients wrote σάπφειρος). But since a double sound is only sounded single at the end of a word §. 118, the hard pronunciation is also resolved there, as רַב, כַּף *kaf*, סוֹף. In the forms אַתְּ (*thou* fem. sg.), נָתַתְּ (*thou gavest* fem. sg.) Dagesh with Sh'vâ §. 165 remain unaltered, because they have only just so arisen from אַנְתְּ *natănt* that the soft *n* becomes mute and bounds off before the hard *t* in the final syllable. This singular effect only occurs besides in the dual שְׁתַּיִם *fem.*, from שְׁנַיִם *two* for שְׁנְתְּ, where Dagesh remains in the same manner, cf. §. 435. It is to be read *'shtájim*, almost *eshtajim*. 175

Moreover, the effort to avoid too great an accumulation of aspirates causes the mute, which ought to be softened at the beginning of a word, to remain hard, if it stands without a firm vowel (with Sh'vâ mobile)

before the same, or a very similar, mute, as 'בְּבּ, 'בְּפּ; this further extension of the principle, however, is not regularly observed in the Mss. and editions, cf. Gen. 39, 12. Jos. 8, 24. 10, 20. 15, 18. There is a still more unusual application of this rule to two words closely connected together, as כִּי־גָאֹה גָּאָה Ex. 15, 1.

176 3. If ה at the end of a word, where it generally is not sounded as a consonant (§. 153), is to be pronounced hard, that is, as a consonant, it is there written with the same point, which is also properly of the same force, but in this peculiar application is called מַפִּיק *Mappiq* i. e. producens *movens* litteram, causing the letter, therefore, to be actually heard as a *consonant*, as בָּהּ *báh*, גָּבַהּ *gábah*, גָּבֹהַּ *gabóah*. If this ה however, has a vowel of its own after it, at the end of a word, like אֵלֶיהָ *eléha*, Mappiq is not written because ה here, from its very position, can only be sounded as a consonant.

A point which occurs four times over א, where that letter stands between two vowels, and must therefore be pronounced harder as a consonant, almost like j, must have a similar force: וַיָּבִיאּוּ Gen. 43, 26. Lev. 23, 17. Ezr. 8, 18; רֹאּוּ Iob 33, 21. cf. §. 55.

177 The direct contrary of this point for hardening, and negation of it, is an horizontal stroke *over* a letter, called רָפֶה *weak*, *soft* pronunciation. This sign, however, is not very regularly found in the manuscripts, and in the printed copies (except the oldest, cf. Jdgs. 16, 16. 28 Masora) is almost entirely omitted, without any great sacrifice of clearness; it is however designedly sometimes properly placed where it would be most easy to fall into a mistake: 1) most frequently as a sign that *Dagesh lene* cannot stand there, e. g. after Sh'và medium, where one might read incorrectly, as בֵּיתְךָ *bay'ta*, not *baita*; עָזְבָה *'oz'ba*. and even besides, as אֲחֻזַּת, נֹתְנִים, — 2) more rarely as a sign that Dagesh forte cannot stand there (because most of the cases in which Dagesh forte cannot stand are easily distinguished by the division of the syllables) chiefly only where one might easily erroneously suppose Dagesh forte necessary, as וַיִּמַח Gen. 7, 23 (active, *then he destroyed*; וַיִּמָּח would be passive *then was destroyed*), בַּקְּשׁוּ *seek ye*, imp. Piel, cf. §. 119. But this sign was never placed over the gutturals and ר, because they can neither recieve Dagesh lene nor, properly speaking, Dagesh forte either; there exists therefore no object for the sign over them. — 3) in the same manner, as negation of *Mappiq* §. 176 and is found even in our editions in places where an ־ָה, which one might easily mistake from the connexion to be the suffix fem. sg. and read accordingly ־ָהּ, is not to be so read, as צִדָּה 1 Sam. 20, 20. Iob 31, 22.

178 All that is here said from §. 171-177 upon the hard and soft pronunciation of consonants, and the signs for it, is not confirmed by any thing so much as by the example of the Syrians, who observe the same minuteness in the copies of their sacred books, v. Ewald's *Abhandlungen zur bibl. und oriental. Litteratur* p. 82-90 quoted above. Some traces at least of similar distinctions are found even in the dialect of northern Arabia, and in Persian, as for instance, the stricter orthography requires

بَغْدَاذ, فيشداذ, cf. the grammatical verses in FLEISCHER's not. ad Abulfedae Hist. Anteislam. p. 212. Abulfeda always expresses the aspiration in Hebrew words, and its absence, in Arabic letters also. How *old*, however, softening is in Hebrew is another question.

Former Grammarians always set out, in the point of view from which they consider the language, and in their expressions, on the presupposition of the existence of these signs for the vowels and consonants, without keeping in view the real nature of the ancient written text independent of the more modern punctuation. Hence they call the letters ה א י ו, when they loose their power as consonants and stand immediately after the sign for a vowel, and thus appear to *rest* in that vowel, *litterae quiescentes*, as י ו in קוּם, קוֹם, לִי, ה א in קָרָא, גָּלָה, but if they are sounded as consonants, *litterae motae* or *mobiles*, as ו in צִוָּה. They also call one of these letters, which looses it power as consonant and stands still farther removed from a vowel-sign, *littera otians* (which therefore peculiarly relates to א), as in יַמְצִיא §. 85, עֲדוּא §. 154. These names, however, have little meaning, and are inappropriate. 179

2. ACCENTUATION, OR SIGNS FOR THE TONE OF WORDS AND PROPOSITIONS.

Tone is the particular raising of the voice which is added to the natural sound. For it properly proceeds from the *sense* and life of the sentence, distinguishing that which is most important and prominent. The tone of words in a proposition is manifestly regulated by the sense of the whole; but even in a single word, the tone of the syllables must be originally determined by the meaning of the form and composition. The concurrence of particular sounds in a single word may, indeed, also influence the tone of the syllables, since through it, many syllables must in themselves be raised, and definite laws have been established for the tone of words (§. 33 f.): this influence, however, only modifies the former, more general law, without destroying it. 180

Opposed to this raising is *sinking*, or tonelessness; this however has various grades. For according to the law of the rhythm, only those syllables are naturally sunk before the raising which are in its immediate neighbourhood; but in the remote members there arises again a gentle rise, a countertone, according to the same natural law, which can exert a more or less sensible influence according to circumstances, as for instance in the last syllable of the word *livelihóod*. These three things, therefore, are to be clearly distinguished:

tone, high tone, the ruling one; *sinking*, utter tonelessness; and *countertone*, or *deep tone*. As this holds of polysyllabic words, so also it holds of propositions of large and small extent, in the most manifold way. The raising is indeed often attended by a new one of a similar kind in its immediate neigbourhood, since the peculiar concurrence of sounds may favour this in a single word, and the sense favour it in a proposition; but this does not destroy that general and natural principle.

How the tone then thus governs the single syllables of a word, and how it regulates whole propositions with greater freedom and variation, every where giving the sentence first unity, colour, and life (§. 19) all this has the accentuation endeavoured to determine with the greatest precision and minuteness. It is equably extended therefore as well to a single word, as to the connexion of words according to the sense and rhythm, and has established a number of signs to attain this end as precisely as possible. The most general sign for any raising of the voice is ֽ, usually called מֶתֶג *Méteg*, *fraenum*, *retinaculum*, to denote the delay, the lingering of the voice. It stands, as all these signs properly do, *after* the vowel sign, by way of showing what is *added* to the natural sound of a syllable or word.

181 I. *Tone of a single word.* Every word has one chief tone which according to definite laws (the particular application of which is shown in the theory of forms) has established its position always towards the end of the word §. 34. According to the law of the rhythm however, and, occasionally, on account of certain sounds, a deep tone, or more gentle raising, may be also heard before it, which is denoted in the punctuation by ֽ.

1. According to the law of the rhythm, the sound immediately before the tonesyllable must sink, or be toneless. But the vowel which is separated from the final syllable by even the most fleeting vowel only can be again raised, and consequently recieve Méteg; and if a full syllable goes before, it is a rule to raise the second syllable from the tone. Méteg however is very rarely written with a close compound syllable here, because its vowel is already sharpened by the nature of the syllable, as מִתְנַדְּבִים Jdgs. 5, 9. וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ (var. lect.) Gen. 33, 7. וַיִּתְגֹּדְדוּ 1 Kgs. 18, 28 (others have not Méteg at the beginning) it is only frequent in בָּתֵּיכֶם because it is to be read in an unusual way *bóttekém* according to §. 51. Méteg always stands on the other hand with the vowel closing the syllable which might easily be too faintly pronounced as אָנֹכִי, יְזַנְּחָן, הָאָדָם, אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם, הוֹשַׁבְתֶּם, and even with a short vowel, as הֶחָכָם, הִצְלִיחַ, קָדָשִׁים *qódashim* §. 162, although the הּ which arises out of ךְ §. 90 as being unemphatic does not recieve Méteg. In the same manner also if a fragmentary vowel precedes the tonesyllable, as well when the vowel is long, as in כְּתָבִי, תּוֹלְדוֹת; וַיֵּשְׁבוּ, יִרְאוּ,

in which word Méteg is at the same time very important for the distinction of *jî-r'û* from יִרְאוּ (*to be afraid*) from יָרֵא *jir-'û* from רָאָה (*to see*); as when the vowel is short, as הַלְלוּ, לַמְּסִלָּה Jer. 31, 21 for הַלְלוּ, לַמְסִלָּה; according to §. 119; rarely is Méteg found in a loose compound syllable, as סִבְכֵי Js. 10, 34, עַרְבוֹת Num. 31, 12, and even תַּדְשֵׁא Gen. 1, 11 in which the first syllable may be at any rate resolved, as Dag. lene is wanting, according to §. 29, 172. If the word has two syllables with a vowel at the end before the place of the sinking, the one immediately before the sinking is raised, as הָאֹכְלִי, עֲלִילוֹתֵיכֶם Ez. 21, 29; if this syllable ends in a consonant, the former one, if suitable, as וָאִוָּדַע Ez. 20, 5. מֵהִתְהַלֵּךְ Iob 1, 7. 2, 2. Méteg can even occur oftener before if circumstances favour it, as לִישׁוּעָתְךָ.

2. The following are special causes for the rise of the voice being noted by a sign 1) the regular raising of the vowel which goes before a Chatefvowel. — 2) in יִהְיֶה, יִחְיֶה, וִהְיִיתֶם etc., for the purpose of distinctly raising the vowel which in itself is very difficult in this combination §. 94. — 3) to give the short vowels of many affix words a particular emphasis especially the interrogative הֲ and the article הַ, the וּ conversivum, the preposition מִ; as הַמְמַלְאִים Iob 3, 15, הַיְדַעְתֶּם, הַמְשֵׁל from the interrogative הֲ; וַיַּעֲנֵךְ, מִמַּעֲמָדְךָ Js. 22, 19. In this however and also partially in the above the editions do not all agree since some go farther than others. — Concerning Méteg with Sh'vâ as the beginning of a word v. §. 198 *nt*.

II. The *tone of a proposition* on the other hand is infinitely manifold and more difficult to determine. For it depends on the ever varying sense of the proposition, and consequently on the unfettered liberty of combining thoughts and words in a whole. And it cannot be sufficiently kept in mind that the Masoretic accentuation, which has undertaken to point out the place and connection of every word in a proposition, is yet in the end entirely dependent on the sense of the thought, the internal life of the sentence, and endeavours to signify this by external signs, as much as it can. It is not however so loosely and extrinsically connected with the interpretation of the sense as the usual punctuation of modern languages, from the nature of which it is very far removed, as is sufficiently evident by the fact that it has no signs for interrogation, exclamation, or quotation of the words of another. Its object is not to determine single important, or prominent, shades and parts of the sentence, but to mark the motion, connexion, and colour of the whole sentence, from the greatest to the smallest member. The sentence has by nature, and especially in the life of the ancient languages, a vicissitude of rise and fall, of raising and sinking of the voice, which by being repeated throughout all parts, or members of a long passage, produces a rougher kind of rhythm. In more elevated, solemn language especially, 182

the flow of the sentence spontaneously forms itself into a natural rhythm, since the thought resolves itself into a number of similar thronging members, each member then rises and falls after the same manner, yet are all again subordinated to a loftier whole, in which alone they find their completion and rest [1]. In the prophetic diction, and in elevated passages of history (like Gen. 1.) this natural rhythm is spontaneously produced; but as, in the eyes of the punctuators, the whole Bible appeared to have the same elevated language, and the same solemn tone, they have accented simple historical narrative in the same manner also, without regarding the difference of style; only for the proper poetical books have they introduced a peculiar mode of accentuation, the so called poetical accentuation §. 192 ff.

1) Cf. something similar in Arabic, Ewald's *Gramm. Arab.* §. 777.

183 It follows from this, that there are two ruling principles in the so called prosaic accentuation: the *sense*, and a kind of *rhythm*, or regulated raising and sinking of the voice. The first and highest authority is the sense, on it depends the division and direction of the verses and members, as also the particular emphasis of single words [1]. But the rhythm has also its influence, beautifully and appropriately articulating the members, determining the flow and rest of the diction according to just measure, and collecting and ordering what is loose and disjointed in a higher whole. These ruling principles, thus conspiring in their influence, produce that regulated, solemn kind of declamation which the punctuators considered to be suited to the dignity of the contents of the sacred volume.

1) To give a minute explanation of this here would occupy too much space. Suffice it to remark that the arrangement and power of the words of a sentence, as they are taught in the *Syntax*, is also on the whole entirely the basis of the accentuation. The accusative, when it is placed first, always has the emphasis, and produces therefore an impediment in the flow of the verse, which may be in the highest degree intense, where such an accusative contains something particularly important Js. 10, 23. cf. below the Syntax where all this is particularly explained.

For this purpose the text is first reduced to *verses* of the most equal measure possible, shorter propositions being combined into a higher whole wherever the sense will only permit it; but propositions which are too long are divided by suitable pauses, and resolved into their larger component parts; for a verse which is too short is more tolerable than one which exceeds bound and measure too much. If the sense alone was to determine the division, the verses would be obliged to be of exceedingly unequal length: but since

notwithstanding their great variety, a certain equality of measure is still aimed at in the compass of the verses, it is possible with the utmost precision to articulate and arrange all their parts according to equal laws of declamatory rhythm. — Within the verse then

1. the raising and sinking of the voice is first shown on 184
a small scale. For there is a natural tendency to sink the word before the tone, or raising, or to hurry it over rapidly and without emphasis. But while the raising remains always limited to one single word only, the sinking can embrace many; as in metrical rhythm many short unaccented syllables can be made to correspond to one long accented one e. g. *υυ* _'_ ; only that there is a much greater license here. The number of words which are sunk has its limits however, since where too many are accumulated, a counterpoise, or deep tone, is necessarily added of itself. More than *three* words never stand so deprived of all delay and tone. It is not indeed necessary, on the other hand, that the raising or high tone should be preceded by a sinking, where the sense or rhythm does not admit such a sinking of a word, but this absence of the sinking always produces a violaation of the natural tenour, arising from very peculiar causes and only permitted within certain limits.

This relation goes through the whole accentuation. The accents are accordingly either called *conjunctive*, that is, distinguishing words which must be more rapidly read, and hurried over, or *disjunctive;* every disjunctive accent has regularly a conjunctive one before it; but can also have more than one. When a word with a conjunctive accent is to be read with a countertone, the sign of delay |— called *P'sîq* i. e. section, separation, is placed after that word. We have therefore the three essential distinctions again: tone, tonelessness, countertone.

2. We call that which can be embraced by a disjunctive 185
accent, a *member.* For it is evident that the series of words which thus comes together has neither sufficient compass nor force to form a rhythmical verse, it is therefore merely a member in the series of the words of the verse. There must indeed necessarily be many such members in every verse; but in such a manner, that a higher unity again shows itself in them, holding them all together in an appropriate succession. That is to say, the verse itself as a *per se* perfect and complete whole, which therefore does not attain its full rest and completion until the end, and the *pause* (§. 130 ff.) as the expression of that completion, produce this unity. The

members of a verse, therefore, are so arranged in gradations, that the voice ascends from the deepest rest and breadth to greater and greater motion, rapidity, and shortness, or taken in another sense, descends more and more from elevation and lightness to depth and heaviness. Hence this progress, or the series of the members, has necessarily definite limits and numbers, since although the most manifold variety is permitted in the single members, the whole still preserves its appropriate progress and its limits. The verse with its member must be like a net, which can encompass few or many according as its extension is necessary, which can contract itself to the narrowest span, and stretch itself to the widest compass, but still always has its limits. The farther a member stands removed from the end, the more must it expand and relax itself, being lighter, the more words must it be able to embrace; but the members themselves have their limits. And on the contrary, the shorter the verse is, the more contracted are its members, the more condensed is their power in itself.

In unimpassioned diction, only four members properly can go before the final member with gradually encreasing rapidity and expansibility, so that the third member from the end can extend itself, but still more, the fourth and fifth. In these five members, or in four new raisings of the voice on to the pause, the compass and power of a sentence of unimpassioned flow is exhausted. But neither are all sentences, which would be within this compass of so tranquil a tenour, nor is even this compass wide enough for longer verses. Hence the division into *sections* may be further added to the division into members, which does not do away with the latter, but only varies it, and supplies its deficiencies. These are not flowing members like those in tranquil diction, but *standing* ones, from the momentary delay, since they oppose and hinder the usual current, either on account of a greater abruption of the sense, or on account of a more particular emphasis. But the section then, being thus only a stronger, firmer, but disconnected, independent member, accommodates itself in other respects entirely to the order of the members. It may be therefore first *various* according to the graduated order of the members themselves. That is to say, a section descends *one* degree, comes down one preceding actual or possible member, lower, so that even the smallest may at least have one member before it. But as there are in general only five members, it follows, that, corresponding to this number, there arise four sections, with the last which is equivalent to the last member and the pause, with gradually decreasing power: 1–4 as sections to *a–e* as members. Each section according

to this gradation can have the members which are possible for it before it, as 2*cde*, 3*de*, 4*e*; and as the anterior section is only a stronger, more retardescent representative of the corresponding member, therefore the order of the members after it *must* be continued on the same scale, as *ab*2, *abc*3; but it can *also* go back a degree, as *abc*2, just as also from the greatest section there can be no going back except to the next smallest, as from 2 to 3, not to 4. Each anterior section however (4-2) as an independent and unconnected, though not concluding part, may be repeated once or oftener successively with its circle. And thus the sections produce indeed the greatest variety and expansibility of a sentence, but in such a manner, that the order nevertheless remains always the same on the whole, since the voice returns after the interruption to the same degree again, and always continues in equably descensive flow to the end. There is nowhere an abrupt, unconnected transition. The preceding members, which are varied according to the section, acquire therefore a different power in different connexion, since *c* as 1*c* is stronger than 2*c*; although the section-member is always stronger than the flowing member of the same degree, e. g. 3*c* has more emphasis than 2*c*. In the last two sections, however, the final member (1*a* and 2*b*) has so much power, that the nearest preceding member only serves it as a support and preparation, like a stronger deep tone; 1*b* and 2*c* therefore might be appropriately called *foremembers*.

With regard to the application of the sections, it again depends on the sense, as well as, on the compass of words which are to be brought into the rhythm. If the sense, for instance, proceeds tranquilly from *a* to *e*, but there then occurs a more important word, 3 may be put, or still stronger 2 where it appears suitable; just so before *d* there may be put 4, or stronger 3. But the case is different if the sense requires a division into many equal parts. In this case, 2 or somewhat weaker 3, serves properly to make a *division*, that is two half sentences, the second of which, according to the nature of the rhythm, is the heavier. If there are three equal parts according to the sense, the third part is nevertheless subjected to the second as its half, according to the rhythm: as A$\overset{}{\underset{\smile}{BC}}$. And when four parts come together, the rhythm takes them in pairs, but so that the first two form the lighter half. And so on down to the smallest division. But as the sections are always at the same time dependent on the order of the members, therefore, if they are obliged by the sense to be placed in a situation too far removed for this order, they must necessarily be repeated afterwards with their possible peculiar circles, until the right order of the

members can again return; and this is the true and only cause for the repetition of the sections, or of members corresponding to them, by which, according to the power of the sections themselves, nicer distinctions in particulars may be occasioned. From which it is also evident, that when a section is repeated, it has most power as to the sense the first time, as it is afterwards more dependent on the rhythm *).

186 3. Although the series of words in a verse can be thus very much extended by the sections, yet only rarely does the verse consist of one simple succession, with, or without, sections. Where the sense will only permit it, the verse is rather divided according to the law of the rhythm into two halves, each of which is perfectly equal to the other as to intrinsic power, and the former is only a little more hurried at the very end; the latter has a great tendency to be of shorter compass, and thereby stronger and broader in tone, although the sense may even make the former shorter. Sometimes, however, from similar causes, a new part again becomes separated at the beginning, so that the verse consists of three intrinsically equal parts; but this part according to the combination of the rhythm is only considered as the first half of the first half of the verse, and is therefore nothing but the intension of a second section. We distinguish these three possible parts, which in the end embrace the whole great system, by I. II. III: that is, verse, half verse, third of a verse. The principal order however is, that II and III as parts of a verse are not dependent on the order and scale of the members, since they begin a new order again; they may therefore have the longest and the shortest order of members behind them, in which the only limit is this, that before I *a* and II *b*, *b* at least endeavours to find a place as foremember; although II in itself, when obliged by the compass (consequently only with a longer series of words) takes III before it.

187 In this manner therefore the members become very various and diverse: I, 1 *a–e*, 2 *bc*, 3 *c*, 4 *d*; II, 1 *a*; III, *bc*. As many different members in all degrees as there are, so many different signs for the solid ground and delay of a member, for the raising and place of the tone, consequently so many *disjunctive accents*. For this raising is just as much the ever necessary part of every member as it is, according to its variety, the sign of the degree of the member. In the

*) The three terms in the original, *Einschnitt*, *Abschnitt*, *Durchschnitt* (a *cutting into*, a *cutting off*, and a *cutting through*) convey a much clearer idea of the kinds of division than member, section, and division, which I have been obliged to use "*propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem.*" *Trans.*

sinking, or in those words which precede the last word of a member, on the other hand, there cannot be so great variation; hence there are only five kinds of conjunctive accents, which are marked in the table α–ε. They are certainly originally different according to the five fundamental members, since δ corresponds to *d*, γ to *c*, and so on; but appear however to be regulated among themselves in the great whole after a still more artificial manner, partly according to the degrees of the members, and partly according to rhythmical laws of the alternation of the sinking in its course. The most important facts are: α remains for the last, broadest members of the first section, and is only seldom used besides for the broadest sinking; γδε are always most properly confined to the corresponding unemphatic members of their degree (i. e. those that do not form sections) or at least for cases of a similar kind; β however, as of moderate compass, is not only used with members of the second degree, where that degree is to be especially raised, not only with all sections, and in all cases where there is a certain emphasis opposed to the smaller degree, but also always after γδε, since, after the least sinking, the voice raises itself again to its usual tenour. For which reason β is also the most frequently used *disjunctive* accent.

Where a particular word for the sinking is wanting in the connexion of a member, the sinking may establish itself in the last word of the member itself, in the place of the regular first Méteg §. 181. This extensibility of words, however, only extends as high as 4, and ceases at that smallest section. With 1 and 2 the foremember also can be so used.

A word itself, however, may appear too heavy for a conjunctive accent, being carried over to the following word without the least delay. The sign for this is a horizontal line after the unaccented word, called מַקֵּף *Maqqef* i. e. *connecting*. The cause of this lies partly in certain particles, which according to their meaning either always, or at any rate not unwillingly, admit closer attachment: e. g. נָא־, עֲשֶׂר־, the prepositions and conjunctions, as עַל־, אֶת־, כִּי־; in part and chiefly in the rules and within the bounds of the whole system of accentuation, which are often most easily applied and preserved inviolate by this skipping over a word. Only words however, which are closely connected by the sense also, can be so attached, and at the utmost, never more than four at once.

Finally, there is an internal doubleness possible with 188
many accents, according to delicate distinctions of various kinds, since it appears necessary from a particular rhythmi-

cal cause that an accent which is necessary in a place should be written a second time with particular emphasis. Many new signs are produced by this', as will be explained below.

If we consider then that every word has thus its sign, the reader is never left in uncertainty from the very beginning. If for instance the verse begins with *d*, this may either lead directly down to *a*, or first go aside to 3*c* or to 2*bc*; nevertheless the reader is guided with certainty from the first word to the last. If we wish however by examining and counting the appointed signs to discover the principle of the whole articulation of the members, we should first observe whether the verse may be resolved into members in direct regular succession. If not, the proper place for the appropriate *section*, or *part*, must be found out; the first question again therefore is, whether a division of the sense is to be made in the middle, so that I and II, or 1 and 2, or somewhat weaker 1 and 3, are divided. Where a division is not necessary, a peculiar emphasis may be nevertheless given to different passages by sections, or by parts of the verse, or by single words. Thus the structure is raised with order and proportion from the greatest to the least part, and correct measure is visible throughout it; we can scarcely say that some fluctuation of the Masoretic accentuation is discoverable in the extreme parts, since many possibilities come together. The variation of Mss. and editt. is often especially between a sinking and Maqqef.

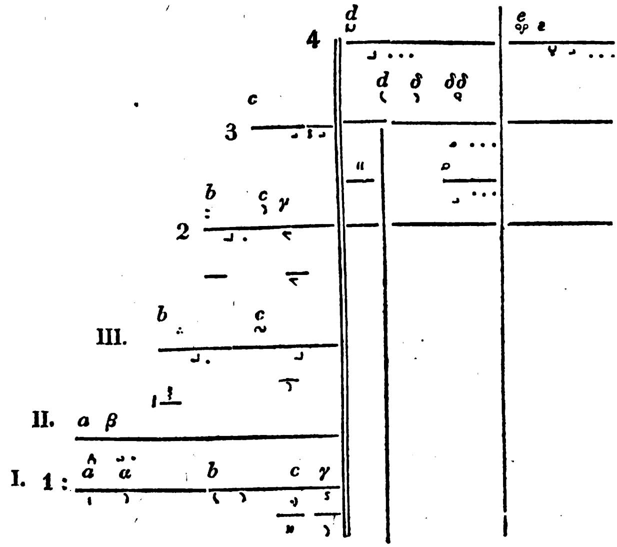
189 After this, it is now easier give an explanation of particulars after a representation of the whole with all the signs and possible subdivisions has been given. The signs themselves are significant both in their form and their position; and it is not only instructive, but conducive to a knowledge of their use, to observe these peculiarities attentively.

On the whole, it may be observed that the accents for members towards the end are all written *below*, and those more removed from the end are all written *above*; by which the height at the beginning, and the sinking of the voice at the end, is clearly expressed. Just in the same way the accents for sinking have their place appropriately under the word; with the exception of δ too closely connected with *d*. It is moreover clear why the most important accents for sections, 2*b* and 3*c*, are points over the word, and the others straight strokes, 1*a* and similarly 4*d*, and the accents for dependent members, on the other hand, crooked strokes, which represent the incomplete state of those members. The strokes which are bent outwards are also manifestly signs of separation (1*b*, *d*); those bent inwards of connexion. How more definite signs arise out of more simple ones is often shown by the form and composition themselves; for instance, from the single point above, the double point ∶ first arose, from this latter ∴ with still greater force. Lastly the power of some signs is encreased by their being placed before or after; while they are usually written precisely with that syllable of a word which has the tone by way of answering the object of marking the tone of the word at the same time: thus ⁻̣; T'lisha when placed after, is the lesser, when before, the greater; the signs for III *b* and *c*, which have proceeded from 2*b* and *c* with an increase of their power, are at the sametime made stronger by being placed after; and ‿̀ as 2*c* (Pashtha) is distinguished as being stronger than ‿̀ as δ (Qadma) by being placed after. So deeply is the disadvantage under which this last very common sign labours (of the proper distinction of the place of the tone being lost where it is pla-

ced after) felt, that, where the tone occurs in an unusual place, the sign is twice placed; once in the place of the tone, and again in its proper place as accent, as in the penult חֲגַלְ֗יְנָה֗, also before Patach furtivum (§. 168) ר֗וּחַ֗ Gen. 8, 1, or even with the unusual termination in two consonants, as וַיֵּ֗שְׁתְּ֗; the other signs of this kind are also found so repeated in certain Mss. — From all this then it is also certain that the punctuation, as we now find it, cannot possibly be the work of one man nor, of one century; but that it has gradually been developed from simple and insignificant beginnings to its present astonishing perfection and precision; the most complicated signs are precisely those which from internal reasons also have arisen latest. See the description of the still simpler syriac accentuation in EWALD's *Abhandl. zur bibl. u. oriental. Litteratur* p. 103 ff.

The *names* of the particular accents have been handed down to us from the Jewish schools, among which are many for the same sign, or for the sign under different relations (v. SPITZNER de accent. V. T. p. 31 f.). The following are the names at present most in use, according to the connexion and sense which may be found in them: 1) :ֽ (I *a*) סִלּוּק *Pause* with סוֹף פָּסוּק *end of the verse*; ֑ (II *a*) אַתְנָח *rest*; ֗ (3 *c*) רְבִיעַ *resting*; ֔ (2 *b*) זָקֵף *raiser*, which causes the voice to be raised; ֡ פָּזֵר (4 *d*) *divider*, dividing into sections; which are all appropriate names for final and sectional members. — 2) ֖ (1 *b*) טִפְּחָא *prolongation*; ֙ (2 *c*) פַּשְׁטָא *expansion*; ֮ (III *c*) זַרְקָא *dispersion*, from the broad, prolonged, interrupted accentuation of the foremembers; ֚ (2 *c*) יְתִיב sitting, *firm*; ֛ (1 *c*) תְּבִיר *broken*, of the smaller division; ֜ (*d*) גֵּרֵשׁ and ֩ (*δδ*) תְּלִישָׁא *drawing*, *pulling* (cf. ܬܠܫ for ἐκτίλλω MIDDELDORPF curae hexapl. in Job. p. 53) from the slighter interruption and division. — 3) Accents for the sinking: ֥ (*α*) מֵרְכָא (from ארך) *prolonging*; ֣ (*β*) מוּנָח *demissum*, *deep*; ֧ (1 *γ*) דַּרְגָּא *step*; ֨ (*δ*) קַדְמָא *before*. To these are to be added the names derived from the figures: ֒ (III *b*) סְגֹלְתָּא like Ségol ֶ among the vowel-signs; ֓ שַׁלְשֶׁלֶת *chain*; ֤ (2 *γ*) מַהְפַּךְ *inversion*, since the figure is ֣ inverted ֟ (*e*) קַרְנֵי פָרָא *cow-horns*; ֪ (*ε*) יֶרַח *new-moon*. Lastly, these signs can never come in collision with the vowel-signs: ֗ as R'bia is placed higher up and is larger than ֹ Cholem.

190 The following is a tabular view of the whole, as far ar itmay be distinctly represented with all its accessory signs and possible variations:



One point denotes a *single* possible repetition of the accent; *three* points a possible *more frequent* repetition.

I. 1 *a* *Sillûq* with *Sof-Pasûq*; *α* *Mé-r'ka*. *b* *Thifchâ*. *c* *T'bîr*; accessory accent *Mé-r'ka k'fûla* (double M); *γ* *Darga*.

II. *a* *Atnâch*; *β* Munâch etc. as in I. 1.

III. *b* *S'golta* postpositivus; accessory accent *Shalshélet* with *P'sîq*. *c* *Zarqa* postpos.

2 *b* *Zaqef*; access. acc. *Zaqef gadol*. *c* *Pashta* postpos.; access. acc. *J'tîb* praepos. *γ* *Mahpach*.

3 *c* *R'bîa*. *d* *Géresh*; access. acc. *G'rashaïm*. *δ* *Qadma*. *δδ* *T'lisha* k'tanna (little) postpos. access. acc. *T'lîsha g'dola* (great) praepos.

4 *d* *Pazer*. *e* *Qarne-fara*; *ε* *Jérach*.

Modern Grammarians have called I *a* and II *a* *Imperatores*; III *b*, 2 *b* and 1 *b* *Reges*; 3 *c*, III *c*, 2 *c*, 1 *c* *Duces*; 4 *d*, *e*, T'lîsha g'dola, *d* *Comites*; all these again *Domini* and on the other hand *α*–*ε* with T'l. kt. *Servi*; which names are partly inappropriate, partly incorrect.

191 1. The sentence may flow on tranquilly in 5 members, which are to be counted backwards from the end, an example of whose most simple compass and sequence is shown in this verse Jer. 38, 25: יָבֹאוּ אֵלֶיךָ
וְאָמְרוּ אֵלֶיךָ הַגִּידָה־נָּא לָּנוּ מַה־דִּבַּרְתָּ אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ אַל־תְּכַחֵד

מִמֶּנּוּ וְלֹא כְמִירָךְ, in which the 5th member only embraces more than one conjunctive accent. But let as examine the members singly:

'*a* and *b* are always so mutually connected, that *a* must necessarily have *b* before it as its fore-member. Therefore they both have only *one* sinking, since *α*, or the sinking of the first degree, stands before *b* also. *a* and *b* may indeed be compressed into *one* word, since *b* stands instead of Méteg, as Lev. 21, 4. Num. 28, 26. Ez. 10, 13. 1 Chro. 2, 53; but if the last word is too short for the space of an ordinary Méteg, the last word but one cannot be carried over to another section; *a* however is sometimes found alone as part of a verse Gen. 1, 3. — II *a* is only distinguished from this in that being somewhat shorter it introduces *β* and sometimes even repeats it (Ex. 3, 4; on the other hand the same occurs with *Maqqef* in many editt. Js. 48, 11. 54, 4), while *α* remains for II *b*, and in general all the rest holds of II as of I.

c ֥ is the second foremember to 1, but not a nècessary one; to judge from its figure, it is formed from the sinking-accent of this section ֭ by augmentation. Where it would precede *b* immediately, i. e. without a sinking or Méteg intervening, ֦ *Mé-r'ka k'fûla* i. e. *double M.* is used for it, as Gen. 27, 25. Lev. 10, 1. 2 Chro. 20, 30, and it appears to be somewhat weaker than ֥ on account of the contracted space. ֖ is used as sinking *γ* for both (a somewhat crooked stroke for ֭) instead of which however, when one syllable only, or none whatever, comes between, ֭ is often again found as the longer sinking of this section, Gen. 1, 17.. 24; cf. Js. 5, 19.

d is used as member as well in 1 as in 2 and 3, and consequently as for 2 so also for III *b*; so that all that follows holds of each of these three beginnings; how far there are special laws for 3 see below under 3. It is a very remote member and the usual prelude to long series; hence too it is very expansible and light. The most important result of this is, that it may have a number of sinkings before it, the remote ones of which are always *β*, accord. to §. 187. *d* however has still so much power that when before *δ*, it must be preceded by *δδ* as a gentler raising of *δ* and a countertone to it, which in the figure also (') represents an intension of *δ* ֨; this may then be preceded by many *β*. Whence also it happens that where the series of *d* embraces only three accent-words, *β* with P'siq may come in just before *d* and *δ* as sufficient, Gen. 28, 9. 1 Sam. 14, 3. 47. 2 Sam. 13, 32. Jer. 4, 19. 38, 11. 40, 11. Ez. 9, 2. Hag. 2, 12. 2 Chro. 26, 15. [1]). When a word, however, occurring where ֩ has its rhythmical place, has somewhat more emphasis, the sign ֠ *T'lishâ g'dolâ* which is stronger, is used for it; from which we percieve, that the distinction according to rhythm and sense which pervades the whole system is also repeated on a small scale in this first remote member. The basis of the member, *d* and *δ*, only occurs in this connexion, when the first word is very closely attached to the second, as Gen. 11, 31. 12, 5. 14, 8. 13, 14. Num. 14, 34. Jdgs. 11, 17. Js. 8, 14. 10, 16. or even in the same word, where *δ* can stand in the place of Méteg, as Gen. 48, 20. Dt. 7, 13; in a single word which cannot recieve Méteg, *d* stands alone also, if it can come in the penult Gen. 7, 14. 50, 10; in all opposite cases however the signs are joined together, as ֞ G'rashâïm, which is therefore stronger than simple *d*, and can be preceded by a word with the accent at the beginning with *β*, and is even besides not unfrequently placed as being stronger as to the sense, especially alone (without sinking)

after the stronger T'lishâ g'dolâ, but always on the tonesyllable, that is, on the last syllable of a word, because the emphasis is to be rendered more prominent there than when the penult has the tone, Gen. 1, 28. 11, 3. 17. 11. 19, 11. Ex. 3, 16. Jos. 2, 1. 1 Sam. 15, 18. 29, 6. 25. 7, 8. 14, 2. 8, 14. 11. 12. 1 Kgs. 20, 9. Jon. 4, 6. A word with the tone at the beginning, as being shorter, takes the usual *β* even before the simple *d*, as Gen. 14, 9. Mal. 1, 11. Ez. 45, 4, except when T'lishâ k'tanna goes before and the height of this member already begins with it, Gen. 9, 23.

1) The dispute whether T'lishâ k'tanna is a *conjunct.* or *disjunct.* accent may be accordingly thus settled: that it is in itself indeed of less power than any disjunct. accent, but that after one or more *β* it yet has a certain retention. It has P'siq like a conjunct. accent 2 Kgs. 18, 17. If however its in itself slender power is to rendered more emphatic, T'lishâ g'dolâ must be used, as a complete *disjunctive* accent.

But this member can also occur before *c* of 1 and 2 with diminished compass and force, that is to say, from *δ* onward. For the usual tranquil *c* suffers itself also to be extended beyond the narrowest compass; where the sense then permits this expansion, there may be a leap from *cγ* to *δ* (or instead to *β*, according to what is above said) at once, which is a lighter, more flowing transition [1]) than that abrupt one to *d*, as אֶת־קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים Gen. 3, 8. 13, 19, 32. Js. 7, 4. (with a *penult* which has the tone, however, there is then often *d* itself, if it does not happen to go before Gen. 43, 34. 2 Sam. 14, 9. 30.) *δδ* can then at once go before Gen. 3, 14, or the stronger *δδ* Js. 7, 16; instead of *δ* too and the usual *δδ*, the stronger *δδ* (T'lishâ g'dolâ) may be used at once where there is some stress, which however is still weaker than *d* [2]), as רַק לָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵל Gen. 19, 8. 7, 7. Jos. 2, 1. 1 Sam. 1, 1. Jer. 39, 5; but a longer series cannot be added. Hence it is further possible for this weaker, dependent part of a member to be preceded by the complete member *d* with greater emphasis and with all its possible compass, while *δ* and T'lishâ k'tanna can then at the utmost have one *β* before them. (Ex. 5, 8. 2 Kgs. 5, 1. 2 Chro. 22, 11), as Gen. 19, 35. 21, 23. Ex. 22, 9. Js. 8, 14; Lev. 4, 7; Gen. 1, 12; Num. 3, 39. Hence too as before, instead of *δ* and the weaker *δδ*, the stronger *δδ* may be used at once with an emphasis and be then preceded by *d*, as Js. 9, 5. Gen. 13, 1. 1 Sam. 17, 51; Dt. 26, 12. Neh. 5, 18. By this therefore great variety and expansibility of this member is produced, and without occasioning interruption or ambiguity.

1) cf. Jos. 22, 10 with v. 11, where the same words are arranged before 2 *cγ* as *δ δδ β*, but before the stronger 3 *c*, as *d δ δδ*.

2) This T'lishâ g'dolâ and G'rashäim however are so near then, that both are considered possible in some places, and are therefore combined by the copyists in the same word, as Gen. 5, 29. Lev. 10, 4. 2 Kgs. 17, 13. Ex. 48, 10. Ref. 2, 15. The case is different in אָנָּה Ex. 32, 31 cf. Koh. 4, 10, where two accents which are possible according to the connexion are indeed united in two successive syllables, but in syllables which may be also divided into two words: אָהּ־נָא.

Finally *e* is the extremest independent member, and as its form shows, an augmentation of the power of and by union for a new member; its sinking *ε* appears to be the same single sign placed below, with some trifling alteration. If it has a flowing member before it therefore, it must always follow either entire *d* (Num. 35, 5. 2 Sam.

4, 2. Jer. 13, 13. 38, 25. Est. 7, 9. Neh. 5, 13. 13, 5. 13. 2 Chro. 24, 5. 35, 7) or *δ* with *δδ* in an expanding series, for even in the latter case, *d* could not be placed, but something smaller, though independent, consequently *e*, Jos. 19, 51. 2 Kgs. 10, 5. Ez. 48, 21. It is on the whole not frequent, because the sentence seldom extends itself so far in tranquil sequence.

2. The first anterior section 2 *b* has 2 *c* as its foremember, which however it not so necessary as *b* is with 1 *a*. Each of these members has usually only one sinking; nevertheless *β* is sometimes repeated before 2 *b* where the sense favours it, as Gen. 3, 12. 4, 11; and 2 *γ* according to what is stated above can be enlarged by *δ* etc. Instead of ‾ as the proper 2 *γ*, however, *α* is rather used, as being longer (cf. with 1 *c*) if there is no syllable at all between the sinking and 2 *c*, as Gen. 1, 2. Js. 6. 13. Instead of 2 *c* too, ‾ (being changed to a *praepositive* and then called *J'tîb*) is used as weaker, if the word has no other word whatever before in this section, and has at the same time the tone at the beginning. Where the section consists of two words only, the former recieves 2 *c* if it is possible, though also *β* merely where the sense is too unimportant, as Gen. 1, 2. 4. 6. 3, 1. Where this section consists of a single word however, 2 *b* is then found together with 2 *c* if the second or third syllable of the word before the tone is a firm, compound one, whose firmness adapts it for the the strength of a foremember, as Gen. 12, 7. 17, 17. 24. 25. 19, 27. 21, 33. Jos. 6, 23; if not, *β* only has space for a possible Méteg before the tonesyllable, as Gen. 3, 7. 4, 1. 1 Kgs. 20, 5. 32; although Méteg also remains where it is placed extraordinarily Dt. 26, 10; but lastly, where the word is too short for it, a stroke is placed after the sign _' thus _|' to detain the voice sufficiently even in this little space; for the name *Zaqef gadol* does not mean that the sign with P'sîq added to it has intrinsically a higher power. — If this 2 *b* stands too far off from the end (for at the utmost it can come before 1 *c* with *δ* 1 Kgs. 20, 1. 30), it may then according to §. 185 be repeated as often as is necessary for it to come to its right place, and since the rest of the measure after 2 *b* preserves greater evenness, 2 *b* is often repeated even with a very small number of words, where the sense will only permit it, Gen. 1, 14. 18. 20. 3, 1. 7. 12, 7. 2 Sam. 7, 29. Ezr. 7, 26. 1 Kgs. 19, 4. 18. 20, 5. 32. 2 Kgs. 1, 6; though 3 *c* with its compass may also come next, if it is more suitable to the sense, as Dt. 30, 20. 2 Sam. 15, 21. 1 Kgs. 18, 36. 44.

III *b* and *c* perfectly correspond in nature to this 2 *b* and *c*, just as the signs also of the former are nothing more than an augmentation of those of the latter. But the foremember III c is always necessary here, as with I and II. *β* can sometimes occur twice in the last member, Gen. 3, 14. 2 Kgs. 1, 6; there is also a gentle augmentation of this part when *β* recurs in the last but one, by which equality of the sinking in both members, III becomes more like I and II. The longer *α* however is not unfrequently found instead of *β* before III *c*, if a longer series of syllables comes between, or somewhat greater emphasis is expressed, as 2 Sam. 7, 7. 1 Kgs. 1, 19. 25. Gen. 30, 20 although the Mss. and editt. often waver between both. In dependence on this *α* or *β*, even *δ* may go before in the same word, Lev. 10, 12. Jdgs. 21, 21. Neh. 12, 44. Sometimes too *β* is found twice in short words, Jos. 24, 15. Jdgs. 9, 2. Lev. 17, 5. 1 Chro. 12, 18. 2 Chro. 23, 18. Where this part consists of only one word, _ı_ is used as a new sign, perhaps not of less accentual power, but always with P'sîq (cf. Zaqef gadol) without other distinction of the length of the word; it occurs Gen. 19, 26. 24, 12. 39, 8. Lev. 8, 23. Js. 13, 8. Am. 1, 2. Ezr. 5, 15; its figure represents three strokes instead of three points.

3. The middle anterior section according to its sign ⁝ and its power, is nothing but a weaker power of the first; therefore where they are both possible according to the compass, a trifling turn, which follows from the consideration of the whole, often decides which shall be used, cf. Dt. 27, 19. 26 with v. 16-18 (cf. something similar 27, 22 and 25). That 3 *c* may easily enter into II for 2 *b* in I, is proved by Iob 2, 3 compd with 1, 8 (where III is put for II by mistake). 3 *c* has no foremember, and can never have *d* in the same word instead of Méteg, hence *d* is indeed apt to go before, when a member can be formed out of the words going before according to the sense, but where only a light series of 1-2 words goes before, the sinkings are then sufficient; and if *d* fixes itself 3-5 words further suitably to the sense, the number of the sinkings of 3 *c* may also be extended so far. The second word before 3 *c* takes *γ*, which exactly suits this member, as its sinking, and indeed the same as 1 *γ*, while the last word before the word of the section must have *β* accord. to a general law, Gen. 3, 6. 4, 15; as somewhat more emphatic however *β* with P'sîq is always used instead Gen. 2, 5. If it is enlarged, a third word cannot go over directly from *γ* to *δ*, as with 1 *γ* and 2 *γ*, for 3 *c* has more power; but it is put with *β* again, either alone or with P'sîq Num. 4, 14. Js. 5, 25. Gen. 31, 29; but every word which follows a *β* with P'sîq, then takes *α* somewhat longer, and the next word may then have *δ* Dt. 13, 6. 1 Sam. 12, 2. 2 Sam. 15, 21. 1 Kgs. 14, 21; Jos. 19, 47; *β* however remains with P'sîq Gn. 7, 23. Dt. 31, 16. This *β* with P'sîq and *α* is also sometimes found before 2 *cγ* as being somewhat stronger than *δ* (which would be the usual one accord. to what is above said) as soon as *d* has before found a suitable place Lev. 10, 6. 21, 10. Ru. 1, 2. — Where this section is too far from the end so that all cannot in arranged in tranquil order after it, it must be repeated if there is a suitable place for it accord. to §. 185: yet still another possibility offers itself. For instead of 3 *c*, 2 *c* which corresponds to it, may be repeated, since that too has a strong tendency to the end; the only difference is, that 2 *c* although possessing no less delay, is yet less abrupt and stiff; but this very thing is often more desirable in this connexion. Consequently 3 *c* itself is only repeated where there is greater power and independence, elsewhere the softer 2 *c* is used, especialy in shorter more unimportant repetitions, or rather floating continuations; thus 1) before 2 *b*, as 2 Sam. 7, 29. 14, 7. Ezr. 7, 25. Ex. 8, 13. 29, 20. 22. 32, 1. 1 Kgs. 3, 11. 20, 39. Jer. 13, 13; — 2) before III *b*, therefore where III *c* must stand at the end as foremember; but as this comes into contact with 2 *c* so as to be also able to stand for it, the distinction is, that the weaker 2 *c* is used where III *c* as foremember already embraces a series of more than two words, and 2 *c* itself only one word, if not, the foremember immediately before it is repeated, as Dt. 12, 18. Jos. 18, 14. 1 Kgs. 12, 10, Gen. 42, 21; — 3) before 1 *c*, where a similar distinction takes place, that instead of 2 *c* before 1 *c*, the same 1 *c* may be immediately repeated, whether only the one regular sinking separates both, or none at all comes between, as Dt. 30, 20. 1 Kgs. 17, 36; Lev. 8, 26. 1 Kgs. 20, 9. Jos. 10, 11; only Dt. 26, 2 the latter 1 *c* has two sinkings before it. Moreover 3 *c* can of course be also repeated immediately before 1 *c* where the sense requires it, as Gen. 38, 12 so that all other interpolations and members, which are possible accord. to what is above said, may admit of the most manifold application.

4. It is not possible to have the smallest anterior section before the sequence has arrived at *d* or at least at *δδ*; it is very frequently found before *δδ* where the sense and compass favour it, and indeed naturally in every possible connexion, as Jos. 2, 1. 7, 24. 10, 11. Ex. 29, 20. Dt. 5, 23. 6, 22. 1 Kgs. 19, 11, from which it appears that it can also stand

immediately after 3 *c* and as its substitute. Where it is possible to advance by counting short similar sentences, from *d* to *dδ*, 4 *d* is then put after this last, as 1 Kgs. 10, 5. 4 *d* may indeed take *e* as an inferior member under it, this however is only very rare with longer series before 4 *d* and *e*, the only passages of which kind are Neh. 1, 6. 1 Chr. 28, 1; 4 *d* is usually found at the extreme end, since it may have a considerable, but by no means an unlimited and altogether unsuitable member of sinkings before it, among which P'sîq alone can make a distinction. Where 4 *d* however must be placed at too great a distance on account of the sense, it can be repeated often in succession until the gap is filled up, and as the smallest section it may return at the smallest distances and where the least rest is possible, as Gen. 27, 33. 1 Kgs. 19, 11. 1 Sam. 14, 3. Dan. 3, 7. Jos. 7, 24. 1 Chro. 12, 40. 15, 18. Js. 66, 20. Ez. 43, 11. (var. lectt.).

Thus this infinite variety may be clearly explained from a few laws, aud it must be admitted that the punctuation, although the growth of years, and only a progressively developed system, is yet built upon principles, and appoints to every word of a sentence its allotted place.

The *poetical accentuation* has two peculiarities which 192
intrinsically distinguish it from the prosaic: 1) it is calculated for shorter and lighter propositions, since poetic diction is in general hurried and short, and its members are therefore of more limited compass than those in Prose, which are at one time very short, and at another very long. The members therefore ascend, in flowing diction, at the utmost to three only: *a–c*; and the corresponding sectional members are only 1-3. Every section and part of a verse has indeed a foremember, but it is not so necessarily attached to the final member. — 2) Within these circumscribed limits, however, there is more manifold variety and more nice distinction in particulars, since this accentuation does not prescribe an invariable recitativo dependent on the sense and rhythm simply, but a mode of cantillation ever varying according to the position and compass of words and propositions. Parts of the verse, members, single words, all are more accurately distinguished after melic method, and yet are all again brought into harmony. An accentuation which is actually more suited for Poetry has thereby been produced, which the punctuators however have not applied to all poetical pieces of the Old Test. but only to the great poetical sections of the Bible, the book of Psalms, of Proverbs, and Iob 3, 2–42, 6, but in these pieces, have also extended to the few intervening passages of prose, for uniformity. —

The substance of this accentuation is entirely borrowed from the former, since the same signs are found again with selection, and with many new modifications and compositions. Its force is essentially the same, but it often acquires in this system a new application. These peculiarities and licences, as also the many compound signs in this system, are also the

cause that many more variations and mistakes are found in it in Mss. and editt. than in the usual accentuation. The following is a particular statement:

193 1. There is no such tranquil, regulated progress in *members*, as in the prose accentuation. Every part of a verse has rather only one single *foremember* properly, which indeed always tries to mark the countertone towards the end, but as it is at the same time dependent on the rhythmical compass of the word and only exists in a limited space, it cannot alway do so, so that weaker kinds and expressions of the same then arise. Where the verse or its parts, however, are of wider extent, the two anterior *sectional members* must be at once called into service, the stronger one 2 *b* corresponding to the 3 *c* of prose, and the weaker 3 *c* to 4 *d* of prose, which are moreover exactly so distinguished from each other as in the accentuation of prose.

194 2. The *sinkings* however are much more manifold and important, first because they occupy the greatest space in this more hurried accentuation, and secondly, because the changes in the mode of cantillation, ever varying according to circumstances, are particularly expressed in them, as it holds as a rule here that many sinkings cannot come in succession without distinction, as in prosaic accentuation, but every one is adapted for its place alone. All these more delicate rules and distinctions cannot be now accurately and completely given; the leading principles however are clear. Above all things, three kinds of sinkings are to be distinguished: 1) in the first place, the two bases of each part of the verse have one usual sinking, differing according to the nature of the part; I has α, II has β, III *b* the same β, but III *a*, like 3 *c*, has the smallest sinking, the prosaic ϵ, see farther below. — 2) Next in importance is a group of sinkings, whose intention essentially is to denote the progress to γ, or the sinking which, standing on the third degree, becomes more isolated and unconnected; and ‾< is the usual, but _ʾ_ the stronger sinking here, wherefore we distinguish the former by γ, the latter by $\gamma\gamma$. It is thereby also clear beforehand why these sinkings, especially $\gamma\gamma$, so often have P'siq. To descend to particulars, it is now easily understood why they never come immediately before I *a* and *b*, and before II *a*; they can however distinguish the third word before these; they can also stand immediately before $\widehat{\beta\beta}$, $\widehat{\beta b}$ which is a weaker substitute for II *b* and I *b*, as Ps. 24, 10. Iob 12, 8. 15. 13, 14. But in the more remote members II *b*, III *b*, 2 *b*, 3 *c* they stand either in the third place, as Ps. 34, 7. 24, 10. 125, 3. Iob 14, 7. 16, 4; or even in the second, immediately before the accent of the section, or anterior part, if the sense rather favours the separation of this part, as Ps. 10, 14. 45, 13. 71, 18; the common sinking of 2 *b* is α, but with greater separation γ, cf. Ps. 1, 1. 2, 8. 8, 2. 40, 5. 7. Pro. 32, 17. Iob 14, 7; it is also observed to stand more easily before 2 *b* and 3 *c*, if a stronger separation goes before Ps. 125, 3. $\gamma\gamma$ with P'siq, thus possessing the power of a smaller sectional member, can be successively repeated in the remote members, with γ for its sinking; but where this $\gamma\gamma$ would fall upon a word accented on the first syllable, γ with P'siq is used instead of it. Sometimes however α is also found as pure sinking, in remote parts, although there is great variation in Mss. and editt. in this point; cf. var. lect. Prov. 6, 3. Ps. 90, 10. J. H. Michaelis not. crit. ad Ps. 35, 10. Prov. 30, 9. But still stronger than $\gamma\gamma$ is _ʾ_ (generally with P'siq) which is found in similar situations, but only before I and II, not before III and the sectional members; we call it therefore simply *c*. — 3) Peculiar sinkings are: 1) a word immediately

before a stronger or weaker sectional accent often recieves a β above (Munachus superior) probably to show that the word is to be read with an elevation of voice, but yet abruptly; it is found before the final sectional accent I and II, if the connexion of the sentence gives occasion for unusual lightness and flow (see below); and just before 2 b and $\gamma\gamma$ with P'siq (Ps. 7, 10. 10, 9. 22, 29. 30. 27, 3. 9. 40, 11. 42, 3. 5. 9. Iob 14, 13. 19. 28, 3), as also before the light $\widehat{\beta b}$ and $\widehat{\beta\beta}$ (Ps. 4, 8. 78, 25. 119, 84, 10, 17. 32, 2) as being lighter than γ which is usual here. 2) a word with a single *open* (i. e. ending in a vowel) syllable before the tone often recieves the sign of a raising ـ at the beginning besides the sinking, because the uncompressed vowel before the sinking spontaneously raises itself, although it appeared to be still proper in the melic accentuation to raise it, especially where there is some emphasis in the sense; and indeed ـ only is always used with the chief sinking of the heavier parts for all cases in I a, b and II a, and ـ for all other cases without further distinction; a small word can also be so attached to another; cf. Ps. 10, 5. 17, 3. 18, 20. 65, 2. 69, 2 (where two syllables go before and ـ is upon the farther one). Iob 31, 34. 35.

3. Since the verse is for the most part determined by the nature of the poetic diction, it is seldom simple, i. e. consisting of one single section Ps. 25, 1; in unimpassioned diction, it regularly falls into two halves of similar sense, and of similar kind, I and II; but in impassioned diction, a new part may be placed before, merely as preparatory and introductory, and therefore lighter and less independent, which is indeed usually followed by II and I, if the sense permits it (the chief part being divided into its two equal halves, in such a manner that II consists sometimes even of a single long, independent word Ps. 3, 6. 5, 13. 15, 5. 29, 9. Iob 27, 5) but is by no means necessarily followed by II. The verse then thus presents a heaviness and depth progressively increasing from the beginning to the end, since III is the lightest and most expansible, I the heaviest and deepest. Hence I is also the shortest; but where it stands without II it can expand itself. Since then III stands thus alone and independent before I, and has a greater importance than III in prose, as it corresponds to a, and not to b, accordingly, the new sign ـ has arisen for it, ـ i. e. $\gamma = 3$ being placed above and, thus rendered stronger, being moreover compounded with α which directs to the end. 195

The rhythmical foremember (or b) to III is ـ, from III c of the pros. accent.; to II, the praepos. b of the pros. accentuation, distinguished by the very fact of its being praepositive; but to I, at once stronger ـ, that is 2 b with the prose d; hence too where I standing without II expands more freely, many Mss. and editt. leave out the Géresh over the first letter of the word. The use of these foremembers, however, is primarily dependent on the rhythmical compass of the last words:

1) The strong I b is only used when there are two syllables between it and the tonesyllable of the last word, or at least somewhat more than one full syllable; under this condition then, it stands immediately before I a, on account of the sense, or because the whole part consists of two words only, as Ps. 24, 2. 27, 5. 11, in which case, however, the mere sinking can stand even before a short word Ps. 18, 50; or even, for the sake of a better sense, with the third word from the end, in which case the requisite number of syllables is determined by both the following words, as Ps. 1, 2. 4. 22, 2. 4. These cases are the most frequent; and α is found as sinking before I a (instead of which we find the lighter β in a word with the tone

on the first syllable, as Ps. 1, 1. 2, 10) and once or twice before 1 *b*, Iob 16, 8. But if the last word is a *short* one, i. e. without that requisite member of syllables, and the last word but one must be nevertheless separated from the last and drawn over to the preceding one, in accordance with the sense, then a smaller foremember is used viz. $\widehat{\beta\beta}$ before II, and somewhat stronger $\widehat{\beta b}$ before I, the prose *b* in its usual place (hence too this *b* instead of Méteg Iob 12, 19) cf. Ps. 18, 5. 6, with the corresponding words according to the prose accentuation, 2 Sam. 5, 6. Lastly, if the division as to the sense is at the fourth word from the end, the strong foremember 1 *b* can be used with great emphasis, $\widehat{\beta b}$ remaining if the last word but one has again a slighter separation, Ps. 3, 5. 46, 8. 12. 56, 3. 75, 4; if the third has it, this must rather recieve γ (with P'sîq), but the last but one the abruptly raised β-superior, Ps. 3, 1. 10, 14. 20, 2. 45, 2. 56, 8. Where however, this fourth word before the gentle $\widehat{\beta b}$ does not, on account of the sense, admit the strong foremember, then there is occasion for γ, $\gamma\gamma$ and *c*, and *c* is used with some emphasis Ps. 7, 6. 10, 2. 13, 2. 3. 66, 7. 67, 5. 77, 4. 131, 1. — These measures are almost always sufficient with I after II; it is only very rarely that the second α extends itself before 1 *b* so as to begin a new member, with three words Ps. 18, 1 (cf. with two words Ps. 31, 22. where ⏜ is equivalent to *c*, 66, 20, where however we must read ⏜) or that α, or αb, occurs again without 1 *b* before *c* Iob 32, 6. 37, 12. Ps. 89, 2.

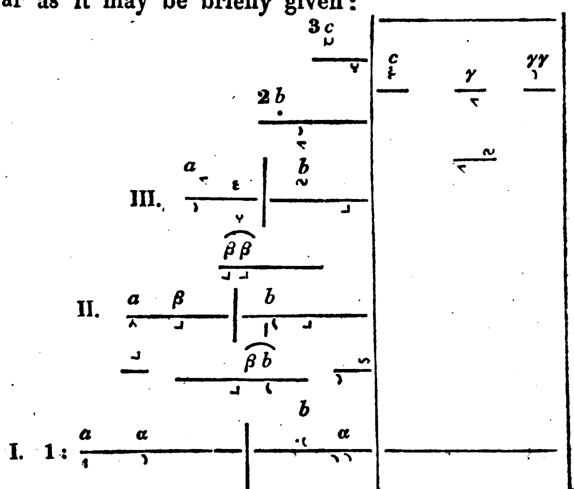
2) Nearly the same rules hold of II *b* as of I *b* (Ps. 22, 27); the only difference is, that $\widehat{\beta\beta}$ is used as a smaller subsistute, or even $\beta\gamma$ with P'sîq, if the third is somewhat separated Ps. 14, 5; sometimes too $\widehat{\alpha b}$ is used instead of $\widehat{\beta\beta}$, in which case the second word appears to have a somewhat stronger tone, as in an exclamation etc. Ps. 89, 52. Iob 5, 27. 30, 27; in which however the editt. often vary. The sinking before II *a* and *b* is β; only where II *a* stands alone without its *b*, as is not rare, is α found, as Ps. 1, 4. 3, 1. 9. Iob 13, 16. 24. 29. Another peculiarity however is, that this weaker II *b* may be altogether omitted, and cannot stand farther back than with the third word from the end; sectional members then may go before, and even the third word can be a sectional member, that is 2 *b*, as is very frequent if the sense requires more separation, or weaker, 3 *c* Ps. 109, 16; and weakest of all, even $\gamma\gamma$ Ps. 37, 1. sometimes too the rare *c* is found with the third word, the last but one usually having β-superior, as Pro. 1, 9. 6, 27. Ps. 65, 2. 72, 3.

If I occurs without II, it can extend itself, and become lighter. In that case 1) II *b* as *c* can be placed before with its sinking β, either before I *b* itself, Ps. 11, 6. 44, 4, in which case the weaker substitutes for II *b* are then also used for this *c* accord. to what is above laid down, Ps. 31, 6. 10. 19; or without I *b*, in which case the second and third word are more easily pronounced with β-superior and γ Pro. 8, 13 (where ⏜ is wrong). — 2) 3 *c* stands shorter instead of *c* before I *b* with some emphasis Ps. 58, 3. Pro. 1, 10; and still more so, *c* merely Ps. 34, 8. 68, 15. 137, 9; just as smaller, but still with some separation, γ Ps. 71, 21. 109, 28. On the other hand, however, even the strongest 2 *b* may appear necessary before in every place, as Ps. 49, 15. — 3) Lastly the series before such a I may resolve itself still more, and especially if III does not go before. Two words which alone make up the verse with 1 *a* recieve two β-superior Ps. 36, 1. 44, 1; or the third, on account of the separation, recieves $\gamma\gamma$ P'siq, preceded by α, and farther back, and stronger, by *c* Ps. 125, 3; or in a short sentence, *c* stands with the fourth word so that the monosyllabic third word is drawn to it Ps. 3, 3.

3) The foremember III *b* can only occur when there are at least 3 or 4 syllables between it and the tonesyllable for III *a*, as Ps. 1, 1. 3. 3, 3. 49, 15. Iob 14, 7; it occurs in the shortest compass, compressed by 2 *b* which suitably precedes it, Ps. 5, 11, 106, 47; this III *b* is also repeated after 2 *b*, just as in the pros. acc. 1 *c* after 3 *c*, Ps. 17, 14. With a smaller interval, the more tranquil 2 *b* is indeed at once used instead of III *b*, as Ps. 1, 2. 2, 7. 3, 6. 4, 5. 15, 5. 60, 8; but III *b* can still find a pace before this where there is a suitable member (just as I *b* in the fourth word), as Ps. 13, 6. 15, 5. 22, 15. 35, 10; where three words, however, intervene on account of the sense, III *b* is rare, and 2 *b* is usually found, Ps. 28, 7. cf. 20, 7. 52, 9. In case 2 *b* thus precedes III *a*, its sinking *ε* is also changed into the more tranquil *α*, just as the sinking of 2 *b* when preceded by III *b*, Ps. 15, 5. 32, 4. 35, 10. Pro. 30, 9. Iob 30, 1. 15; the *β* of III *b* also is sometimes changed for this *α*, Ps. 1, 1. 4, 7, 9. 6, 5. 40, 4. Iob 31, 7.

Moreover 2 *b* and 3 *c*, the above limitations excepted, may be repeated precisely in the same manner and from the same reasons as in the pros. acc., as Ps. 20, 7, 42, 5; 32, 5. 41, 7. 46, 5. 59, 6; Iob 33, 23; Pro. 30, 4; concerning 2 *b* before I without II v. Ps. 31, 23. 49, 15. 148, 14. Iob 32, 5. 33, 24, 27.

The following is a table of the poetic, or melic accentuation, as far as it may be briefly given: 196



I. 1 *a* Sillûq; *α* Merka. *b* *R'bîa* and *Geresh*. *βb* *Mûnach* with *Thifcha* postpositive.
Munach superior. Merka with *Zarqa*.

II. *a* Atnâch; *β* Mûnach. *b* *Thifcha* praepositive. *ββ* *Mûnach* with *Mûnach*.

III. *a* *Merka* with *Mahpach*; *ε* (pros.) *Jérach*. *b* *Zarqa*.
2 *b* *R'bîa*. *c* *Shalshélet*. *γ* *Mahpach*. *γγ* *Qadma*.
3 *c* *Pazer*. Mahpach with *Zarqa*.

197 III. The accentuation, applied with such severity and inviolable regularity, is always in intimate connexion with the pronunciation of single words, since the connexion of words in a proposition, the rapidity, or heaviness and rest, of the voice can also exercise an internal influence on the pronunciation of words (§. 129 ff.).

1. The shorter pronunciations, opposed to the pause, are found in the flow of the diction. Moreover it also produces in certain cases *the attachment* of a short word by reduplication of the first consonant, concerning which v. §. §. 129 and §. 171. 172 at the end. This is however most strongly shown when, before a word which has the tone on the first syllable *with a disjunctive accent*, the tone of the preceding word closely connected with this member of the sentence is thrown back from the last syllable to the penult, for the purpose of preserving the chief rule of the tone §. 180 f. inviolate, as קִינָה הִיא for קִינָה הִיא, תֹּעֵי רוּחַ, בְּהוֹלֶד לוֹ, תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם shortened from בהולד (*e* is the only vowel which may be so shortened); also when an appoggiatural consonant comes between, as וַיַּעַשׂ כֵּן; יֹדְעֵי לֶקַח, אֹבְדֵי דֶרֶךְ; also before a word with an appoggiatural consonant, as עֹשֶׂה פְּרִי Gen. 1, 11 (where the Dagesh in פ is to be explained according to §. 129), וְנָתַן לְךָ Dt. 19, 8. This must not, however, be opposed by the rules for the tone of the penult §. 34, since if it is, the tone remains on the ultimate, as, for instance, וַיָּבֵא לוֹ Gen. 27, 25 with the tone thrown back, is allowable, because the ultimate with a long vowel is still a simple syllable §. 85, but הֵקִים לוֹ is not; cases like חָפֵץ בִּי Ps. 18, 20 are against the rule.

198 All this holds in the same manner if the word is attached to the succeeding one by *Maqqef* accord. to §. 187, only that the vowels of the last syllables are then still shorter, if possible, since the proper tone of the word disappears entirely. Only the final vowels, therefore, which are long by tone, *e* and *o* (as above §. 197) are thus shortened; while the somewhat more protracted long vowels resist this shortening [1]). It is in accordance with this that the countertone leans rather to the beginning of a word then, and the place of the tone of the word remains thus without any raising; so that Méteg (or its substitute §. 187) is then not only put accord. to the general rules §. 181, as מֵעַל־בַּר, but even in a compound syllable, as antepenultimate, as יִרְאֶה־לּוֹ Gen. 22, 8 (but not Dt. 16, 9. Ps. 94, 7), יַחְשָׁב־לִי on which cf. §. 168. 169, and in more remote syllables, as תִּשְׁכָּן־עָלָיו Iob 3, 5, מַלְכַּת־שְׁבָא 1 Kgs. 10, 10. 13, הִתְהַלֶּךְ־נֹחַ Gen. 6, 9. The countertone can then easily fall upon the, in itself, very weak sound of an appoggiatural consonant at the beginning of a word, if there is no place for it further on in the word, as שְׁמַע־נָא Zach. 3, 8. Iob. 2, 5. 3, 4. 5, 1. 9, 24. 19, 6. Js. 13, 2. Jer. 37, 20. Num. 14, 19. Ru. 1, 11. Est. 3, 12. [2]). On the other hand, if the last syllable before Maqqef retains its long vowel and the tone cannot be drawn back, the one immediately before the tone must also on account of its heaviness recieve Méteg, as בֵּית־אֵל Gen. 35, 1. 3. הֲלוֹא־זֶה 1 Sam. 21, 12. Although in this, as in other cases, Méteg may be placed where it belongs accord. to the rule, though for convenience it is not

uniformly used in all Mss. and editt., and this is the chief cause of the many discrepancies in the placing of it. In monosyllabic words, however, with a short vowel, Méteg is better omitted, as עַד־בַּיִת, כָּל־אָדָם.

1) The distinction is often very trifling, as for instance *e* is oftener retained in monosyllabic substantives, as שֵׁם־.

2) On the other hand, this Méteg with Sh'và is much rarer in a word without Maqqef, and is only sometimes found where the syllable which should have Méteg is not a simple one, and therefore does not easily admit Méteg, so that it hurries over to the weak open sound at the beginning, as נְֽנַתְּקָה Ps. 2, 3. לְֽמָרְדְּכַי Est. 7, 9. מְֽסֻבָּלִים Ps. 144, 14. Jer. 49, 18.

2. The *pausal forms* §. 130 ff. are not only found at the end of the 199
verse i. e. pros. I*a* and II*a*, poet. I*a*, II*a*, III*a*, but even in the anterior members where it happens to be suitable. For the chief thing to be considered in these is whether, depending on the rhythm, they only form a member of a proposition which is not *per se* independent in sense and therefore can have no pause, or whether in the division they end a short independent proposition which properly has the pause. Hence too the pause is most frequent with the sectionary members 2*b* and 3*c* pros. Jer. 46, 28, sometimes even with 4*d* pros. 2 Kgs. 3, 25. and 3*c* poet. Pro. 30, 4; but also not rare with the foremember, as 1*b*, 2*c* Dt. 13, 5. 1 Kgs. 20, 40. Jes. 33, 20. Jer. 8, 6. 25, 30. and poet 1*b* Iob 9, 20. 21. Ps. 45, 2. On the other hand it is very rare that there is no pause at II*a*, Ez. 19, 4. Therefore the Masoretes always particularly note such pauses in unusual places, or their unusual absence, in the margin, to avoid possible mistakes.

A similar distinction is sometimes made with *Dagesh lene* §. 174 accord. to which the established rule generally indeed holds, that it is only wanting after a conjunctive accent, but can also be absent on a suitable occasion after a very weak disjunctive, as is expressly remarked after ֒ Ex. 5, 15. Ez. 14, 4. and on the other hand is found after ֮ 1 Sam. 13, 11 (Dan. 3, 3).

The common editions of the Bible exhibit the whole ac- 200
centuation, and especially the more complicated poetic one, rather according to tradition than with knowledge and discrimination, and therefore very inaccurately and imperfectly; the editions of Jablonski and J. H. Michaelis alone appear to be more accurate. The Jewish Grammarians too have only an imperfect knowledge of the subject; among the many works of christian scholars who have endeavoured to understand the system in modern times, *Institutiones ad analyticam sacram V. T. ex accentibus*, auctore A. B. Spitznero. Hal. 1786, is still the best.

SECOND PART.

OF FORMS.

201 I. It is the duty of the lexicon to show minutely how every sound, consonant and vowel, of the roots, or primitives, of the language is significant as the expression of particular feeling; but the Grammar begins with observing how these roots, as to their meaning and formation, pass through essentially three stages: 1) some have remained stationary at the lowest degree, expressing the immediate outbreak of mere feeling, and therefore, for the most part, short and hurried, consisting of vowels, aspirates, and weak sounds, and still continuing, for the most part, without formation and internal regularity; they may be called *roots of feeling*, or *interjectional roots*. — 2) Other roots refer to a place, or to some definite direction, not yet naming the object according to its nature, but only referring to its relative position to the speaker; they may be called *local,* or *indicative roots*, they and as they progressively split into ramifications, the pronouns and very many adverbs and conjunctions arise from them; these roots are of a much higher kind, since they are founded on the perception of the difference of space, and consequently on judgments of the understanding, but for as much as they only indicate, or imply these, they stand nearer the roots of the first stage, and are already more capable of flexion, but not yet in all its kinds. — 3) The largest class in number, and the most capable of flexion, are the *roots of idea*, which express the idea according to the consciousness of the nature of things, clear, perfect expressions of the thought. In these the complete form, which preserves its regularity in all single words, is first found, which is in this respect very strongly expressed in Semitici in that these roots have always an established compass of at least three firm sounds (radices triliterae, sometimes quadriliterae) §. 14. As the highest roots, they may indeed be derived from lower roots, or be related to them, as אָוָה to *howl*, אָנַח (anken low German) to *sigh*, from the interjections אוֹ, אָח; תָּוָה to *stretch*, *extend*, connected with the *t* which points to the distance, and as אָב *father*, אֵם *mother* [1]) may be borrowed from the first labial sounds of an infants lisping; the distinguishing feature however is this, that such words, when they leave the sensuous and material ground of the language, and become fixed for for the expression of the idea, first form a perfect human language.

1) cf. in Sanscrit *pitri* (pătri) *mâtri* from the same roots; the Mand-

schu however is most like Semitic here; in it, the origin is still plainer, since *ama* distinguishes the male (father) *eme* the female (mother), according to the uniform distinction of *a* as the stronger, and *e* as the weaker vowel, cf. VON DER GABELENTZ Gram. Mand. p. 138.

The *root* has in itself no form as yet, i. e., no definite conception of its meaning and pronunciation in this or that direction. But as soon as ever it rises above the state of a mere interjection, either as expressing an idea, or giving signs of it, it can split into manifold conceptions and forms, and from the principle of the formation of roots, a second finer formation arises which modifies and divides all roots uniformly, namely that of *stems*, from which finally, by the last impulse of the flexion, the *words*, as they now exist independent in the language, proceed as branches from the stems. The most general division however is this, that the idea is either concieved at rest in itself and unconnected, or as acting and determining: the first is the *noun*, as naming the mere *being* according to its nature, the second the verb as describing *motion*, *action*, *and becoming* (*fieri*) according to the distinctions of time. The noun therefore is more limited, sluggish, and lifeless than the verb, which is the ruling, most animate and comprehensive part of the language, and hence too the most developed: the noun represents the idea isolated, confined within itself, the verb represents it acting and determining with animation in a time. The roots of idea are thus almost all developed to verbs, so that all impulses of the formation may display themselves in them; only a very few have been stamped as nouns merely, and preserved so. With regard to the whole form then, the verb and the noun make the two chief parts of the language, in which the living formation has stamped itself in all directions in a peculiar manner: some words, however, are excluded from this class, either because they have remained in the primitive rough state, as the interjectional roots, or because they only approach the cultivated part of the language, as the local roots come very near to the nominal formation, or because they separate themselves again from the living part of the language, and rather indicate certain ideas briefly, according to a permanent, and therefore, more or less inanimate form (adverbs): all these, under the general name *particles*, make up the more immoveable, inanimate part of the language, which keeps itself apart from the ruling development; in which this rule generally holds, that the newer and more powerful the formation is in a language, the more does it raise its particles to a higher degree of animation and formation, or retain them in it. 202

203 II. The formations which arise from the roots, and indeed, from the roots of idea chiefly, are the following *three*:

1. Formations of *stems*, or words which proceed from the roots in such a manner that the naked idea of the root e. g. *to hear*, is concieved with many new more particular, and subtler modifications, and thereby assumes the form suited to every one of these variations of the sense; but because these accessory ideas are the general ones of augmentation, or diminution, of the difference between noun and verb, active and passive etc., accordingly, the formations which express them prevail through all roots uniformly, and it all depends on the usage of the language whether this or that stem of a root is developed. Thus the root has regularly branched out into stems, and is now only discoverable in them. Wherein, however, the distinction remains, that one stem may stand nearer to the root, or sprout up more directly from it, than another.

204 The external increment and development of stems runs through the following three stages: 1) The definite compass of three, and sometimes even four, firm sounds which exist in the root (§. 201) forms, even with the internal vocalization which adapts itself to the shades of the conception, the *simple stem*; its kinds therefore depend on the varieties of this vocalization. But by the accession of similar firm sounds, new augmented stems may be formed: viz 2) first, by the repetition, or reduplication, of one or two of the radical sounds, *intensive stems*, which render the idea of the root more intense in divers ways, an easier, subtler formation, instead of a repetition of the whole word. Only rarely, and with great emphasis, are the last two sounds repeated, as סְחַרְחַר *to go round and round*, e. g. of the beating of the heart; frequently the middle one only is doubled, as כִּתֵּב *scriptitare*, גִּבּוֹר *very strong* (hero). — 3) Besides this internal augmentation of the root, and different from it, is the augmentation by means of the external accession of a sound which superadds a particular foreign idea, *ha* before the verb, gives the idea of the *causative* §. 238, *m'* before the noun, that of a *something* to which an action is ascribed §. 338. All these affixes, according to an uniform nisus formativus of the ancient language, are most closely attached to the root *at its beginning*, taking hold of the radical idea from before, and giving it a more definite modification beforehand; only few and later derivatives from nouns take affixes at the end §. 341-343.

205 Within these firm sounds of the simple, or augmented and derived, stem, the *change of vowels* exercises its influ-

ence, not casually, but with invariable regularity and force, 205
and this regular and, as to the sense, very uniform *internal change of vowels* is the second principal means for the formation of stems, cf. §. 15. For there is first a natural vocalization, the nearest and easiest, whose principal rules are especially the following: that *a* is in general the nearest vowel, and that the deeper *e* (i) is rather dependent upon a preceding or succeeding syllable with a sharp vowel, as in קוֹטֵל §. 326. But then the *idea* too influences the change and position of the vowels, and this is the most important and decisive; it depends on this, for instance, that in the simplest stem כֶּתֶב with the accented vowel at the beginning, denotes the noun, כָּתַב with the accented vowel at the end, the verb, that the obscure, inert *u* expresses the idea of the passive, and the clear, energetic, strong *a* that of the active. The distinction of the short and long vowels too is to be attentively observed. The short ones are in general the oldest and most primitive; in the final syllable, the vowels are often only lengthened by the tone §. 33 f., in the noun, also by the idea of the noun as distinguished from the verb §. 316. Lastly long vowels are inserted, which are just as primitively immutably long, arising from a significant augmentation, or reduplication of the short vowels §. 326 f.

Thus the more *delicate* and *intellectual* distinctions in the modifications of the radical idea rest in the internal change of the vowels, and the richer and lighter the vocalization is, the more are these short subtle formations sufficient. But in the advance of the language, since there arises an endeavour to stamp every thing in firmer, external sounds, and since the language becomes poorer and poorer in short vowels, the *external* formation (§. 204, 3) gradually supplants this internal one more and more.

The distinction of the *verb* and *noun* lies also originally in the change of this internal vocalic formation, so that the *root*, i. e. the three firm sounds, can no longer be pronounced as pure root, without distinction, but with the formation of the distinction, that is, either as verb e. g. כָּתַב or as noun e. g. כֶּתֶב. According to the present development of the language, therefore, the root exists only as a learned *abstractum*, as an invisible root, hidden in the earth, whose trunk and branches are alone seen. Because the verb, however, gives a more animate and complete idea, and the noun, on the other hand, concieves the idea as limited and at rest, and therefore, a noun is more easily derived from the verb than *vice versâ*, the verb is nearer in the theory of forms; and since in etymology the root must be briefly and distinctly given some how or other, it has become customary, especially in the Lexicon, to assume the shortest verbal form, as כָּתַב, as the radical sound, just as we give the infinitive in European languages, which, however, historically considered, is neither root nor first stem.

206 Finally, since even the shortest stems according to the formation of roots must be disyllabic according to rule §. 15, the language has a tendency to lengthen words again which have been considerably shortened from other causes; and this is shown in the most various ways in the whole theory of formation.

207 2. Next to this *formation of stems* follows personal distinction, i. e. that of *number* and *gender*, as also of the different *persons* at the same time in the verb; all which distinctions, as being originally only accessory to the stems, are attached to the *end* of the stems (the fact mentioned §. 267 is only from special causes an exception to this); these terminations, however, are as inseparable from the word, and as intimately attached to it as the augmentations of the stems are. In these formations, Semitic has in this respect indeed a greater copiousness, in that the gender is not only distinguished in the *third*, but in the *second* person also (there is however no such distinction in the *first*, because the necessity for it is most sensible in the remotest persons, and from them on gradually decreases): but in other respects even here the form in Hebrew is not most perfectly developed. For

208 1) the plural must indeed always be expressed by a termination, where the sense requires it; this termination appears to have been originally *ấm* (ân) or *ốm*, the sound â appearing to express the extension, enlargement of the thing, *m* the encompassing it, and both together the idea of plurality. The dual *áim*, distinguished from the plural by an inserted *i* (as *u* in Sanscrit: *au* [1]) is only very sparingly used, and under great limitations; concerning which v. 376.

1) For the sound i (u) as it were paints separation, divisiou, therefore possibly also the idea of a whole severed into two halves, that is, of the dual.

209 2) *Gender*, however, is not uniformly distinguished with the same accuracy, just as it is not so necessary to be distinguished as the number, and especially where it does not hold in a physical sense. The *msc.* as the nearest is sometimes used for the form of the fem.; but all this has definite limits, as will be particularly explained below. But the most important fact is, that the *neuter* is not externally distinguished, so that the form of the msc., but more definitely in most cases that of the fem., corresponds to it. The fem. too is always formed from the msc. only, in such a manner that the msc. has no distinct termination whatever; hence too the simple stem is the msc. sg. in the noun, and the msc. sg. of the third person in the verb; for the third person is the

nearest in the verb, in as much as it is in itself the most general and indefinite one of which an action can be understood.

á is found as the usual termination of the fem., the softer, *vocalic* ending which is contrary to the formation of stems appearing to represent the idea of the feminine. This *á* however does remain merely the prolonged immoveable *ah*, but first becomes the softer *eh*, from which the still further progress to *í* is easy, (just as in Sanscrit *í* with *á* is the termination of the fem.) which is shown in many pronouns in which *í* as fem. expells the *á* with which the msc. terminates. Secondly, it becomes flattened into the harder *ăt*, with shortening of the vowel, the aspirate at the end being changed into *t*, according to §. 106; which *t* is especially near and frequent in many forms.

The ideas of tense and mode, which are yet added to 210
the verb, belong on the other hand rather to the more intellectual kind of formation, which is described above §. 205 in the formation of stems; see farther §. 260 ff.

3. What has just been described may be called the *first* 211
flexion of the stems; for there is yet a *second*. This arises from the union of two words into one, by which the second is closely attached to the first, and *vice versá* the latter to the former, not only as to the idea, but as to the pronuntiation also; by means of which, if the second word is a personal pronoun, this little word, attaching itself to the first, becomes almost amalgamated with it so as to from a single one §. 300 ff. 440 ff. A pronoun thus attached to a word is yet very loosely connected with it as to the idea, and does not affect the pronuntiation of the first word more than is according to the most general laws of the tone; while in the formation of stems, and in the first flexion, all parts of a word are most closely attached.

Hence also particular established and harmonious pronun- 212
tiations of words have been formed for the closest attachment of syllables, in these first two formations. Thus a vowelless prefix-sound is always united with the first radical in a firm syllable, in case the latter is not itself followed by a permanent vowel, as מִכְתָּב, נִכְתַּב, יִכְתֹּב. Moreover, it is a rule that where one syllable is very strongly accented or vocalized, the other is alternately so much the more weakly vocalized; some important consequences of which are:

1) that after the long *ó* after the first radical, the second is pronounced very short, unless a new formation is added,

as כּוֹתֵב §. 326, just as it is after a compound syllable with a sharp vowel, as in עִוֵּר §. 330, מִכְתָּב §. 338; on the contrary

213 2) the vocalization is very weak before a very strong vowel in the last syllable, especially before *ó* and *ú*; hence in the stems גְּבוּל §. 334 the first radical is altogether without a vowel, and in derived stems לָצוֹן §. 341 the ô or û of the first syllable has fallen away before *ó*, and in עֵירֹם, אֵילָם, חִירָם §. 341 has been changed into ê or î. In the same manner *a* is sometimes found before î for other firmer vowels §. 343; and indeed the changes of pronuntiation produced by the foretone are to be compared §. 36-42.

214 3) Before *a* in the last accented syllable, a short *a* in the preceding compound syllable is rather changed into the finer, weaker *i*, so that pronuntiations like מַפְתֵּחַ, יַחְכַּם §. 270. 412 are avoided.

215 III. Very much, however, depends, in the application of the formations to the several roots, on the *nature of the radical sounds*. For the formation is most regular and, in general, most perfect only in those roots which consist of three firm, permanent consonants, which are most capable of all internal and external formation and flexion, as כתב. But although the formation is calculated for these as being the normal roots, there is still a very large number of roots which in a greater or less degree want this perfect strength, the formation of which accordingly is subject to special laws, and which so far only *approach* the strong formation. Hence the distinction of *strong* and *weak* roots. Not only however much that is antique, but also peculiarities of form, have been more distinctly preserved in the weak roots, because from the peculiar concurrence of sounds in them they often found a more easy development or preservation. All the apparent irregularities of these deviations depend either on the origin of these roots, or on peculiar laws or weaknesses of their sounds; and hence the following three chief classes and many subordinate ones must be generally distinguished:

216 1. There are roots which have remained very near the compass and state of the primitive roots §. 14 which embrace indeed, as to their *power*, *three* firm sounds as the established compass of a root, but which only unfold them to three actually separate sounds in certain forms, from necessity; viz.

217 1) two sounds with a short vowel, like מד *mad* פל *pal*; but because the formation requires the power of three sounds, all the stems are founded on a reduplication of the 2nd radical;

so that the living root is *madd*, *pall*. These roots are indeed in particulars entirely formed according to the regular forms; but the last two radicals always endeavour to remain together where it is possible, and besides the same sounds repeated twice successively have in themselves something disagreable and endeavour to unite §. 116. Hence a moveable vowel which would stand between the second and third radical, is thrown back to the first, in case it has no firm vowel of its own, as סַב for סָבַב, רֹב for רָבַב (as the â is only the foretone and does not therefore maintain its place) and even when two consonants go before, as יָסֹב for יִסְבֹּב, מֵסַב for מְסַבֵּב.

All the final vowels which are lengthened by the tone return to their original shortness, because the vowel is compressed and shortened by the double consonant. The reduplication of the last consonant cannot indeed be distinctly heard, from a particular cause §. 118, and the vowels in the tone, becoming accented, may be again lengthened on a suitable occasion, although the lengthening remains much more limited here; before affix syllables, however, the reduplication is necessarily audible, and the tonevowels fall away with the tone, as הֵסֵב: הֲסִבּוֹתָ, יָסֹב: תְּסֻבֶּינָה.

Especially when without postfix syllables, these stems are the shortest and weakest which are possible. Hence too these weak stems endeavoured more than any others to lengthen themselves, which is most shown in two consequences:

a) instead of the usual *a*, we often find *e*, with a single other short syllable, which *e* is heavier in such a connexion: viz. regularly in the fortone-syllable before short *a* in the forms יֵקַל, מֵסַב cf. 270. 339 for יָקַל, to which also belongs the ê which remains in the participle §. 351, and often even in the last syllable after *a* in the forms נָסֵב for נָסַב §. 276.

b) the reduplication, which is inaudible in the final consonant, presses forward into the preceding one, so that these stems from the reduplication of the first radical become like those whose first radical is ן, as יֵחַם for יָחֹם, §. 254 ff. Cf. farther §. 228.

Some cases, however, still occur in which the reduplication is lost in the progress of the flexion without any trace, if a full, firm syllable goes before, as נְסַבָּה for נָסַבָּה, there are always, however, certain reasons for this shortening when it occurs, as will appear below.

On the other hand, the last two radicals must be perfectly separated: 1) if an immutable long vowel comes before, or after, the second, which necessarily hinders the union of the two similar sounds, as סֹבֵב §. 336, סָבִיב §. 326. — 2)

because the second is doubled in the intensive form, as קִלֵּל; such formations, however, are not common on account of the too great accumulation of the same sounds, and are usually supplied by others, §. 234 f.

The double sound, however, is on other occasions too resolved into two distinct sounds according to the usual formation, and most easily where the contraction has not changed the form of the word importantly (not in forms, therefore, like יָסֹב for יִסְבֹּב) especially in certain new formations; see particulars below §§. 270. 285. 307 etc.

218 2) Roots in which a medial long vowel, e. g. *û*, supplies the place of the second radical sound, as a long vowel is equivalent to a consonant with a short one, as קוּם *qûm*, כּוּן *kûn*. The radical vowel *û*, to begin with the most important vowel here, may indeed be resolved into its consonant, when forced by the formation, and the root become thereby equal to the strong ones: but the language consents to this only slowly and unwillingly as it is so great a departure from the original. Hence the formation rather treats such roots as roots encompassed by firm consonants, with a long vowel *û* floating between them, which must come in collision with the vocalization of the stems, and accommodate itself as it best can. The stem-vowel then either unites itself with the *û* according to the laws of the sounds §. 52 ff. or, where the stem-vowel is heavier and more important than the *û*, it expels it and remains itself §. 91, 3. [1]). Hence too the sound has preserved its original moveability most in short forms with a vowel before, with which the radical vowel resolves itself without disappearing in the formation, as שׁוֹר (or even מָוֶת §. 318); in pl. שְׁוָרִים like מְלָכִים : מֶלֶךְ, so that the second radical can be even carried over as a semivowel in the flexion.

1) The Arabian Grammarian therefore call these roots, not inappropriately, *hollow* roots.

But *û* must be always necessarily resolved into the firm consonants in the formation of stems: *a*) on account of an immutable long vowel after the first radical, as in the form כּוֹתֵב. On account of this very necessity, however, this form is not yet developed in Hebrew, as also the new abstract forms with an immutable vowel after the second radical, as גְּבוּל, פְּקֻדָּה, have not at all been formed from these roots. — *b*) In the forms with reduplication of the second radical. But even these formations are usually avoided, and supplied by other corresponding ones, and it is only very rarely and in isolated examples that the usual formations are carried through in them, v. §. 234 ff.

According to all traces, the language had originally nearly as many roots with medial *î* as *û*. The formations of both however have not preserved their distinction pure in Hebrew. The formation from *û* has rather overpowered the others, and predominates in the whole verb; *î* has maintained itself in a few nominal forms only, sometimes alternately with *û*, as in בַּיִת §. 318; concerning roots like רִיב, שִׁיר v. §. 245. A few roots only have י always, and then always as consonant, as the following: אֹיֵב (*enemy*, from which once as verb אָיַבְתִּי *I hate* Ex. 23, 22.) עָיֵף *tired*, עָיֹם *terrible*, עֲיָם *anger* formed accord. to §. 334, אֱיָלוּת *strength* accord. to §. 344; all of which, it is to be observed, begin with gutturals §. 227. 219

No such root is found formed with only medial *â*, because the sound could not preserve its distinction in the middle, unless it fixed itself in a guttural; such roots however with a medial guttural, as they are longer and more definite so also are they later than those with a medial vowel merely, as בָּאַר, מָהַר compared with בּוּר, מוּר. The shortest roots also, those with a radical doubled §. 217, sometimes extend themselves to roots with medial א, as יִמְאַס Iob 7, 5 compared with יִמַּס from מסס; this is particularly easy if the form with the double sound separated is disagreable to the ear, as שֹׁאֵס Jer. 30, 16 *K'tîb* according to the usual Aramaic formation, for the part. act. שֹׁסֵס. 220

As the formations of these roots are very much distinguished by their being monosyllabic, they have accordingly the greatest resemblance in power and compass to the roots whose last radical is doubled §. 217. Hence the formation and flexion of both has the greatest resemblance, and a root of the one kind often entirely assumes the formation of the other, but in such a manner, that the shorter roots, whose last radical is doubled, loose their independance more than those with a medial vowel. Cf. farther §. 228. 221

3) The roots which have *a vowel at the side*, either before or behind, approach still nearer to the strong ones. 222

A great number of roots must have originally ended in *î*, *û*, *â*, as שׁחו *shachu*, פרי *fari*; those ending in *â* can preserve this sound more decidedly by the guttural pronunciation, although some with a softened ה fall back to the mere vocalic pronuntiation; as כָּהָה for כָּהַהּ accord. to §. 86, הִתְמַהְמָהּ Gen. 19, 16 from the root מה *mah* with reduplication §. 235; those with final א are similar in many formations §. 85. But these different kinds of roots are no longer rigidly distinguished in the language, on account of a preponderating

external resemblance; in them too, as with those with a medial vowel §. 219, the formation is more and more founded on one vowel sound which has obscured and expelled the others. That is, the sound *i* has gained the upper hand here, beside which, *u* is only seldom found in some forms: the only root in which *u* has more firmly remained, is שָׁלֵו *to rest* in distinction to שָׁלָה *to draw out*; ו is often still preserved in עָנָו *bowed* down, as עני is properly a perfectly different root, *to declare*. Their formation is as follows:

a) In the most numerous class of stems, that is, in those which have the accented vowel after the second radical, *a* as the nearest stem-vowel has always coalesced with that *i* in *ae* (*e*) which has again not continued pure, but is flattened and melted, on account of the tone at the end, into the sharp *é* §. 49. 51. This sound is moreover generally prevalent at the end of a word, as the mixed sounds *e* and *o*, as in the forms כָּתַב, יִכְתֹּב, like that *a*, cannot be distinguished in these roots, so that their formation has continued, as far as this is concerned, more uniform. In some cases, however, there arises a smaller change of that *é* itself, it being changed on suitable occasions into *ê*, *â*, nay even into *ô*.

The weakness of this final *é* is also the cause of its disappearing before every vowel which is attached to the end (accord. to §. 56), as יִגְלֶה : יִגְלוּ = יִכְתֹּב : יִכְתְּבוּ, גָּלָה : גָּלָה = כָּתַב : כָּתְבָה. It is seldom, and only in poetry, that the sound of the third radical maintains itself (as it always does in Aramaic) against this flattening and elision, so as to be changed before every vowel, but most easily before *u*, *a*, into the semivowel י, and before the generally weaker verbal terminations in such a manner that the diphthong *ae* ('ai) maintains itself powerfully against the vowel of the termination, and the tone therefore falls upon the *ái*, as גָּלָיוּ, חָסָיָה, which *a* before *j* may indeed also maintain itself without the tone in יִגְלָיוּן, יֶאֱתָיֵנִי, but not after a longer delay of the vowel, as תְּדַמְּיוּן cf. §. 36 ff.; before the strong nominal terminations, however, *ae* can never be accented, so that it is merely changed into the semivowel: גֹּלְיָה fem. from גֹּלֶה.

b) But if an immutable long vowel intrudes after the second radical, the third must then necessarily be separated; we therefore generally find י, which either coalesces with the long vowel, or separates itself entirely, according to the laws of the sounds, as גָּלוּי, *fem.* גְּלוּיָה; נָקִי (= נָקִיי), *fem.* נְקִיָּה. And these formations are very frequent in Hebrew, as the radical vowel can generally resolve itself into its semivowel more easily and frequently at the end, than in the middle §. 218.

c) Accordingly, those few forms which have the vowel after the first radical, and not after the second, have remained truest to their origin, because the third radical must then always appear by itself, pure, whether it may remain a vowel or is forced to become a consonant; and ו is therefore more frequently preserved this case. Thus שָׁחוּ, פְּרִי, הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה §. 235. 318.

The roots which *begin with a vowel* are similar as far as regards the difference of their sounds. At the beginning of a word, *u* or *v* is almost regularly [1]) changed into *i* or *j*; in the derived stems, on the other hand, in which a single affixed consonant unites itself with the first radical in one syllable, the formation which sets out from *u* (as in those with a vowel in the middle) is by much the predominant one; a few verbs with a prefixsyllable in which ו is found stand in the middle: הִתְוַדָּה, הִתְוַדַּע, הִתְוַכַּח, although י is found here, as הִתְיַלֵּד, הִתְיַפָּה. — In these also, must *â* fix itself in a guttural; yet many formations of this kind are somewhat later, as הָלַךְ beside וָלַךְ §. 228, אָסַף beside יָסַף §. 246. 223

1) Very few nouns excepted: וָלָד in the ancient passage Gen. 11, 30. וָזָר Pro. 21, 8 and the remarkable וָו (*hook*) in Ex. formed like כָּס §. 225, cf. כוה, עוה *to be crooked*, *bent*.

As י at the beginning of a word must always be a consonant §. 90, these roots have even for that reason fewer peculiarities. At the end of a syllable only, יו cannot maintain themselves as consonants, and then peculiar formations arise whose deviations from the normal ones are however only partially sensible. These roots then, of those described, conform most of all to the strong ones.

The vowelsound which arises from יו at the end of a syllable may however be skipped over in a perfectly different manner, by the reduplication of the following consonant, that is, be entirely dropt (cf. §. 113). This is indeed primarily a weakness of the language, as the lóng vowel at the beginning of the word is shortened, though only before sibilants and liquids which easily admit reduplication, as יִסַּד, נוּלְּדוּ for יִוסַד, נוֹלְדוּ; but this reduplication is again so good a compensation for the first radical, that the formation deviates entirely from the nature of these roots and becomes the usual strong formation, as יִצַּק, יִצַּר = יִכְתֹּב (§. 271); only extremely late however is this introduced before other sounds than sibilants and liquids, the only example of which is מַדָּע Koh. 10, 20 from יָדַע.

2. While these classes of roots, and especially those with 224

a sound doubled and those with a medial vowel, deviate so far and so thoroughly from the strong ones that nearly every one of them follows a peculiar kind of formation, the *gutturals* produce only trifling deviations according to the peculiarities of their pronuntiation. For as the guttural generally remains unaltered as consonant, their formation is entirely founded on that of the strong roots and only suffers trifling changes, and those chiefly in the vowels.

225 3. Lastly, isolated irregularities occur, produced by the peculiar weakness of many sounds, chiefly in certain words of frequent recurrence, or in forms in which such weaknesses can most easily be shown. To these belong the peculiar weaknesses of the softest aspirate א, as they show themselves only incipiently in Hebrew, and the softness of the easily resolved ו §. 113.

226 Many of these weak sounds, however, can come together in one root. This has first its limits in itself. For with all the licence in the formation of roots to three sounds §. 14 f. nevertheless all sounds cannot be indiscriminately combined without regarding the euphony and compatibility of the whole. Thus 1) the first two radicals can never be the same sounds, as בב, גג, by which, as the vowel is generally after the second radical, the words would sound very awkward. The first and third radical are never the same originally (except in the roots which have a medial vowel, as סוס) since roots like שֹׁרֶשׁ are either produced from longer ones by shortening, as שַׁרְשֵׁר, or one sound has been commuted for another as נָחַךְ for נחל. — 2) Even consonants which are *very similar* cannot originally stand together in the root, although it happens sometimes at the end from commutation, as עתד from עתת; the very weak sound א, however, may stand at the beginning before ח or ה, as אהב, אחז, אהל; while, on the other hand, roots like חלע are not primitive according to §. 106. — 3) A T-sound never stands at the beginning before an S-sound on account of the too great hardness, §. 114, but it may at the end, as כתס; and, on account of their too great softness, the weak sounds נלר, and especially נה, seldom occur in immediate succession.

227 Moreover, a sound which would otherwise be resolved may become so much the stronger and more fixed when near a very weak one, so that one weakness removes the other, cf. §. 94.

According all this the following are the principal peculiarities of the roots of many kinds of weakness:

1) if the middle radical is a firm one, as in נָטָה, חָזָה,

אָחָה, the circumjacent weak sounds are treated each according to its peculiar weaknesses; so also if the middle radical is a guttural, as יָעָה.

2) יו not unfrequently stand as middle radicals before יו (ה §. 222) as the last. In this case, the second radical is always the more primitive one, and may be sometimes even contracted with the third, after the manner of the roots with double sounds §. 217. But where the third separates itself as a pure vowelsound (accord. to 222, *a*) the second must then always necessarily become a firm consonant (contrary to §. 218) as קָוָה, בָּוָה, חָיָה; for the formation proper to roots whose middle radical is a vowel is totally inapplicable to these, because a third radical is wanting to hold the vowel, as second radical, fast. (Nevertheless גּוֹי can be formed according to §. 222, *c*, since both sounds maintain their original power very well here). — ו is often a consonant even before gutturals, because with them too the support behind is wanting, as גָּוַע, צָוַח; this however is not uniformly the case, as נוּחַ, בּוֹא.

3) נ maintains its strength much more before the weak guttural and is only rarely resolved, as יִנְאַף, יִנְחַל, §. 273. Before יו, the guttural is often stronger, as יִהְיֶה, בְּעָיִם §. 94.

Three weak radicals can only come together on the condition that one or two of them are gutturals, in which case then all these rules hold, as הָיָה and חָיָה §. 94, רָאָה §. 290, יָעָה.

Roots with one weak sound are like roots which have not been firmly 228
and regularly enough developed out of shorter primitive roots, and which therefore often waver between two developments and, without difference of meaning, fix themselves variously according to various stems and forms. The nearest related are, those with double sounds and those with a medial vowel §. 217 f., those with double sounds and those with a vowel at the end, those with a medial vowel and those with a vowel at the beginning. those that begin with י and those that begin with א or ה or with the liquid נ; the following are some of the principal points: *a*) the shorter roots with a medial vowel compared with those beginning with a vowel, in the imperf. of the simple stem: יָגוּר, יָקוּשׁ (§. 270) perf. יָגֹר *to fear*, יָקֹשׁ *aucupari*, עוּץ only *imperat*. perf. יָעַץ *to advise;* seldom the contrary: טוֹב *to be good*, imperf. יִיטַב. From the last word in the causative stem הֵטִיב, more commonly הֵיטִיב; yet before consonant-postfixes we find both הֵיטַבְתָּ and הֱטִבוֹתִי, and once even הֲטִבֹתִי Ez. 36, 11, with a punctuation fluctuating between both. From בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed*, the causative stem הוֹבִישׁ, but before consonant-postfixes where the vocalic formation of בּוֹשׁ easily intrudes §. 287, הֱבִישׁוֹתָ Ps. 44, 8. 53, 6 with הוֹבַשְׁתָּ 2 Sam. 19, 6. *b*) in the same way יָקַע imperf. נָקַע perf. *to distort;* beside הָלַךְ *to go* we find, in those forms in which the first radical is at the end of the syllable, derivatives from ולך, as יֵלֵךְ imperf.,

הוֹלִיךְ causative stem, and only gradually, especially in the Poets, do the derivatives from הלך usurp these forms also, as יְהַלֵּךְ, יְהַלֵּךְ v. §. 270, נְהַלֵּךְ and the late noun מַהֲלָךְ; — יָצַב *to place* only preserved in הִתְיַצֵּב beside נִצָּב. — *c)* רַב *to be many* only preserved in the perf. of the simple stem and the adjective רַב, other derivatives being from רָבָה; יוֹם *day* pl. יָמִים, as if from יָמָה. Those with double sounds and those with medial vowels change oftener, as הֵסִתָה 1 Kgs. 21, 25, 3rd pers. fem. sg. beside הֵסִית, שַׁתּוּ 3rd pers. pl. Ps. 73, 9 f. beside שַׁת, יֵרֹמּוּ imperf. Nif. beside רוּם; עָב *cloud* pl. עָבִים, עָבֵי, st. cstr. sg. עַב Ex. 19, 9; יָם *sea* pl. יַמִּים. — *d)* נָוֶה poetical *dwelling* (prop. *tractus*, extended district) in *pl.*, except in Zeph. 2, 6, נְאוֹת which is rather easier to pronounce before ô.

Different from this is the frequent reduplication of the first radical in the roots of double sounds, which is apparently a transition to the formation of those that begin with נ, but is properly nothing but an effort ot the short roots to extend themselves, which is most easily atchieved when the vowel of a prefix syllable establishes itself more firmly by reduplication of the first radical, v. §. 217. This extension sometimes intrudes into roots with a medial vowel also, most easily with sibilants and liquids, as הִסִּית *to seduce*, though the pure form is still found before accented affix syllables (except Jer. 38, 22), הֵלִיץ *to mock*, from סוּת, לוּז, הִצִּית (pure before accented affix Js. 27, 4) from צתת or צוּת, also הוֹצִית K'tib 2 Sam. 14, 30, נֵעוֹר (Nif. *to move*) Zach. 2, 17, מָשׁוֹט and מִשּׁוֹט *an oar* Ez. 27, 6. 29, מֵרוֹץ *course* Koh. 9, 11; still more easily if a difference of meaning accompanies it, as הִלִּין *to murmur* different from הֵלִין *to pass the night* §. 245, הִנִּיחַ *to set down* in distinction to הֵנִיחַ, more properly *to cause to rest*.

229 On account of this fluctuating nature of the weak stems, even a quite unusual licence may be sometimes hazarded for sake of assonance, as מוּבָא for מָבוֹא *passage in* beside מוֹצָא *passage out* Ez. 43, 11. But even otherwise there is much in Hebrew that is still fluctuating, still forming itself anew, and not yet so finished: but even that which might be called an anomaly from its unusualness, to be possible, must always have its points of attachment by which it is connected with the centre of the formation; e. g. נַשַּׁנִי Gen. 41, 51 for נִשָּׁה perf. Piel is indeed hazarded for the explanation of a name, but yet originally is not entirely false or indistinct, v. 274. All apparent anomalies are either derived from that former greater freedom which permitted this or that which has now become frequent or rare, — or is caused by some particular word no longer having its primitive power and moveability in the feeling of the language; so that becoming isolated, without its kindred stems from the same root, it often also does not preserve its form pure and fresh. Inaccurate, or bold writers like Ezechiel indeed venture much: but even here then are certain limits, and הֵמָּה מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתֶם Ez. 8, 16 is probably a very ancient mistake in writing for ה׳ מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים.

230 Roots of more than three sounds, though still very rare in Hebrew, may yet arise in various ways: 1) the root, which is primitively shorter than three sounds, sometimes lengthens itself beyond the usual normal measure of three

sounds, as a late and weak continuation of the formation of roots of three sounds; only *weaker* consonants, however, are attached at the end or the middle of the root, and most frequently *r*; very rarely in the verb, as כִּרְסֵם Ps. 80, 14 *to devour* cf. כָּסַם *to decrease*, רֻטֲפַשׁ Iob 33, 25 with passive pronunciation §. 256 *to be refreshed* cf. רָטֹב fresh, and פַּרְשֵׁז *to stretch out* 26, 9 from פָּרַשׂ with a repetition of the sibilant; more frequently in the noun, which generally lengthens itself more easily, as שַׁרְבִיט Est. 4, 11. = שֵׁבֶט *scepter*, סַרְעַפּוֹת pl. *twigs* Ez. 31,5 beside סְעַפּוֹת v.5, שַׂרְעַפִּים *thoughts* Ps. 94, 19 beside סְעִפִּים; and from the early period כַּרְמֶל *fruitful land*, עֲרָפֶל *clouds* beside עָרַף a cloud; often in proper names, as עַקְרָב *scorpion*. — 2) Sometimes two words always connected together either in sense or by usage, are amalgamated together, especially if their sounds resemble each other; פַּלְמֹנִי Dan. 8, 13 is decidedly so contracted from the usual connexion פְּלֹנִי אַלְמֹנִי *a certain one*, like the word *aliquis*, שַׁלְאֲנָן Iob 21, 23 from שַׁאֲנָן *quiet* and שָׁלֵו *to rest*, and צְפַרְדֵּעַ *frog* appears to have arisen in the same manner from צָפַר *to chirp* and רֶדַע *a marsh*. But such an origin of words of many sounds cannot be frequent. — 3) A sound added by the form may become indistinct in a isolated noun, and be so changed as to appear to belong to the root, as גַּרְזֶן *axe* from גָּרַז *to cut* and the adjective ending *ân* §. 341, גִּבְעֹל *blossom* perhaps from גָּבַע and the nominal ending *ôn*. Foreign names are indistinct as to their etymology also, as פִּלֶגֶשׁ or פִּילֶגֶשׁ *παλλακίς*, *pellex*. — Such a root, however, from whatever cause arising, never exceeds certain limits; the verb never has more than four, and the noun, which can more easily extend itself, never more than five sounds; and so great is the influence of the laws of the roots with three sounds, that the formation of the few longer roots entirely follows that of the former, without a *nisus formativus* of its own.

After the Jewish and Arabian Grammarians, who have chosen the verb פָּעַל *to do* as a general example and pattern, the first radical is generally called פ, the second ע, the third ל in the roots of three sounds; as also פ״נ means a root beginning with נ, ע״ו a root like קוּם, ל״ה one like גָּלָה, ע״ע one with double sounds like גַּל = גָּלַל. All possible formations, therefore, are named after this model, as הִפְעִיל i. e. the verbal causative stem §. 238, פּוֹעֵל a rare verbal stem §. 237 or more usually the simple active participle §. 336; even roots of four sounds are called after this model, as פַּרְשֵׁז after the form פִּעְלֵל. But כָּתַב *to write* is better suited for a model, being a perfectly strong root, and distinctly showing the changes of Dagesh lene also.

FIRST SECTION.

VERBAL FORMATION.

1. VERBAL STEMS.

231 I. The simple stem is distinguished as a verb by the stem-vowel being pronounced after the second radical, as *k'táb* or כְּתַב, while in the simplest noun it is drawn back to the beginning, as *kátb* or כֶּתֶב §. 317; the former pronunciation, which lays the stress upon the end, expresses motion, action, the verbal idea; the latter, which reverses the emphasis, expresses rest and completion in itself, the nominal idea. The simple verb, therefore, has the essential, important vowel after the second radical, which vowel is moreover changed according to the active or passive modification of the idea §. 248; the first radical, which stands by itself, has regularly the foretone *á* according to §. 37, as כָּתַב *to write*, קָטֹן *to be little.*

The simple verbal stem is usually called after the Jewish Grammarians *Qal* קַל i. e. *light*, the augmented and derived stems on the other hand כְּבֵדִים *heavy.*

In quadriliteral roots, the simple verbal stem has the tone vowel after the third radical, and the first two rad. form a compound syllable, as פַּרְשֵׁז.

232 II. *Reduplicated*, or *intensive stems*, by internal augmentation: 1. the lightest and shortest, with reduplication of the *second* radical: כִּתֵּב commonly called פִּעֵל *Piel*, a very frequent form, derived from verbal and nominal ideas. 1) In the verbal derivatives, the idea of *intension* is the primary one, and Piel expresses the *violence*, *zeal*, *skill* or *quick repetition* of an action, where other languages would use frequentative verbs [1]); as כָּתַב *to write*, כִּתֵּב *scriptitare* Js. 10, 1; צִעֵק *clamitare* 2 Kgs. 2, 12; רָדַף *sequi*, רִדֵּף *sectari*; our languages also express the accessory idea by composition, as שָׁבַר *frangere:* שִׁבֵּר *confringere*; שָׁלַח *mittere:* שִׁלַּח *to send away utterly, for ever, dimittere*; סָפַר to *count:* סִפֵּר to *recount* (to reckon up *seriatim*). Is is also possible that the idea of this stem establishes itself in a substantive (participle) only, as רָצַח *to murder:* מְרַצֵּחַ *murderer* (*always murdering*) Js. 1, 21; מְאַהֵב, מְשַׂנֵּא *amator*, *osor* from אָהַב, שָׂנֵא *to love*, *to hate*, without the accessory idea of permanent zeal.

1) The intensive forms in Sanscrit resemble these most, as *rôrud to weep much* from *rud to weep.*

Piel can indeed be an intension of transitive as well as intransitive verbal ideas (e. g. intransitive: פָּחַד *to tremble:* פִּחֵד *contremiscere* Js. 51, 13, Pro. 28, 14, רָוָה *to drink*

רִוָּה *to be very drunk* Js. 34, 5, 7; סִמֵּר *to bristle up* Iob 4, 15); but the active and passive pronunciation is rather very much developed and distinguished in this light intensive form (§. 253) and the other coarser, more sensuous intensive forms have remained proper to intransitive ideas (§. 233). Hence the language often keeps the more intellectual idea of *busy doing* or *making* which can be in Piel, fast, in a strictly active sense only, and thus Piel approaches the force of the causative verbal stem Hif-îl §. 238, without however becoming entirely like it; for Piel always expresses primarily the idea of the causative or transitive with the accessory idea of *care* and greater activity with which an action is performed, while Hif-îl simply and sensuously only distinguishes the transitive, as from intransitive verbs גָּדַל *to be great:* גִּדֵּל *with care or zeal to make great* (e. g. *to bring up*, of children or plants; *to honour*) הִגְדִּיל merely *to make great;* כִּבֵּד *to honour* and הִכְבִּיד *to make heavy* are distinguished in the same manner, קִלֵּל *to curse* and הֵקַל *to make light.* In the same way from the active verb יָלַד *to bring forth* יִלֵּד *to cause, or to help, to bring forth*, very different from הוֹלִיד *to beget;* the part. fem. מְיַלֶּדֶת *midwife.* Piel is nevertheless used in some verbs together with Hif-îl without any great difference of force, especially to make forms intransitive in Qal transitive §. 239, as קָשָׁה *to be heavy:* הִקְשָׁה and קִשָּׁה *to make heavy* Gen. 35, 16. 17; אָבַד *to perish:* הֶאֱבִיד *to destroy;* חָיָה *to live:* הֶחֱיָה and חִיָּה *to make live* (though Piel here has rather the force *to preserve life with care, to support* Js. 7, 21, which is not found in Hif-îl); but it is only in a few stems that both forms have become so equal, and only Poets and writers in the later periods of the language form a Piel sometimes for the perfectly sensuous Hif-îl, as קֵרַב *to bring near,* קִיֵּם (קוֹמֵם) *to raise up* Ps. 119, 28. 106 for הִקְרִיב, הֵקִים; it is exceedingly rare that Piel is found in the most proper meaning and force of Hif-îl, according to which it can make a transitive verb doubly transitive, v. §. 239.

2. When derived from nouns, it expresses, according to its peculiar power, *an active working, busying oneself with a thing,* as כִּהֵן *to perform a priests office* (from כֹּהֵן *priest*) שִׁלֵּשׁ *to do something on the third day* (שָׁלֹשׁ); and as the verbal form only expresses this being *occupied* in a thing in an indefinite manner, it therefore depends on the possible kind of occupation and on the usage of the language in *what* sense we are to take Piel, as דִּשֵּׁן (from דֶּשֶׁן *ashes*) *to reduce to ashes*, or, *to remove the ashes* Num. 4, 13; סִקֵּל *to throw stones, to stone* 2 Sam. 16, 6 and *to gather stones*, or *to free from stones* Js. 5, 2; only *one* possible meaning shows

itself in such derivations, as זִנֵּב *to cut off the tail* (זָנָב) סֵעֵף *to cut off branches* (סְעִף) Js. 10, 33; although פֵּאֵר *to shake, to search the branches* (פֹּארָה) Dt. 24, 20; cf. the rarer formations of our languages: *köpfen, to skin, jugulare, τραχηλίζειν, to stone* [1]). But even here we find the *mere transitive* signification, as שִׁלֵּשׁ *to divide into three*, לִבֵּב *to encourage*, בִּכֵּר *to constitute ones firstborn* (בְּכוֹר) חִטֵּא *to bring a sin-offering for some one* (חַטָּאת) and thereby *to purify, to reconcile* Lev. 6, 18. 19. 14, 52.

1) This multiplicity of signification dependant on the usage of the language is shown in all active forms derived from nouns, no less than in Piel, as עָרַף *to break the neck* (עֹרֶף); שָׁבַר and הִשְׁבִּיר *to buy* and *sell corn* (שֶׁבֶר corn for the mill).

A guttural as second radical, as the reduplication belongs to the stem, regularly recieves the short vowels before it in all forms, according to §. 120, as נִחַם, נִאֵף, נִאֵץ, pass. נֻחַם; only rarely has the vowel entirely separated and become long in a simple syllable, as אֵחַר Gn. 34, 19, the imperf. יְנָאֵץ, part. מְנָאֵץ; Hitp. הִתְרַחֵץ Iob 9, 30. With ר: בֵּרֵךְ, pass. בֹּרַךְ, reduplication only in כָּרֵּת pass. §. 124.

233 2. The *other intensive forms* are rarer, and only appropriated to the more sensuous *intransitive* verbal ideas:

1) *Repetition of the third* radical (פַּעְלַל *Paalal*), a rather frequent formation, is peculiar to some verbal ideas to signify a *permanent state*, or an inseparable bodily quality, e. g. *colour*; שַׁאֲנַן *to be at rest*, רַעֲנַן *to grow green* Iob 15, 32; concerning נָאוָה *to be lovely* Cant. 1, 10 and the reflexive intensive form הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה (from שָׁחָה = שָׁחַו) *to prostrate oneself humbly, to do homage to, to worship* cf. §. 236.

2) *Repetition of the two last* radicals (פְּעַלְעַל *Pealal*) is a very evident and strong intension, but has become very rare, and is rather used in poetry to *paint* the idea, as סְחַרְחַר *to go round and round*, of the heart *beating hard* Ps. 38, 11 [1]). Repetition of the first and second radicals, on the other hand, is decidedly against the normal formation; concerning יְפֵיפִיָּת v. §. 256.

1) It is from the most ancient mode in which these stems have arisen, that the end of the verbal form can be sometimes repeated even with the personal terminations; thus אָהֲבוּ הֵבוּ *they love love, love deeply* Hos. 4, 18, צִמְּתוּתֻנִי for צִמְּתוּנִי *they destroy-destroyed me* Ps. 88, 17. — Generally speaking, many of these rare forms are peculiar to the emphatic language of the later writers.

234 Intensive formations which are otherwise rare become nevertheless more frequent in certain roots whose sounds do not so easily bear the reduplication of the second radical. To this class belong regularly the roots with a *medial vowel*, as

קוּם, on account of the great weakness of the second rad. §. 93; but those with double sounds also unwillingly admit the reduplication of the 2nd rad. and its separation from the 3rd, on account of the cacophony §. 116. These two, in other respects too, very cognate and nearly allied classes of roots assume, therefore, two other formations instead of the common ones:

1) The roots ע״וּ repeat the 3rd rad., if it is a strong one, in such a manner, that the *ū* of the 2nd rad. coalesces with the active stem-vowel *ă* in *ô*, as קוֹמֵם *to raise* from קוּם, חוֹלֵל *to bring forth*, עוֹרֵר *to excite*, שׁוֹקֵק *to cause to overflow*. The roots ע״ע are also of the same sound, the reduplication of the second rad. being supplied by the immutable *ô* after the first (cf. §. 237), as גּוֹלֵל *to roll* from גל, חוֹקֵק *to determine* סוֹבֵב *to surround*, פּוֹרֵר *to break*. These very frequent formations are, as far as signification is concerned, perfectly like the lighter intensive forms of the strong roots §. 232, and are so constant, that the otherwise usual form only intrudes if the third rad. (and therefore in ע״ע the second also) is a weak sound, cf. §. 94, as צִוָּה, קִוָּה, רִוָּה, אִוָּה, חִוָּה and all of that kind, sometimes too before a guttural, as שִׁוַּע *to cry*, in which root ו is harder; with that exception, the stem כִּתֵּב of ע״וּ is exceedingly rare, as עִוֵּת *to bend*, in which ו is stronger being interchanged with עָבַת [1]), עִוֵּד *to surround* only in Ps. 119, 61, עִוֵּל *to sin*, poet. from עָוֶל *sin*, Hitp. הִצְטַיֵּד (*to provide oneself with food*) derived from צֵידָה *food*, and the new formations קִיֵּם, חִיֵּב, in which ו has been changed into י according to §. 93. The usual intensive form is more frequent in ע״ע, though even in them more in new formations and significations only, as סִבֵּב (very rare) *to alter*, קִלֵּל (properly, to make to fly) in the peculiar, new signification *to curse* [2]).

1) Also מְעֻוֶּתֶת participle Nif'al.

2) Yet תִּתַּבָּר Ps. 18, 27 according to the normal form תִּתְכַּתֵּב is shortened into תִּתָּבָר 2 Sam. 22 accord. to §. 116, the repetition of the ר returning in the reduplication of the ת before, accord. to §. 217 *b*: this is also excused by its better assonance with נָבָר.

2) Both classes of roots repeat the two firm distinct elements, or the whole short root, entire, which heavier intensive form, where it exists together with one of the former, or another lighter one, in the same root, expresses a greater intension of the idea, as פִּרְפֵּר *to shatter*, and פִּצְפֵּץ *to dash to pieces* Iob 16, 12. גִּלְגֵּל *to roll* Jer. 51, 25, טִלְטֵל *to hurl* Js. 22, 17 with great emphasis for the usual forms פּוֹרֵר and 235

פּוֹצֵץ, גִּלֵּל, הֵטִיל, or has a more sensuous meaning, as קִלְקֵל to move violently, *to shake*, beside the preceding קִלֵּל. The form may indeed occur also without such strong intension, and correspond entirely with Piel §. 232 in signification: but this is rare if the last radical is strong, as חַרְחַר *to kindle* poet. Prov. 26, 21 from חַר *to burn*, כִּלְכֵּל *to support* by food, from כּוּל *to hold*, and only frequent in roots whose last radical is weak, in which the preceding formation §. 234 is impossible, as שִׁעֲשַׁע to stroke i. e. to *caress*, to delight, זִעֲזַע *agitare* Hab. 2, 7, so that a very short root is often developed in this active stem only, as טֵאטֵא to drive, *to drive away* 1) (and hence only *to sweep*) Js. 14, 23, סַאסְאָא *to reject* 27, 8 (§. 129). For similar formations in the noun, as קָדְקֹד etc. v. 330.

1) cf. طاطا *Taberist. Annal.* ed. Kosegarten I. p. 60, 11. סאסא is related to it, cf. also سال *cucurrit.*

236 We also find in some roots with a medial guttural an effort to supply the absence of the form כִּתֵּב by reduplication of the last radical, as the guttural is also incapable of reduplication; this happens most frequently where the 3rd radical is a weak one, which, being repeated accord. to §. 222 *c*, then only becomes hardened into the semivowel ו and always semains so if it has only a vowel after it; for so we find not only the intransitive נָאוָה (for נָאֲוָה §. 84) *to be beautiful* Cant. 1, 10 like רַעֲנַן *to grow green*, and שַׁאֲנַן to rest (accord. to §. 233) but also the pure active טִחֲוָה *jactare, jaculari* Gen. 21, 16 and corresponding to this, Hitp. הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה *to bow oneself, to worship* from שחה.

237 The possibility of resolving the final consonant of a syllable into the obscure vowel *u* and of contracting 1) this last with the preceding active stem-vowel *a* into an immutable *ó*, besides the case mentioned §. 234, is extended to roots of all classes. This form, called פּוֹעֵל, still very rare and isolated in Hebrew, is thus primarily a *variety* of Piel without difference of signification of stem, as שׁוֹשֵׂה *to plunder* Js. 10, 13, זֹרְמוּ *to pour out*, Ps. 77, 18, and rather designedly שׁוֹרֵשׁ *to strike root* (שֵׁרֵשׁ §. 226) as distinguished from שֵׁרֵשׁ *to root up* §. 231, סֹעֵר *to be tossed* i. e. to fly away Hos. 13, 3 distinguished from סֵעֵר *to scatter about* Zach. 7, 14. But as this *ó* = *á* represents the active *ă* in its highest power, this stem assumes also a more independent signification, describing an action performed with the *design of affecting another;* hence this stem, or the *verb of intention*, subordines to itself an accusative of the person even immediately, as לוֹשֵׁן properly *to use the tongue* לָשׁוֹן against some one, i. e. *to slander* Ps. 101, 5 *K'tîb;* שׁוֹפֵט to litigate with some one, i. e. *to oppose* Iob 9, 15; יוֹדַע to cause some one to know i. e. *to order him* 1 Sam. 21, 3; הוֹרֹה וְהוֹגֵה *to concieve and utter* lies against others with hostile intention Js. 59, 13.

1) A liquid consonant is indeed most easily thus resolved, as *sauter* (french) from *saltare*, in Sancrit the *ar* of terminations (from *as*)

into ó, but the licence of this resolution may be extended. In Hebrew, many stems with the entire root repeated §. 235, as their sound has always something rough and disagreeable in it, resolve the hard final consonant of the first syllable; but this is only frequent in nouns of obscure derivation §. 330, the only example in a verb would be עוֹעֵר *to excite* for עַרְעֵר Js. 15, 5. if the reading be correct.

III. *Derived verbal stems with external augmentation:* 238

1. *Causative stem:* הִכְתִּיב, called הִפְעִיל Hif-îl. The power of the form lies in the prefixed *a*, or, with a sharper aspirate at the beginning as is always the case in Hebrew, *ha* [1]. This *a* is indeed the same *a* which expresses the *active* idea *in* the root (§. 205. 246); but it has much more emphasis in this sharp prefixture, and gives the more definite expression of *active effectuating* an action, a condition, or a thing [2]. The idea of *causation* therefore is peculiar to this stem above all others, and only rarely and late is its power weakened in some verbs into a *mere active* signification, in such a manner, that Hif-îl is to express the action externally and, therefore, more definitely. According to §. 232 however, the stem Piel becomes only very gradually and partially like Hif-îl in signification.

1) Instead of this הַ, the softer אַ is occasionally used in the later periods, as in Aramaic, but only very rarely; in the same manner אֶתְ־ for the ancient הֵת of another stem §. 242, cf. Js. 63, 3. Ps. 76, 6; א then, as weaker, takes ĕ instead of i §. 79, 1. On the other hand, as a change is possible between *h-s* and then between *s-t* (§. 106), accordingly הַ in Hif-il can be hardened into ת which is shown in תִּרְגִּיל = הִרְגִּיל *to lead* (properly *to make to go* from רֶגֶל *foot*) Hos. 11, 3. as [illegible] Knös *chrest. syr.* p. 112 v. 71; תְּחָרֶה *to act violently — to dispute* Jer. 12, 5. 22, 15 beside הֶחֱרָה Neh. 3, 20. This hardening easily takes place, when Hif-îl assumes a peculiar, singular signification, and thus, almost unconscious of its origin, *isolates* itself as a new verbal stem. In the noun, שַׁלְהֶבֶת *flame*, poetical, from לָהַב *to burn*, intransitive, שַׁלְהֵב *to ignite*, active.

2) Thus this *a* is fundamentally the same as the termination *ae*, *ân*, *αινω*, by which causative verbs are formed in Sanscrit, Persian, and Greek, as has been already remarked in the *Götting. gel. Anzeigen* 1832, p. 1126. — Even as to the use, the Sanscrit and Persian approach nearest to the Hebrew here.

This stem may 1) be derived from a *verb*, as is most 239 frequently the case. When founded on an *absolute* verb, i. e. on one whose idea is complete in itself and requires no complement by means of an object, as *to fall, to lie, to die*, Hif-îl subordines to itself *one* object, or *one* accusative, which depends on the idea of causation, e. g. from נָפַל *to fall:*

הִפִּיל גּוֹרָל *he makes the lot fall* = casts it. By making a *relative* verb (i. e. one whose idea allows the complement of an object) causative, Hif-îl may subordine to itself *two* (or, if the simple verb already has two, *three*) objects, the first of which depends on the idea of causation, the second on the idea of the simple verb; in the usual arrangement of words, the former of these objects must always be placed first, e. g. from רָאָה *to see,* נָחַל *to inherit:* הִרְאָה אֶת־עַבְדּוֹ אֶת־גָּדְלוֹ *he causes his servant to see his greatness,* הִנְחִיל אוֹתָם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ *he makes them to inherit the land* Dt. 3, 24. 28. The power of this stem is most strongly shown in this last use of it, hence too Piel exceedingly rarely follows, Gen. 41, 51 (in which place however an attempt at etymology at the same time forces its use) and Iob 33, 20. — 2) A causative verb can be formed from any *noun* or other word, in which case, the noun itself becomes the object of the causative, so that no other object is required, as from מָטָר *rain:* הִמְטִיר *he makes rain, or rains,* הֵילִיל *to make wail* (אַלְלַי interjection) *to lament;* הֵלִין (see §. 245, probably from לַיִל *night* according to the commutation of the liquids §. 107) *to pass the night, pernoctari;* in the same manner also from a verb without a definite subject (an impersonal), as from מַר לִי *it is bitter to me:* הֵמַר לִי *he makes it bitter to me.* Such an Hif-îl, however, often assumes a relative verbal idea also, so that an object may be subordined to it, as הֶאֱזִין properly from אֹזֶן *ear*, poetically = שָׁמַע, *to hear* with any accusative; הִמְטִיר בָּרָד *to rain hail.*

Since the simple stem also may have a strictly active signification (§. 248 ff.), Hif-îl and Qal may both exist together in the same root in a purely active sense, as the history of each single root must teach, e. g. מַזְרִיעַ and זֹרֵעַ *yielding seed* Gen. 1, 11. 12. 29; but Hif-îl is most frequently found in this sense together with Qal, if Qal is rather used in a more absolute and, therefore, intransitive sense, so that the active signification fixes itself anew in Hif-îl, as נָטָה *to incline,* very often *to bow down:* i. e. *to yield,* whereas הִטָּה *to bend down,* although the new active form may also gradually begin to become absolute again, as Js. 30, 11; or, in a verb which is always active, Hif-îl occupies the place of the shorter active forms, as a more definite, external one, as זָעַק *to call* is afterwards expelled by הִזְעִיק, only Jon. 3, 7. Iob 35, 9. But it would be an utter violation of the idea of this stem, if it ever had a primitively intransitive signification; and all examples of this are only such in appearance. For 1) many verbs in Qal express quite simply a quality or condition, in Hif-îl, an *action,* an active *exercise* of this quality or condition, as הִשְׁחִית *to act corruptly* from שָׁחַת *to be*

corrupt; הִשְׂכִּיל *to have discernment*, not from nature, but by action and exercise, as their fruit; in the same way הִרְגִּיעַ, הִשְׁקִיט not *to be quiet*, but *to keep quiet* (רָגַע Iob 7, 4); הִרְחִיק used of living beings: *to go far off*, but רָחַק *to be distant*, as also used of time הֶאֱרִיךְ *to be long* i. e. *to last* Ex. 20, 12, and Piel מִדַּד used of time: *to protract, extend itself* Iob 7, 4; also הִתְעָה *to err* willingly Prov. 10, 17. And thus many Hif-îls, especially those derived from nouns, which may be translated intransitively in our languages, have a purely active signification according to the original poetical conception of the Semites, as הִשְׁרִישׁ *to strike root*, הֶעֱרִיב *to evening* i. e. *to do, to go at evening* (עֶרֶב); especially verbs of colour, as הִלְבִּין *to produce, to show white*, therefore with us equivalent to *to be white.* But 2) the case is different if the *object* is gradually omitted, where it may be done without detriment to the sense, with an active stem, Hif-îl or another, as the name of a member in phrases of very frequent occurrence, e. g. הִקְשִׁיב *to attend*, properly *to incline* אָזְנוֹ *his ear* Prov. 2, 2; הֶאֱרִיךְ with יָמִים as object: *to prolong days*, i. e. *to live long, to endure*, hence too even used alone, on account of the frequency of the phrase, for *to live long* Koh. 7, 15. 8, 12. — Verbs however, which have thus an apparently single signification in Hif-îl, can also express the highest causative power by the same form, especially as the formation is exhausted and no new Hif-îl can be formed from Hif-îl; but then there must always be added a distinct object for the new causative signification, as הֶאֱרִיךְ *to prolong* 1 Kgs. 3, 14; הִשְׂכִּיל *to make wise* i. e. *to teach* Ps. 32, 8; הֵבִין *to distinguish, discern*, and again *to cause to dicern* Ps. 119, 27; הֵעִיד to repeat, *to testify*, and again with an accusative of the person, *to cause to testify* Js. 8, 2.

2. *Reflexive stem:* נִכְתַּב *Nif-al*, whose characteristic 240
is a prefixed *n'*, or fuller, *hin* (§. 277) [1]), has 1) primarily and originally a *reflexive* signification, and causes the action to fall back on the agent, e. g. נִסְתַּר *to conceal oneself*, נִשְׁמַר *to take care*, *φυλάσσεσθαι*, נוֹעַץ *to deliberate*, *βουλεύεσθαι*; also from intransitive Qal, as נִמְלָא *to fill oneself, to be filled*, from מָלֵא *to be full*; if the reflexive action is referred to many persons, the idea of the reciprocal arises, as נִדְבְּרוּ *they speak one with the other mutually* Ez. 33, 30, נִגַּשׂ הָעָם the people *oppress one another* Js. 3, 5; hence Nif-al in general is commonly used for such verbal ideas as express a reciprocal action between many, as נִלְחַם (prop. *to consume, destroy each other*) *to contend*, *μάχεσθαι*, נֶאֱבַק *luctari* Gen. 32, 25, נִשְׁפַּט *to present oneself before a court*

with another and argue, *to litigate*. According to this fundamental signification, Nif-al cannot be attached to an external object, as it includes its own object in itself, except in a few words in which the language preserves at length only one *active* sense proceeding from the original reflexive one, especially if Nif-al has no Qal and has thus isolated itself, as נִבָּא *to show oneself a prophet* i. e. *to prophecy* something Jer. 25, 13, נִשְׁבַּע *to bind oneself by seven* (שֶׁבַע) *sacred things*, or *with seven oaths* i. e. *to swear* something, נָסַב (§. 288) *to put oneself about* i. e. *to surround* a city Jdgs. 19, 22. On the other hand, Nif-al indeed approaches the *intransitive* Qal (cf. §. 246); there is nevertheless universally a difference between them originally: 1) Nif-al is often used of actions which work back upon the mind, as נֶאֱנַח and נֶאֱנַק Ez. 9, 4 ὀδύρεσθαι, *to sigh*, *to lament*, נִחַם *to repent*. 2) Nif-al, when derived from an intransitive Qal, expresses rather the free action of a living agent, or *spontaneity*, as קָרֵב *to be near*, נִקְרַב *to approach* Ex. 22, 7.

1) This essential *n'* is decidedly the same *n* (or *m* in other languages) which also distinguishes the pronoun of the first person (*'ani*); for *n* paints the inward part, retiring, withdrawing, the idea of the reflexive in the verb, and, when by itself, the pronoun of the first person.

241 2) Although Nif-al according to its origin, pronuntiation, and formation (§. 257) has not a *passive* signification, it is nevertheless frequently used in that sense, as נִמְשַׁח, נוֹלַד *to be annointed*, *to be born*. The cause of this is to be sought in the gradual decay of the passive pronuntiation (§. 248) which compelled the language to supply the deficiency by an *external* formation, since the reflexive form can easily express the cognate idea of the *passive* also [1].

1) Just as in Latin and for the most part in Greek too the form of the middle coincides with that of the passive, while Sanscrit shows how the passive can only be more definitely developed out of the middle.

242 3) The prefix *hit* [1]) gives also a *reflexive* signification like the *n'* of Nif-al, but is distinguished from it, first, by its having a still more recent, stronger reflexive power, whereas Nif-al is often of a purely passive sense, and secondly, by its being formed from the active intensive stem, and not from the simple stem; thus it is a *reflexive intensive stem*: הִתְכַּתֵּב, called *Hitpael*. The ת of this prefix always changes places with the first radical if it is a sibilant, according to §. 114, but is also sometimes entirely resolved into the sound of the first radical according to §. 113, and most easily when it is a sibilant, as הִזַּכּוּ Js. 1, 16, also into a *mute* or *liquid*, as

הִכַּסֶּה Prov. 26, 26, הֵרוֹמַם Js. 33, 10 for הִתְ׳, הִנַּבֵּא only Jer. 23, 13. Ez. 37, 10 for the usual הִתְנַבֵּא, but never into a mere aspirate.

1) All that is essential in this sound is the *t*, but it is more difficult to say whence it has arisen. It is probable however that this *t* is, as to its origin, to be compared, by means of the commutation with *s*, with the pronominal stem *su* (*sva*) *se*, which expresses the idea of the reflexive in Indo-germanic. There is indeed no other trace of this reflexive in Semitic; but it would be perhaps hard to assert that it never existed; for אֶת־ from אוֹת as particle is from the same root, see below.

1) According to this origin, the form has properly grea- 243
ter power than *Nif-al*, as נִקַּם *to revenge oneself*, הִתְנַקֵּם *to revenge oneself with ardour, to be revengeful* Ps. 8, 3, נִשָּׂא *to raise oneself*, הִתְנַשֵּׂא *to raise oneself proudly*, 1 Kgs. 1, 5; and used of *many* persons e. g. הִתְרָאָה *to continue looking at one another, to linger* Gen. 42, 1; very frequently with verbs of mental emotion, and with more emphasis than Nif-al, as הִתְקַצֵּף *to be indignant*, הִתְאַבֵּל *to lament bitterly*. When derived from an intransitive Qal, it expresses *zealous spontaneity*, as נָפַל *to fall*: הִתְנַפֵּל *to prostrate oneself continually* or *ardently* Dt. 9, 18. Gen. 43, 18, רָצָה *to be loved*: הִתְרַצָּה *to make oneself dearly loved*, or *to try to make oneself loved* 1 Sam. 29, 4, like הִתְחַנֵּן *to try to make some one gracious to you*, i. e. *to implore mercy*; that we can sometimes translate the fundamental idea of the form by *to represent oneself* (which Hitpael in itself by no means signifies) as הִתְחַלָּה *to make oneself sick* i. e. *to pretend to be sick* 2 Sam. 17, 5 depends on the nature of some ideas [1]). Just as Piel, however, becomes sometimes merely *active*, so also the idea of intension gradually disappears from this reflexive form, and it becomes a mere reflexive form, especially when it is formed as a reflexive form from Piel, as קִדֵּשׁ *to hallow*: הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, כִּסָּה *to cover*: הִתְכַּסָּה *to cover oneself*; we even find Hitpael together with Nif-al in the same signification, as הִתְיַצֵּב and נִצַּב *to present oneself*.

1) In the same way also in Nif-al: נִשְׁמַע *to make* or *show oneself obedient* 2 Sam. 22, 45; נִקְדַּשׁ *to show oneself holy*. In Hif-il and Piel too the idea of *causation* may often (with an intransitive verbal idea) express only *to make in opinion*, as הִצְדִּיק, צִדֵּק *to make just* i. e. to justify, used of a judge, *to pronounce innocent*.

Just as Nif-al as reflexive stands properly without an *object*, so also does Hitpael. Only in two cases does it begin to subordine an object to itself: 1) where the language gradually retains in some reflexive verbs a possible active modi-

fication of the idea, as הִתְנַכֵּל *to make oneself cunning*, hence *to endeavour to cheat* some one Gen. 37, 18., הִתְבּוֹנֵן *to be deeply attentive*, *to observe*, poetically used with an object Ps. 119, 95; the same words otherwise more originally attach their objects by prepositions. 2) Hitpael as a reflexive form can also express a *mediate* reflexion of the action upon the agent, which delicacy of the Greek middle is still rare in Hebrew. Thus הִתְנַחֵל *to inherit something for oneself*, *to take possession of it* Js. 14, 2. Num. 33, 54. Lev. 25, 46, הִתְפָּרְקוּ אֶת־הַנְּזָמִים *they stripped themselves of the rings* Ex. 32, 3. 33, 6, cf. other examples Js. 52, 2. Jos. 18, 5, and without an accusative הִתְחַקָּה *to set bounds to oneself* Iob 13, 27, הִתְאַנָּה לְ *to seek an occasion* (*for oneself*) *against* some one 2 Kgs. 5, 7.

2) Just as Nif-al gradually assumed the *passive* signification, so also Hitpael, although much seldomer, and only frequently in the writings of the later periods. Thus even from Qal הִשְׁתַּמֵּר *to be observed* Mich. 6, 16; הִשְׁתַּכַּח *to be forgotten* only Koh. 8, 10, usually נִשְׁכַּח.

Where the usual active intensive form is supplied by rarer forms §. 234-236, this reflexive stem conforms to them, as כּוֹנֵן *to direct*: הִתְכּוֹנֵן *to erect oneself*, or also *to be founded*, קוֹמֵם *to raise*: הִתְקוֹמֵם *to raise oneself*, קִלְקֵל *to shake*: הִתְקַלְקֵל *to move violently* Jer. 4, 24; many, especially of the class which repeat the entire root §. 235, are only developed in a reflexive form, as הִתְמַהְמַהּ *cunctari* from the interjection מַה; הִשְׁתַּקְשֵׁק *to run to and fro among one another* Nah. 2, 5 with the similarly intensive רוֹצֵץ *cursitare*; הִתְמַרְמַר *to be enraged* Dan. 8, 7 and the frequent הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה §. 236.

244 View of the stems:

Simple stem:

1. כָּתַב

Forms with external augmentation: | Intensive forms:

Causative form: (Hif-il) 3. הִכְתִּיב

Reflexive form: (Nif-al) 4. נִכְתַּב

Intensive forms: סְחַרְחַר, רַעֲנָן, 2. כִּתֵּב (Piel)

Reflexive intensive form: (Hitpael)

5. הִתְכַּתֵּב.

All these stems are independent of each other, and each arises from the root, according as the idea requires it; unless we are perhaps to

admit that *Hitpael* proceeds more nearly out of *Piel*, in some verbs. By no means do the augmented stems necessarily arise proximately from the simple stem; a verbal idea which has gained a footing in Nif-al, for example, may become causative in Hif-il, as נִשְׁבַּע *to swear:* הִשְׁבִּיעַ *to cause to swear.* Nay even a new simple signification may fix itself in Qal, although it be not the first according to the idea, as in the root ברא when it sensuously signifies human, and therefore toilsome, formation (properly by means of *splitting*, *dividing* cf. פר) the intensive בֵּרֵא is used, and on the other hand בָּרָא returns to Qal to express the simplest and easiest, therefore the divine *creation;* in the same manner אָבַל is a new poetical derivation from the reflexive הִתְאַבֵּל of the common language; הֵל for *to rage* Ps. 75, 5 shortened from הוֹלֵל; חָלַל *to be wounded* Ps. 109, 22 from the passive חוֹלַל, active חוֹלֵל.

Moreover, any verbal stem can be used to form, as is sometimes necessary, a corresponding verb from an idea which has only fixed itself in a noun, as active Qal לָבַן *to make bricks* (לְבֵנָה) Gen. 11, 3; *Piel:* לִבֵּב *to encourage*, Nif-al: נִלְבַּב *to become wise*, both from לֵבָב *heart;* often Hitpael, as הִתְיַהֵד *Judaeum se facere* (יְהוּדִי) *s. profiteri*, הִתְיַלֵּד *to cause oneself to be enrolled in the genealogies* (תּוֹלְדֹת) Num. 1, 18. When such verbs are derived from longer nouns, the three radicals only remain, or three equivalent sounds; nevertheless we find Hif-il הִשְׂמְאִיל or according to §. 82 הַשְׂמְאִיל *to make* i. e. *to go, left* (שְׂמֹאל 358) and הֶאֱזְנִיחַ (for הֶאֱ accord. to §. 73) *to emit a bad odour* from אָזְנַח (formed accord. to §. 319) Js. 19, 6, nay even נִמְבְזָה fem. part. Nif-al *contemptible* from מִבְזָה *contempt* 1 Sam. 15, 9, and חֲצֹצֵר *to trumpet* preserved entire from חֲצֹצְרָה *trumpet* 1 Chro. 15, 24. 2 Chro. 7, 6 *K'tib.*

The signification of an augmented stem, however, is only then most 245
vivid and strong in the consciousness of the language when the root and its simple signification are still quite clear. But if an augmented stem is isolated and has therefore quite a peculiar signification, the primitive power of the form is gradually lost, and it is possible for an augmented stem to return to the simple one without altering the signification. This falling back into the simple stem, however, and this fluctuation of the formation are only frequent in certain remote forms, partly (e. g. in the participles of many verbs accord. to §. 357) and partly in some kinds of weak stems, whose sounds give the easiest occasion for it:

1) In Hif-il of the roots with a medial vowel, the הֵ at the beginning stands so alone and is externally so weakly united with the root, and the emphasis of the whole stem falls so very exclusively upon the last syllable, that this הֵ is very easily gradually dropt; most easily and naturally in the *Imperat.* and *Inf.;* in the perfect, in which the deviation of the form is very remarkable, the verb is then usually formed as a new Qal, since בִּין for instance (from הֵבִין) has too little distinction for the *perfect*, and the participle act. follows this; in the imperfect, however, where the shortening cannot take place, the form from *Hif-il* remains, and it is only seldom that it is formed from Qal. This progress is found in the following stems which partly only begin to drop הֵ, and partly have almost entirely lost the derivation from Hif-il: 1. הֵבִין (*discernere*)

imperat. shortened pl. בִּינוּ except הָבֵן Dan. 9, 23; *inf.* הָבִין, though even Prov. 23, 1 בִּין; *perf.* הֵבִין, although also בִּינֹתִי for הֲבִ Dan. 9, 2, and בַּנְתָּ for it Ps. 139, 2. *part.* מֵבִין, once Jer. 49, 7 בָּן; *imperf.* יָבִין. — 2. הָרִיב (*to contend*) *imperat.* הָרִיב, *inf. c.* הָרִיב *inf. abs.* הָרִיב Jer. 50, 34 and רֹב Jdgs. 11, 25; *perf.* רָב, רַבְתָּ but also רִיבוֹתָ Iob 33, 13. *part.* רָב, but also מֵרִיב 1 Sam. 2, 10. Hos. 4, 4. *imperf.* יָרִיב. — 3. הָשִׂים (*to place*) *imperat.* שִׂים, although we also find הָשִׂימִי fem. sg. Ez. 21, 21; *perf.* שָׂם; *part.* שָׂם, but. מֵשִׂים also Iob 4, 20. *imperf.* יָשִׂים, but also יְשׂוּם Ex. 4, 1. and hence *inf. c.* שִׂים and שׂוּם, *inf. abs.* שׂוֹם; as *part. pass.* שִׂים (cf. §. 324) Obad. v. 4. — 4. שִׁית (*to place*) *imperat.* שִׁית, *perf.* שַׁת, *imperf.* יָשִׁית, *inf. c.* and *abs.* שִׁית Iob 22, 24 yet *inf. abs.* שׁוֹת Js. 22, 7. — 5. Similar are לִין *pernoctari* §. 239, דִּין *to judge*, שִׁיר *to sing*, גִּיחַ *to burst forth* (Iob 38, 8 cf. Jdgs. 20, 33); in שִׂיחַ *to meditate*, שׂוּשׂ, גִּיל, חִיל *to rejoice*, צִיץ *to shine* no definite trace of Hif-îl is found and י may have been primitive in these; but as the formation of roots ע״ע generally declined and was lost, accordingly, the formation of ע״ו often intrudes into these also. Single examples are also: נִפְתִּי, לַצְתִּי Prov. 9, 12, 7, 17 both only once from הֵלִיץ *to mock*, הֵנִיף *to swing*; דִּיגוּ 3rd pers. pl. *perf.* for הֵדִיגוּ (*they catch fish*) Jer. 16, 16. — Hof-*al* is most frequently used as passive: הוּשַׁר Js. 26, 1; the derived forms are founded on ו, *Nif.* נָבוֹן, Palel: בּוֹנֵן, שׁוֹרֵר, שְׁחַח, also the *nouns*, as מָשׂוֹשׂ; the most simple nouns, however, have î: דִּין *judgment*, שִׁיר *song*, רִיב *strife*. Similarly רֵיחַ *odour*, רֵיעַ *cry* Mich. 4, 9 from Hif-îl [1]).

1) The cause why the Hif-îl of roots with double sounds is not shortened in the same manner, is because the weight of the root is not to very much drawn to the last syllable only in these stems.

246 2) Other scattered examples are: הֵקִיץ *to awake* Hif-il from קוּץ, always in the *perf.*, *inf.* and *imperat.*, but in the *imperf.* instead of the rare and poetical יָקִיץ we usually find יִקַץ, a new simple and short formation from יקץ. — יוּכַל *imperf.* Hof-al (cf. יְהוּכַל proper name Jer. 37, 3 with 38, 1) *to be able*, properly a pure passive: *to be empowered;* but as its signification appears to be simple, its *perf.* is always יָכֹל as an intransitive Qal; in this fluctuation, the word has lost a *participle* which ought to have arisen from the imperf. — Moreover, the remarkable הוֹסִיף *to add;* this too gradually goes over into Qal, but in such a manner, that its last vowel only is shortened in the *imperf.* יוֹסֵף, יוֹסֵף beside יוֹסִיף (seldom יֹאסֵף, יֹאסֵף, יֹאסִיף Mich. 4, 6. 2 Sam. 12, 8. Ex. 5, 7. cf. §. 272) pl. יֹסִיפוּ; yet the *inf.* הוֹסִיף Lev. 19, 25, though also we find סְפוֹת already like a *Qal* (concerning the termination cf. §. 354) and *imperat.* always סְפוּ pl.; the *perf.* is already quite Qal יָסַף or אָסַף, and only later writers again use הוֹסִיף.

3) Not unfrequently the Nif-al and intransitive Qal in roots with double sounds are equivalent to each other, as קַל and נָקַל *to be light*, חַת and נִחַת *to be terrified*, שַׁם and נָשַׁם *to be desolate*, דַּם and

נָדַם *to perish*; but this is at the same time dependent on peculiar circumstances in the sounds and formations of those very short roots, concerning which v. §, 288. — Also נִתַּךְ *perf. to be poured out* in Nif-al, *imperf.* shorter יִתַּךְ intrans. Qal.

On the contrary, a derived stem may be gradually treated as a simple stem, because its origin has been lost in the consciousness of the language and it has isolated itself in a new signification, so that an affix merely belonging to the stem is considered as radical. Thus particularly the Hif. הֵתֵל prop. from תַּל *to throw*, hence *to decieve*, *to mock* (pass. הוּתַל) in which ה always remains as radical; the reduplication is still shown in יְהָתֵלּוּ Iob 13, 9 and thrown back into the preceding letter accord. to §. 217 יְהָתֵל, but it also disappears, as יְהָתֵלּוּ (in pause) Jer. 9, 4. הֵתַלְתָּ 2 ps. sg. msc. *perf.* Jdgs. 16, 10. 247

Within these stems, the vowels can change with great regularity and constancy to determine the distinction of the active, passive, and semipassive (intransitive) conception §. 205. For these stems have primarily an, in itself, necessary vocalization in which the simplest vowels prevail, *a* therefore and its shades. The new passive conception produces an obscure *u*, whose sound represents the idea as compressed and included within itself, while the clear *a* makes it busy and stirring (active). 248

The passive idea, however, may be concieved more strictly or loosely. It is most distinct and strict when it represents the suffering an action with the definite implication that it is *performed by another*, as הוּמַת *to be killed*, a pure passive. The passive is concieved in a less strict sense when it signifies only suffering internally, or being influenced, spontaneous action alone being excluded, cases which are called *intransitive*, or, more appropriately, *semipassive*, and in which the ancient languages are for the most part richer than the modern, in which this distinction is more obliterated. This weakening of the passive idea expresses itself, partly, by *u* being lowered into *ŏ*, or, on the other hand, still more into *ĭ* (*ĕ*) and partly, by the change of vowels then affecting only *one* syllable, while in the full passive the vowels may change in all syllables of the stem.

1. The full and semipassive pronunciation were originally both possible in the simple stem, and indeed because the second radical (§. 231) alone recieved the distinguishing vowel even for the full passive (see the traces of this §. 323 f.). But because the accented short *u* could not maintain itself in Hebrew §. 46, the semipassive pronunciations with *o* and more frequently *e* have alone remained in distinction to the nearer *a*, which has remained here for the active. The semipassive pro- 249

nunciation has moreover only remained in this, in itself, perfectly indefinite simple stem, because the other verbal stems are from their origin of more determinate signification, either active §. 232. 237. 238 or reflexive §. 240. 242 or intransitive §. 233.

Both stem-vowels are very short: 1) the stems with *e* therefore should recieve the short *ĕ*; but as this cannot remain in these short words on account of the tone, *ă* is first substituted for it and then *é* (§. 46); *é* however is only uniformly found in these words: זָקֵן, טָהֵר, יָבֵשׁ, חָפֵץ, נָבֵל, חָצֵב; in all others usually *ă*: גָּדַל, אָהַב, עָצַם, though we also find כָּבֵד Gen. 12, 10; but that this *ă* has sprung from an E-sound is first shown in the *pause*, where *é* must be always sounded: קָדַשׁ Ex. 29, 21: קָדֵשׁ Num. 17, 2; and then in all formations in which the second radical forms a simple syllable and must have a *long* vowel, as before the suffixes אֲהֵבוֹ, לְבֵשָׁם Lev. 16, 4; and lastly, very distinctly in all weak stems ל״א according to §. 85, in which a *long* vowel is equally necessary: מָלֵא, שָׂנֵא, טָמֵא, צָמֵא, יָרֵא. — 2) *o* is just as short; but as there is no intermediate vowel between *ŏ*, which the tone will not permit, and the accented *ó*, *ó* is universally used at once: קָטֹן, יָכֹל, יָגֹר, שָׁכֹל.

250 The stems in *o* are very rare and show no difference in signification from those in *e* (it is otherwise with the corresponding adjcctives §. 322). Not only, however, ideas which signify *a physical condition*, as קָטֹן, גָּדֵל *to be small*, *to be great*, צָמֵא *to be thirsty*, רָעֵב *to be hungry*, זָקֵן *to be old*, נָעֵם *to be lovely*, חָסֵר *to be deficient*, לָבֵשׁ *to be clad*, and moreover ideas which exclude the notion of animate *action*, as מֵת *to die*, חָדַל *to cease*, יָכֹל *to be able*, שָׁכַן *to dwell*, all belong to the same passive class, but also, in an *intellectual* sense, ideas for actions and conditions of the *soul* which exclude visible action and express a state of half suffering, as שָׂמַח *to rejoice*, אָבַל *to lament*, חָפֵץ *delectari*, אָהַב *to love*, שָׂנֵא *to hate*, יָרֵא, יָגֹר *to fear*, שָׁמַע *to hear* (to be attentive, obedient) שָׁכַח *to forget*, and lastly, some active verbal ideas also with the accessory idea of a continual, *laborious* occupation to which one has applied himself, as *toil* and *suffering* are cognate ideas, as חָצַב *to hew wood* Js. 5, 2, יָרֵשׁ *to lay snares* (aucupari) Jer. 50, 24. cf. יִטְרָף *to plunder*, or *to be rapacious* Gen. 49, 27, יֶחְבַּשׁ *to bind up wounds*, *to be a surgeon* Iob 5, 18. Ideas of the last two kinds may nevertheless be *relative* i. e. may subordine an object to themselves immediately, as אֲהֵבוֹ *he loved him*.

Sometimes the active and semipassive formation and sig-

nification occur in the same stem, as יְחַלֵּשׁ *debilitare*, *vincere* Ex. 17, 13, יֶחֱלַשׁ *debilem esse* Iob 14, 10; חָזַק (cf. §. 270) *to be strong*, seldom active *to strengthen* 2 Chr. 28, 20; מָלֵא *to be full*, מִלֵּא *to fill* Est. 7, 5.

2. The *pure passive* represents the action indeed as being 251
definitely performed by another, but is not so easily and so generally used as in our languages, but properly only in cases where the agent is unknown or not mentioned, as יוּמַת הָאִישׁ *the man shall be slain*, and without a definite subject הֻגַּד *it is told* 1 Sam. 23, 13. For where the agent is known and should be mentioned, the nearer active connexion is rather chosen.

It is also in consequence of this difficulty in the use of the pure passive that the Hebrews frequently use, still more indefinitely, intransitive verbs where we do passive ones, namely in ideas of *motion*, where no obscurity arises from it, since they predicate motion of things in which the motion is properly produced by a power without them, as שׁוּב *to return* = הוּשַׁב *to be brought back* Gen. 43, 18 cf. v. 12; עָלָה *to ascend* = *to be placed upon*; יָרַד *to descend* = *to be thrown down*.

The pure passive pronunciation has that *u* always at the 252
beginning of the stem. In the last syllable we always find *a* as counter-vowel to *u*, since there are different vowels here in the active stem; yet that obscure vowel at the beginning is originally, by itself, the distinguishing and important one.

1) Piel and Hif-îl have the greatest distinction of active and passive according to their signification, both, as consisting of two compound syllables, being of almost entirely equal development. In the first syllable, the active has *a* (or *i* as a distinction of the perfect §. 274) the passive *u*. In the second, the active has the low *ĕ* as the nearest vowel after a strong syllable (§. 212) and the passive the harder *ă*. That, low, soft *ĕ* also remains after the strong reduplicated syllable in Piel, always long by tone merely; but in Hif-îl, in which the root is more split, it is lengthened by an accentuation peculiar to Hebrew to î, although this vowel may be nevertheless short, in part from the flexion §. 287, and in part according to the difference of dialect [1]).

1) For as the short *e* has remained in Aramaic, it is also occasionally found in Hebrew in poetry and in the later writers, as הַעְשֵׂר *inf. c.* Dt. 26, 12 accord. to the punctuation, and hence with gutturals with *ă* (accord. to §. 78) הוֹכַח Iob 6, 26; corresponding to this, part. pl. מַעְזְרִים 2 Chr. 28, 23, because the use of the Hif-îl of this root is Aramaic, accord. to §. 239.

Piel then: דִּבֵּר, דֻּבַּר; צִוָּה, צֻוָּה; *u* remains generally 253
accord. to §. 47, *c* and is only exceedingly rarely changed into

o, as כָּסּוּ from כָּסָה where it has been preferred on account of the following *u* Ps. 80, 11. Prov. 24, 31. Nah. 2, 4. 3, 7. — From gutt. stems according to §. 81: נִחַם, נִחַם, נִאֵץ, נִאַף, cf. farther §. 232 at the end.

Hof-al on the other hand has more rarely *u* than *o* accord. to §. 47 *c*, as הָשְׁחַת, הָגְלָה, הָרְאָה, הָפְקַד, הָשְׁכַּב Ez. 32, 32 somewhat oftener הָשְׁלַךְ than הֻשְׁלַךְ, and in the participle the rather longer *u* often, as מֻקְרָח Ez. 29, 18. But where a medial syllable can arise, as in פ״נ, we regularly find *u*, as הֻגַּד, הֻתַּךְ, הֻתַּשׁ, imperf. יֻקַּם, while on the other hand הָנְחִיל, הָנְחַל without contraction accord. to §. 227.

The Hif-îl of פ״י and of פ״ו are no longer strictly distinguished: the pronunciation is most frequently founded upon ו, הוֹשִׁיב, הוֹלִיד, הוֹבִישׁ; these are always founded on י, הֵילִיל §. 239 הֵימִין (*to go to the right* from יָמִין *dextra*) הֵינִיק, הֵיטִיב, but together with הֵישִׁיר we also find הוֹשִׁיר K'tîb Ps. 5, 9. Js. 45, 2. In this rarer formation the pronunciation *ai* sometimes remains for *ae* Gen. 8, 17. Prov. 4, 25. 1 Chr. 12, 2. — In Hof-al, however, these two classes of roots are perfectly alike, because *u* not only coalesces with ו in *û*, but also absorbs the sound *i* accord. to §. 53, into *û*: הוּשַׁב, הוּצַר. — The resolution of this first radical into the following consonant accord. to §. 223 is regularly found in הִצִּיר (*to place*, whereas יָצַק is *to pour*) and intrudes also into הִצִּיג and הִצִּיעַ *to spread out*, stems which rather become independent verbs in Hif-îl, as Qal is not used in these significations. The *û* of Hof-al more easily descends for the reduplication of the following consonant in these examples הֻלֶּדֶת, הוּלֶּדֶת (*the being born*, inf.) Gen. 40, 20. מוּסָּד (*established*, part.) Js. 28, 16.

254 The î of Hif-îl meets with no obstacle to its insertion in the roots ע״ו: הֵקִים. From הֵקִים, Hof-al would be primarily formed הָקַם or הָקוּם; but as the *u* at the beginning would be very inaudible in this case, this important vowel preponderates so much at the beginning, that in its protracted *û* the power of a radical rests at the same time, and the ו, as if it was transposed to the beginning, disappears entirely from its place as second radical: הוּקַם, although a long *a* is still found at the end יוּשָׂם Gen. 24, 33 Q'ri. A short *u* is also still found at the beginning with reduplication הֻקַּם 2 Sam. 23, 1.

From roots of double sounds, Hif-îl הֵסֵב, since the vowel has not been able to prolong itself to the long *î* before the, properly speaking, double sound of the last radical. Hof-al is like in ע״ו, הוּסַב, although the first radical is often doubled

accord. to §. 217, as יוּשַּׁד Hos. 10, 14. יֻכַּת Iob 4, 20, and in the *infin.* הָשַּׁמָּה Lev. 26, 34 f. 2 Chro. 36, 21 the vowel at the beginning has remained perfectly short without being supported more than loosely by the reduplication, so that with a vowelless prefix it rather attaches itself to it, as בְּהָשַּׁמָּה Lev. 26, 43. cf. §. 62, 2.

Where *o* already exists at the beginning of the stem, the passive (since its *u* is even otherwise not free from the change into *o*, as if the passive sound was already contained at the same time in this *o*) can only be distinguished by the *a* at the end: חוֹלֵל accord. to §. 234, *pass.* חוֹלַל; שׁוֹרֵשׁ accord. to §. 237, *pass.* שׁוֹרַשׁ *to be rooted* Jer. 12, 2 [1]. 255

1) In the same manner from a פ״י we find הוֹדַע as Hof-al, Lev. 4, 23. 28 for הוּדַע; but this is the only example of this kind.

From כִּלְכֵּל §. 235 *pass.* כָּלְכַּל, with a guttural שֳׁעֳשַׁע.

2) From the rarer intensive forms §. 233 אֻמְלַל (*to be withered*) always with *u*; חֳמַרְמַר (*to be much inflamed*) Iob 16, 16 where the passive vowel is at least held by the guttural. יָפְיָפִיתָ (*thou art very beautiful*) Ps. 45, 3, on the other hand, is a new passive pronunciation, formed in such a manner from the active יְפֵיפִית that the *o* forms a distinct full syllable; the succeeding *a* has been preserved from the foretone §. 41 [1]. — רֻטְפַשׁ §. 230 is an example of a passive of a quadriliteral root, in which the *u* of the first syllable has so heavy a sound that the close attachment of syllables is hindered by it, and a fragmentary vowel is inserted accord. to §. 169. 256

1) This is perhaps the easiest explanation of the form. It is no valid objection that we do not find ־יָת accord. to §. 288.

3) Hitpael and the corresponding stems §. 242 f., in as much as they proceed primarily from Piel, have *e* for the most part in the last syllable, but do not invariably retain it, the idea of the active being resolved in them. It is not rare to find *a* at the end, as הִתְחַזַּק 2 Chr. 13, 7. 15, 8. Jer. 8, 21. הִתְפַּלָּא, הִטַּמָּא, הִתְחַטָּא Iob 10, 16; in pause therefore *á* הִתְבּוֹנָן, הִתְקַדָּשׁ Js. 1, 3. 42, 13 f. When this reflexive stem is used in a purely passive sense, the passive vowel also intrudes into the first syllable, though it is rare, without changing the *e* at the end, as הֻכַּבֵּס (*to be washed* used as *inf. c.* Lev. 13, 55 f.) הֻדַּשַּׁן Js. 34, 6. הָתְפָּקֵד *to be numbered* in Num. and 1 Kgs. 20, 27 beside הָתְפָּ [1]) Jdgs. 20, 15 twice 21, 9. In some later formations, the pronunciation of Pual as the nearest passive is transferred in a somewhat different manner to Hitpael and Nit-ʿal: הִתְגֹּעֲשׁ *to be moved* Js. 25, 16. 46, 8. מִנּוֹאָץ part. *despised* Jer. 52, 5. נִגֹּאַל *to be defiled* 59, 3 Ezr. 2, 62. 257

1) The reduplication even and the derivation from Piel disappear here, because there is no longer an intension of the idea. In Aramaic, the simple passive is regularly so formed. The only other word like this is נִשְׁתָּוָה §. 258.

The pure passive forms are indeed primarily distinguished from one 258

another according to their origin out of the active; but yet, since the formation of the passive is not uniformly developed through all active stems, they are again so isolated and irregular that both the passive forms which are alone of frequent use, Hof-al and Pual, are even sometimes used as passives of Qal. The following is a statement of all the facts: 1) Hof-al is still most frequently the passive of Hif-îl, as הִגִּיד to tell, הֻגַּד. When *two* different objects are dependent on *Hif-îl* accord. to §. 239, the former of them would indeed fall away in Hof-al because the idea of the causative has become passive; but the second object which is dependent on the simple verbal idea, remains, as הָרְאָה אֶת־הַתְּמוּנָה *he was made to see the pattern* i. e. was shown. Ex. 25, 40; הָנְחַלְתִּי יַרְחֵי שָׁוְא *I am made to inherit evil months*, or, forced etc. Iob 7, 3. — 2) *Pual* is primarily always passive of Piel, as from צִוָּה, שִׁלַּח always צֻוָּה, שֻׁלַּח; seldom does its *reflexive* occur in a merely passive sense, as כִּפֶּר *to expiate*, pass. usually כֻּפַּר, although also הִתְכַּפֵּר 1 Sam. 3, 14. — 3) Since Qal is without a passive (§. 248), Nif-ʿal is very often used as such §. 241, much more rarely Hitpael §. 243 so that sometimes instead of הִתְ־ we find נִתְ a stronger pronunciation with the *n* of Nif-ʿal, as Nif-ʿal is more clear as passive: נִשְׁתָּוָה *part. fem.* Nitpael from שִׁוָּה Prov. 27, 15, and in the same manner with derivation from Piel נִכַּפֵּר *to be expiated* Dt. 21, 8; נִוַּסֵּר Ez. 23, 48 [1]). Pual is however not unfrequently found beside Qal, especially if Piel is not in use, as יֻלַּד *to be born*, קֻבַּר *to be buried* beside נוֹלַד, נִקְבַּר, also Hof-ʿal too, especially easily and often in the *imperf.*, if נ as 1st rad. suffers itself to be contracted, and thus the shortest passive in Hof-ʿal arises, as יֻקַּח, יֻתַּץ, יֻתַּן (from לָקַח §. 273) יֻקַּם Gen 4, 24 beside יִנָּתֵן — On the other hand where a verb has not been preserved in Qal but only in Piel or Hif-îl, and has become isolated in them, the passive formation not unfrequently returns to the simple stems i. e. to Nif-al accord. to §. 244, as נִשְׁמַד, נִכָּה, נוֹשַׁע which are in signification *passives* of הוֹשִׁיעַ *to help*, הִכָּה *to strike*, הִשְׁמִיד *to destroy*; נִחַל *to be desecrated* often beside חִלֵּל, and coming into use נִכְסָה *to be covered* Jer. 51, 42 beside כֻּסָּה from כִּסָּה [2]).

1) This last example is more remarkable on account of the weak ו into which ה must have resolved itself §. 242, and it were more natural to concieve Nif-al נוֹסַר.

2) This is also found when Nif-al is of reflexive signification, as נִבְרַךְ *to bless oneself* beside הִתְבָּרֵךְ from בֵּרַךְ, Qal being lost; נִחַם beside הִתְנַחֵם Gen. 37, 35 cf. 38, 12 from Piel נִחַם *to comfort*. The first signification of this root is *to breathe hard*, hence reflex. *to sigh* = *repent*, but active Piel *to cause some one to breathe freely* i. e. *to comfort*; nothing is so like it as the Saascrit *çvas*, *â-çvas*.

259 Yet the proper reflexive forms have in this respect an advantage over the purely passive forms, in that the passive signification in them easily assumes a reflexive direction again, denoting *what a man suffers to be done to him*, without resistance, as נִמְצֵאתִי *I was found* i. e. I let myself be easily found by all Js. 65, 1, נוּסַר to be warned = *to let oneself be warned* Ps. 2, 10. Ez. 23, 48; whereas the pure passive forms are only rarely used in this manner, as הָפְנוּ *imperat.* Jer. 49, 8. Ez. 32, 19.

II. VERBAL FLEXION.

Since the verb describes acting and happening, and these 260
cannot be concieved without the idea of time, it is natural for the *distinctions* of time to have been at the same time determined in the verb in its developed state; *tense*, however, is accompanied by the subjective consideration of the relation of the action to reality, which finds its expression in the *mode*. In the next place, as the action described by the verb must be fixed somewhere and have a source from which it proceeds, the verb becomes in its further development, *personal*, and all personal ideas, even those of the first and second person, are attached to it; hence also the verb combines subject and predicate in itself. Every verbal stem thus only becomes a definite distinct word, by the idea of a definite time, or of a relation of the action, on the one hand, and, on the other, the idea of a definite person as the subject of the action, being most closely and inseparably united with it in a whole. Of the two formations, however, which thus always concur in the flexion of the verbal stems, the older, more sensuous and firm formation is that of the signification of persons, the distinction of the time and mode of the action is more intellectual and subtle.

The distinction of tense and mode is still very simple in 261
Hebrew, since the full sense is rather contained in the vivid feeling of the speaker and, therefore, in the connexion of the sentence, than externally expressed minutely in the form. The conception of the time of an action is first twofold: it is either considered as already *finished*, *done*, and therefore as *definite* and certain, or, as *not yet finished* and done, as being done merely. The first is the positive and objective, the other the negative and subjective side and view of the relation of the action to the circumstances of time. Hence these two forms of time are not confined to *external spheres* of time, to abstract past or future as contradistinguished from the present, but in whatever sphere of time the speaker can concieve the event, he can consider it in that sphere either as finished or unfinished, so that those forms do not acquire their more definite sense by themselves alone, but in particulars essentially by the connexion of the whole sentence also. In this respect Hebrew especially has still very great fredom and range of imagination, and the Poets again more than usually so. It is improper therefore to compare them with the abstract forms of tense in later languages, and the names *preterite* and *future* are inappropriate; it appears most correct to call them *perfect* and *imperfect*, although not in the strict sense of the Latin Grammar [1]).

1) It might be proved that even the very developed tenses and modes of the Indo-germanic languages might be reduced to a similar primitive distinction, just as the later Semitic languages have in this very point departed farthest from the Hebrew.

262 1. The perfect is used therefore 1) of actions which the speaker contemplates from his present as actually finished, happened, past, whether the act belongs to a more definite period of the past, in narration, as *God* בָּרָא *created the world*, or refer to the past indefinitely, as מָה עָשִׂיתָ *what hast thou done?* לֹא הָרַגְתִּי אִישׁ *I have not slain any one.* — 2) Of actions which the speaker contemplates as finished, already accomplished, but extending in that state into the present, where modern languages would use the simple present; this holds therefore especially of tranquil, positive conditions of mind and body which we speak of as already existing, as יָדַעְתִּי *novi*, זָכַרְתִּי *memini* Num. 11, 5. שָׂנֵא *odit*, מֵאֵן *he refuses* Ex. 10, 3. 16, 28. אָהֵב *he loves*, מָאַס *he despises*, קָטֹנְתִּי מִן־ *I am too unworthy to* be Gen. 32, 11. In the same manner when universal truths, which are clear from experience and have decidedly proved themselves so, are accordingly described in the perfect, as *the sinner* נִאֵץ *despises God* Ps. 10, 3, and in similes and proverbs often. — 3) Of actions which in reality indeed are neither past nor present, but which the intention or the imagination of the speaker contemplates as being already as good as done, therefore as perfectly unconditional and certain, where in modern languages at least the more energetic, definite present would be used instead of the future. Thus when any one declares his intention briefly, the internal decision of the mind which he has thoroughly determined, therefore often in the declarations of God especially, whose will is equivalent to the deed, as נָתַתִּי לְךָ *I give thee*, בֵּרַכְתִּי *I bless him* Gen. 15, 18. 17, 20. and in the language of contracts of buying and selling Gen. 23, 11. 13. The imagination of the Poet and Prophet, however, often views the future as lying distinctly before it and as already experienced, but not in unimpassioned, continuous description, but in short rapid images, partly in a new train of contemplation, as אָבְדוּ *they are gone!* Ps. 10, 16. partly in the midst of the future already described, as *it shall wither*, נִדַּף *is driven away and gone!* Js. 19, 7.

263 2. The *imperfect* describes what is unfinished, what is about to be done, only just approaching accomplishment, and hence what is dependent on circumstances and indefinite, and since this signification is not yet more objectively defined in Hebrew, the sphere of the use of this form is uncommonly wide; all the particular varieties of this use, however, may

be reduced to two fundamental ideas. The unfinished act may be either concieved as something just about to happen, as arising in a moment and lasting, only as not yet past, or, as absolutely *future*, not yet existent; according to our languages, therefore, as a *present*, or as a *future* tense. To this last signification then is united, thirdly, that of the subjective *will* that the action be done or happen, or a pure *mode*.

1) As the imperfect denotes the mere being about to be 264
or arising, it can be used to describe an action which is not finished at this very moment, but which is being performed in order to be finished, therefore where we use the present; as תֵּצְאוּ *you come out* 1 Sam. 17, 8; hence the perfect is sometimes found together with the imperfect for our present, according as the event is described as just finished, or as rather being still in progress, as מֵאַיִן בָּאתָ and מִ׳ תָּבֹא *whence comest thou?* The distinction is often very delicate, since a language which has not yet any definite form for the abstract present can easily concieve an event happening in the present as already finished and therefore *present;* as to the usage of the language, however, the perfect is rare in this application. — But the *imperfect* may be used with the same propriety to denote a happening (the present) in the past, as soon as the thought is engaged in that sphere; this Praesens Praeteriti, however, may be again concieved in two ways and differ accordingly: *a*) in an event that has *simply* happened and is past, the one side of its *being* done, the moment of its origin when it was present, may be rendered prominent, the imagination of the speaker already lingering in the sphere of a time considered as definitely past and, from that point, looking down on that which was *then being done*, and thus placing the hearer at once in the time in which it happened; this the poets especially can do with great ease as *why* לֹא־ אָמוּת *did I not die from the womb?* אָז תִּוָּלֵד *tunc nascebaris* Iob 38, 21: 3, 3. 11. 15, 7. Ex. 15, 12. 14. 15. 16, and even at the beginning of a sentence when the more accurate definition of the time is presupposed, and the Poet is only occupied with the fact, as *out of Aram* יַנְחֵנִי *he brings me* Num. 33, 7. This usage is also found in prose, but is confined to special cases and connexions; e. g. to the connexion with אָז *then*, as אָז יָשִׁיר *then sang* Ex. 15, 1. Jos. 8, 30; cf. especially §. 296.

b) But this Praesens or Imperfectum Perfecti is still more necessary if the past action actually *lasted a long time* and is to be described in this kind of continuance in the sphere in question, or (which depends on the nature of particular

actions) of frequent recurrence during its continuance, for what continues is not finished, is always being again done to an indefinite period. Even with *the usual present time*, the imperfect is always used to express this idea, and not the perfect, as יֵאָמֵר *dicitur*, *dicunt*, hence especially in comparisons, as כַּאֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא *as one bears* Dt. 1, 31; but quite as often for the *past*, the idea of which arises from the connexion of the sentence only, as יַעֲשֶׂה שָׁנָה בְשָׁנָה *he was accustomed to do year by year* 1 Sam. 1, 7. 2, 19; *forty years long* אָקוּט *was I troubled* Ps. 95, 10; just in the same way הֲנֵדַע *did we know then?* Gen. 43, 7 [1]).

1) The whole of this use of the imperfect for every present ceases entirely in Aramaic, the participle in it being used as a third form of time, as the present; there are indeed beginnings of this use in Hebrew, but still very confined, v. §. 348 f.

2) The *imperfect* is the definite expression of an absolutely *future* event, in the strongest contradistinction to the perfect, as לֹא הָיָה וְלֹא יִהְיֶה *it has not been and will not be;* but is also permitted for the future in the past, if the time spoken of in the connexion of the sentence be past, although very rarely, as *the firstborn which* יִמְלֹךְ *should have reigned* 2 Kgs. 3, 27; especially in dependent propositions, where the simple form merely always remains in Hebrew, as הֲנֵדַע כִּי יֹאמַר *did we know that he would say?* (like יָדַעְתִּי כִּי יֹאמַר *I know that he will say*) Gen. 43, 7. 25, cf. 2, 19. Ex. 2, 4.

265 The different shades and relations in which a future event is spoken of have, on the whole, no influence on the form; in the sense of certain propositions and connexions, therefore, the future may be prominent rather as something *intended*, something to be put in execution from the point of view of the speaker; which idea other languages can either express by the *potential* or conjunctive, or can distinguish by a circumlocution. Thus the imperfect may be used *a*) in a question of the first person in an uncertainty of what is to be done, as הַאֵלֵךְ *shall I go?* מָה אֶקֹּב *why shall I curse?* Mich. 6, 6. Num. 23, 8. — *b*) It can represent that which is to happen merely as the *intention* of the agent, in dependent propositions, as אָמַר כִּי יְשׁוּבוּן *edixit ut redeant* Iob 36, 10, מִנָּה־יַעַמְדוּ *imperavit* - (ut) - *starent*, in narration of the past Dan. 1, 5; but such instances of indirect diction are still very rare. The imperfect is also used in the same manner of a event which is concieved as *being to happen*, as coming and resulting if something else *were*, or in English more briefly of an event which *would be*, as *for then* (if I had died as a child) אֶשְׁקוֹט *would I rest* now Iob 3, 13. 16; and when an event which is really past is contemplated in

the poets fancy as a present image, as אֶגְוַע *I would die and no eye see me* = I had then died (if I had not been brought up) Iob 10, 18 f. In such rare instances, however, there always exists an indication in what goes before which cannot mislead. — *c*) An event which *should happen* is simply enjoined as being future, is represented as the result of external necessity, *as of all trees of the garden* תֹּאכֵל *shalt thou eat*, according to my permission and command Gen. 2, 16; this is especially significant in a strong negation, in a law, as לֹא תֹאכַל *thou shalt not eat*, or only generally in solemn diction, as *thou hast done* אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה *what should not be done*, the emphasis being upon *not* Gen. 20, 9. 34, 7, Lev. 4, 2.

3) But if the thought that something *should be done* is 266 not simply and composedly expressed, but is poured forth with vehemence so that the *subjective will* is alone expressed, then the imperfect is more hurriedly pronounced, and a new form, a peculiar *mode*, is produced, which may again divided according to nice distinctions into *jussive, imperative* and *cohortative*. Because this mode however is only formed from the imperfect, it cannot now be minutely described §. 290 ff.

Similar but less important are the changes which the perfect and imperfect undergo from certain firm and significant connexions with the copula ו *and*, concerning which see §. 296 ff.

Compound formations of tense and mode such as prevail in later languages are totally unknown in Heb.; see some faint beginnings §. 349.

The distinction between the perfect and imperfect as to 267 form is most strongly marked by the signs of the persons being attached in the verbal stem to the perfect, as the nearest, positive tense, at the end, which is also the plan most accordant with the general principles of the formation of words §. 207, but in the imperfect, being placed before, which is at the same time agreable to the idea of this tense as the *negative* conception of the action, in which the mere person is the prominent part, and the action itself is only secondary, as being not yet completed and past.

But the language has not been satisfied with this ancient, 268 strong, external distinction of the two senses by the pre- or post-fixture of the signs of the persons; the subtler internal change of vowels which pervades all other parts of the formation of words has also intruded here (§. 210). Its general laws are: first, that the nearest, open *a*, which is found in in the last syllable of most stems, descends in the imperfect, whose first syllable is rendered heavy by the attachment of

the persons, to *e*, though on the contrary the unfrequent reverse of this also occurs; but to this rule, which does not hold in all stems, is to be added a special one of another kind, that the imperf. as describing what is unfinished, continues, prefers *long* vowels. In the rarer and more remote verbal stems, indeed, all change of vowels is absolutely wanting; but so much the more prevalent and important has it become in those of more frequent use. In some instances, the peculiarities of the weak roots afford an opportunity for all the consequences of this internal change of vowels to show themselves in clearer and firmer impressions than the formations of the strong roots permit; in other instances the delicate change of *a*–*e* has not yet been able to affect the double sound which arises in the formation of stems, namely in the derived stems of פ״ו and ע״ו.

269 I. The following is the internal change of vowels, in which the pure verbal stem or the third person sg. msc. may serve as an example of the perf., and as one of the imperf. the same person, the sign of which will then be a prefixed י (see §. 281 ff.)

1. This change of vowels is greatest in the simple stem:

1) For the *active* pronunciation, the perfect has *ă* after the second radical, v. §. 231; in the imperfect, however, in certain roots only whose sounds favour it, *e*, §. 271-273; *a* is rather changed regularly into the obscurer, longer *ŏ*, which becomes by the tone *ó*. Therefore: כָּתַב, יִכְתֹּב; the *o* is very seldom written with ו, generally only in pause and by later writers, as יִסְפּוֹר Iob 14, 16. 31, 4; 39, 2; the *ă* of the perf. on the other hand, only becomes *á* in pause, out of it only 1 Sam. 7, 17. The imperf. of a verb whose 1 rad. is a guttural is יַחְשֹׁב, יַהֲרֹג accord. to §. 76, it is seldom, and only especially with א, that we find *e* instead of *a*, as יֶחֱשֹׂף Ps. 29, 9. יֶהֱרוֹס Iob 12, 14 with תַּהֲרֹס (2nd pers.) Ex. 15, 7, יֶאֱסֹף, יֶאֱרֹג, יֶאְסֹר; on the other hand, however, יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה accord. to §. 94. From 2nd rad. gutt. יִפְעַל, יִבְחַן, יִשְׁאַל, but also יִזְעֹם, יִמְעֹל and יִמְעַל accord. to §. 79; from 3rd rad. gutt. יִשְׁלַח, יִשְׁמַע accord. to §. 78 and hence יִקְרָא §. 85 from קָרָא. — From ע״ע or roots with double sounds סַב perf., יָסֹב imperf.; with a gutt. which admits no reduplication whatever and before which therefore the vowel can become more lengthened, יָצוֹר Js. 8, 17. Jdgs. 5, 29. — From ע״ו, perf. קָם with expulsion of the ו, as the sound *a* here is characteristic; imperf. on the other hand יָקוּם, *o* having coalesced with the *û* of the root §. 91. Hence the infinitive קוּם is assumed as the root in Grammar.

270 2) For the *intransitive* pronunciation, the perf. has *e* after

the 2nd rad. accord. to §. 249 f. seldom *o*; and these vowels are so characteristic that they even intrude into the roots ע״ו with expulsion of the ו, as מֵת, נֵד (*to fly*) Js. 17, 11; טוֹב, בּוֹשׁ, אוֹר (*to be light*) Gen. 44, 3. 1 Sam. 14, 29; from ע״ע, רַב (*jaculari*) Gen. 49, 23. On the contrary, the imperf. takes *a* for *e*, before which that intransitive *i* (*e*) is so much the more retained [1]) as the *a* in the first syllable in forms like יֶחְדַּל, יֵקַל = יִקְלַל is even for euphony sake changed into *e* §. 214. In a strong stem the *i* at the beginning cannot indeed be distinguished from the *i* of the active pronunciation, so that the *a* at the end makes the only characteristic: גָּדֵל, יִגְדַּל; קָטֹן, יִקְטַן; but with a gutt. as 1st rad. there can still be a distinction at the beginning, as יֶחְדַּל, יֶחֱרַד, יֶחֱזַק, יֶחֱנַף, even יִהֲלַךְ (in the new signification *grassari* Ex. 9, 23. Ps. 73, 9) in which the pure *i* has remained contrary to §. 77; so also always from ע״ע: יֵצַר (*to be narrow*, יֵצֹר *to straighten* Js. 11, 13), יֵקַל, יֵמַר, יֵרַךְ, יֵרַע, יֵחַת, יֵשַׁם, יֵחַם [2]), and also from, ע״ו, יֵבוֹשׁ (*to blush* perf.) from יִבְיַשׁ, u–a being changed into a–u = ô §. 92, 2, although *a* usually remains here at the beginning, as יָבֹא, יָאוֹר, יָדוֹן (*to be low* Gen. 6, 3), יָקוֹשׁ (*to lay snares* Js. 29, 21. cf. perf. יָקשׁ §. 250). —

1) Forms like תִּהֲלַךְ, יֵבוֹשׁ certainly justify the conclusion that the *i* or *e* at the beginning is in itself significant and has not been only assumed as the nearest pronunciation.

2) Ps. 19, 14 אֵיתָם written with a very long *e*. On account of the nearness of the sound, some adopt the formation of פ״י entirely, as יֵחַם 1 Kgs. 1, 1. יִישַׁם Ez. 6, 6. — יֶחֱנַן *to be gracious* is resolved.

Even here, as in the perfect, the intransitive pronunciation is sometimes not quite distinguished from the opposite general, indefinite one, as יִשְׁבֹּת and יִשְׁבַּת *to rest* Lev. 26. 35. 34. יַחְפֹּץ and יֶחְפַּץ *cupere;* hence too the perfect and imperfect of the same verb are not always both formed intransitively together, and *vice versâ*, as נָבֵל, יִבֹּל *to wither;* חָצֵב, יַחְצֹב; שָׁכַב, יִשְׁכַּב *to lie*, חָזַק (*to be strong* Ez. 3, 14. 2 Chro. 26, 15) יֶחֱזַק.

The imperfect in roots that begin with a vowel is of a 271
peculiar formation; for as this vowel, coalesces with that of the prefix syllable in a long protracted vowel, the first syllable aquires such a heaviness that the last, in distinction to it, is pronounced with the nearest, shortest vowel only, that is, with *e* which on account of the tone may be changed into *ă* accord. to §. 46, and at the utmost into *ê* long by tone. There can be therefore no distinction of active or intransitive pronunciation. Thus *a*) from פ״י in which accord. to §. 53 *î* must arise at the beginning, as יָנַק, יִינַק *to suck*, cf. יִיצַר *to form*, יִיטַב *to be good*, יִישַׁר *to be straight*, יִרָא pro-

perly an intrans. formation, perf. יָרֵא *to fear.* — *b*) From פ״י one would consistently expect *ó* at the beginning from *a-u*, but if that were the case, the simple stem would be the same as Hif-îl §. 253; and since *e* at the beginning is rather the characteristic of the latter, the *u* of the first rad. is expelled and the *i* is prolonged in a simple syllable to *é* accord. to §. 48. 97, which *é* supplanting the *ó* in Hebrew is indeed a pure long vowel in value but is not written with י. In the last syllable we find *é* long by tone, although with a guttural *a* remains. This formation, however, has only remained in a few roots, as יֵלֵד from the perf. יָלַד, יֵשֵׁב, יֵלֵךְ §. 228, יֵרֵד, יֵחַד, יֵדַע, יֵקַע, יֵצֵא; most roots follow the formation from a primitive פ״י, and יֵקַר, יִיקַר and even יִיקַר 1 Sam. 18, 30. יֵקַד and יִיקַד are in progress to it [1]). In other respects *a* or *e*, as they are severally formed at the end of each stem, remain true to their sound here even in pause, as יֵדְעוּ, יֵדָע, יֵלְדוּ, יִירָשׁוּ, יִירָשׁ.

1) The 2nd perg. sg. fem. תֵּיטְבִי Nah. 3, 8 is probably only used on account of the euphony §. 212 ff. for תֵּיטְבִי.

On the other hand, if one of these roots, instead of doubling the vowel as 1st rad., doubles the *second* rad. accord. to §. 223, the pronunciation is thereby changed into the otherwise usual one of the 2nd rad., as יִצֹּר Jer. 1, 5 (else וַיִּצֶר) יִצֹּק *to pour* Gen. 28, 18, יִסֹּר *to chasten* Hos. 10, 10; יִשַּׁר 1 Sam. 6, 12. *to go straight.*

272 It has remained customary from an early period to change the sound *áa* in some roots פ״א, which would originally have arisen at the beginning, into *ó* = *â* §. 50. After this long *ó* the last syllable has the same weak vowel, only that it changes here more according to its origin, in such a manner that *é* is used instead of *a* in pause, as יֹאכַל, יֹאמַר, יֹאבַד in pause יֹאכֵל, יֹאכְלוּ, and from ל״ה at the sane time יֹאבֶה, יֹאפֶה, *é* is constantly found in יֹאחֵז; it is rare for such an א that has ceased to be audible to be omitted in writing, as יֹחֵז 2 Sam. 20, 9. 19, 14. Some stems fluctuate between this formation and the usual guttural pronunciation, as יֹאחֵז and rarely יֶאֱחֹז, אֹהַב as the 1st pers. sg. only, and in the other persons יֶאֱהַב etc.

The same is very rarely found in other verbal forms, as לֹאחַז *Nif.* Num. 32, 30. Jos. 22, 9, at the same time in another signification (*to hold for oneself* = to take possession), נֶאֱחַז as the pure passive *to be seized;* אֹבִיד Jer. 46, 8 and אוֹכִיל Hos. 11, 4 both 1 pers. sg. imperf. Hif. from אבד, אכל, and precisely in this 1st pers. do á-a = â = ô come together most strongly; moreover, יֹאסֵף together with יוֹסֵף in which א appears to be primitive, v. §. 246.

273 The roots פ״נ regularly resolve the 1st rad. in the imperf. accord. to §. 113, as נָפַל, יִפֹּל; it is only rarely and rather

according to poetical licence that *n* remains unresolved in some roots as in the perfect, as יִנְצֹר Prov. 2, 11 and יִצֹּר 3, 1. יִנְגֹּשׂ Js. 58, 3 and יִגֹּשׂ Dt. 15, 3; unless it is followed by a guttural §. 227, when נ remains according to rule, as יִנְאַף, and is only exceedingly rarely resolved before the hard ח, as it is in יֵחַת Jer. 21, 13. But as the first syllable of the contracted forms becomes very like those of פ״י and פ״ו, accordingly, that short *a* §. 371 begins to intrude into the last syllable here also, as יִדֹּר [1]) together with יִדֹּר, יִשַּׁךְ Prov. 23, 22 with יִשֹּׁךְ Koh. 10, 11; *a* is always found in יִשַּׁק (although 1 Kgs. 19, 20 אֶשְּׁקָה §. 293) יִגַּשׁ, יִשַּׁל, besides the guttural roots, in which it is in itself necessary, as יִפַּח, יִטַּע, יִגַּע, יִסַּע, יִשָּׂא; in the very frequent and attrited נָתַן *to give* that *é* has even fixed itself immoveably, יִתֵּן; before Maqqef however we find יִתֶּן Jdgs. 16, 5.

1) Always after Vav consequutivum only §. 296.

The roots with double sounds which bring forward the reduplication into the 1st rad. accord. to 217 *b* are not to be confounded with these: יִתֹּם, יִקֹּד, יִכֹּת, and with *ă* in the last syllable on account of an intransitive signification or gutt., יִדַּל, יִמַּח, יִגַּר. An example of an ע״ע going over into ע״ו is יֵתַם Ez. 24, 11. cf. יָרוֹן Prov. 29, 6.

In the very common root לָקַח *to take*, ל is contracted in the same way as נ, as יִקַּח. But this imperf. Qal and §. 258 excepted, it always recovers and retains its ל in new formations, as נִלְקַח Nif.

2. In *Piel* and *Hif-îl* no important change of vowels can take place in the last syllable, because they already have *e* in the perf. as a distinction from the passive *a*. On the other hand, the tenses are distinguished by a regular and uniform change of vowels, in such a manner, that the original *a* remains for the imperfect, and in the perfect is weakened into *i*; כִּתֵּב, יְכַתֵּב; הִכְתִּיב, יַכְתִּיב. 274

1) In Piel in strong roots the last syllable also sometimes gives occasion for a more delicate distinction. In the perf., the *e* here can remain in its extremest shortness after the first firm syllable, so that even *ĕ* may sometimes remain, as כִּבֶּס Lev. 13, 6. כִּפֶּר 4, 20. and regularly in the common דִּבֶּר *to speak*, accord. to §. 46 *a* is often found instead, as זִקַּק Mal. 3, 3. אִבַּד 1 Kgs. 21, 3. and *é* is only always necessary in *pause*. In the imperf. on the other hand, there is always the longer *é*: יְדַבֵּר, יְאַבֵּד etc. When the last rad. is a gutt. however, the *a* is still always found out of pause even in the imperf. as שִׁבַּר, יְשַׁלַּח Ex. 3, 20. 4, 21. Gen. 38, 17, and *é* in pause only, יְשַׁלֵּחַ Js. 45, 13. Before א on the other hand there is *e* always accord. to §. 85, as טִמֵּא, יְטַמֵּא. In the same manner בֵּרַךְ (בֵּרֵךְ in pause) יְבָרֵךְ.

The stems corresponding to Piel follow the same formation, as כִּלְכֵּל, יְכַלְכֵּל; when the last rad. is a gutt. the *i* even remains before the gutt. for the stronger distinction of the tense, contrary to §. 77, as

שִׁעֲשַׁע Js. 11, 8, יְשַׁעֲשַׁע, and hence before א perf. טֵאטֵא 14, 23, the א being quite mute §. 85. — In the forms קוֹמֵם no such change of vowels can take place in the first syllable, merely on account of the *ô*.

275 2) In Hif-'il, the prolonged *î* in the last syllable hinders any further distinction; but so much the more characteristic is the *i* for the *perfect* in the first, so that it remains, and for that reason, pure with the gutt. ה and is only rarely changed into *e* accord. to §. 79, as הֶכְלַמְנוּ 1 Sam. 25, 7. only frequently in roots ל״ה [1], as הֶגְלָה often for הִגְלָה. Yet where the 1st rad. also is a gutt. *e* intrudes into the perf. on account of it, as הֶחֱרִים, יַחֲרִים; הֶחְסִיר, יַחְסִיר; הֶאֱכִיל, יַאֲכִיל [2]. From ע״וּ: הֵקִים, יָקִים *ē* appearing thus in a simple syllable in the perf.; in like manner from ע״ע: הֵסֵב, יָסֵב in which the short vowel of the last syllable is treated pretty nearly as in Piel; in the perf. often *a*, הֵסַב, before gutt. always *a*, as in Piel, הֵרַע, יָרַע, but in pause יָרֵעַ, though also הֵתַז *perf.* accord. to §. 133. Js. 18, 5. Example of change into ע״וּ, הֵתִים Js. 33, 1. Examples of reduplication carried forward, הֵתַם, יַתֵּם, with a gutt. for 1st. rad. יָחֵל with weak reduplication accord. to §. 120, in this case at the same time to distinguish the signification *desecrate* from הֵחֵל, יָחֵל *to begin;* then with a perfect change into the usual formation of this last syllable יְשִׂים Jer. 49, 20. יָנֵאץ Koh. 12, 5 a very late way of writing for יָנֵץ. — Only in פ״ו or פ״י has *i* of the perf. not established itself in distinction from the *a* of the imperf., because the prefix syllable does not stand so alone here, but its original *a* has always coalesced with the first radical in a firm diphthong: הוֹשִׁיב, יוֹשִׁיב; הֵילִיל, יֵלִיל.

1) According to a property of the roots which shows itself on some other occasions also, by which they cause the sound *e* (*i*) which is often lost at the end as 3rd rad., to be sounded at the beginning instead of another sound, *a* or *i*; cf. below אֲכַלְּךָ §. 310, אֶזְרֶה §. 282, כֵּלִים §. 382, שְׁבִיכֶם §. 425. Hence also יֶחֱזֶה, יֶחֱצֶה contrary to §. 269.

2) Yet it is seldom that the sound *e* accord. to §. 76 has so established itself in א that it remains throughout and the roots פ״א become like פ״י even without א being written: הֵתָיוּ 3 pers. pl. perf. Js. 21, 14. but also imperat. Jer. 12, 9, and מֵזִין part. Prov. 17, 4.

From פ״נ, both here and in all similar cases in which נ stands at the end of a firm compound syllable before a firm radical, contraction is the rule, and the contrary the exception, as הִנְתִּיךְ Ez. 22, 20; on the other hand before gutt. הִנְחִיל, יַנְחִיל.

276 3. In Nif-'al, the perf. has the lightest possible pronunciation of the stem: נִכְתַּב. A guttural at the beginning recieves the sound *e* for euphony §. 214, as נֶחְשַׁב, נֶעֱזַב, for נִחְשַׁב; hence too the *a* can intrude into the beginning when the pronunciation of the last syllable is altered [1]. — From פ״ו and פ״י the one single pronunciation from ו is always formed, as נוֹלַד, נוֹצַר. — From ע״וּ: נָמוֹג for נְמֻגַג according

to §. 91, 2, the sound which stands alone at the beginning taking *ă* in this case, as is usual throughout the formation of stems, according to §. 37. In the same manner from ע״ע: נָסַב, נָמַס Ps. 112, 10; nevertheless the *ă* here before the properly double sound can be also lengthened into *é*: נָמֵס Ez. 21, 12; but often also with a carrying forward of the reduplication into the first radical [2]), as נִצַּת (always), and with a gutt. with semireduplication accord. to §. 120, as נִחַל, נִחַת Ez. 25, 3. Mal. 2, 5. — In פ״נ there is always contraction on account of the double נ, as נִגַּשׁ, yet before a gutt. נִנְעַר; although contraction is also often found here contrary to the rule, as נִחַם, נִחַת (not be confounded with that נִחַת above which is from חתת).

1) As in the participle נִצְּלָם, infin. abs. נִחְתּוֹם Est. 8, 8. 9, 1. Especially frequent in ל״ה, as נִהְלָה, נִעֲלָה, נַעֲשָׂה pl. נַעֲשׂוּ.

2) An instance of the reduplication of the first radical of an ע״ו is נִמּוֹל Nif. from מוּל or מָל, cf. §. 299.

The נ of the stem is always resolved in the imperfect 277
into the first radical after the prefix; for the *n* which forms the stem might either be pronounced with a short vowel preceding (*hĭn*) or following it (*nĭ*). In the *perfect*, it draws the first rad. into a syllable with itself and takes the vowel after it, as נִכְתַּב, the shortest possible pronunciation; in the *imperfect*, the pronunciation is founded on *hin*, the נ of which is resolved, and the *h* is always expelled after the prefix of the imperf. whereby the shortest, firmest form possible here arises, יִכָּתֵב for יִהְכָּתֵב. The change of vowels is shown in the last syllable, in which we find *e* for *a*; the first radical being left alone assumes the *a* of the foretone accord. to §. 268 and 41, so that the imperfect here, as is also usual elsewhere, has a somewhat longer pronunciation than the perf. From 1st rad. gutt. יֵחָשֵׁב, יֵעָזֵב without reduplication of the first rad. accord. to §. 120; 2nd rad. gutt. יִלָּחֵם, יִנָּחֵם; but 3rd rad. gutt. יִשָּׁמַע, יִשָּׁבַח, in *pause* יִשָּׁבֵחַ. — From פ״ו, the ו must now become consonant accord. to §. 93, as יִוָּלֵד, and then ו is sometimes changed into י, as יִיָּחֵל Gen. 8, 12. 1 Sam. 13, 8. Ex. 19, 13. — From ע״ו: יִמּוֹג, the נ being simply resolved, but no change of vowels at the end being possible. In the same manner from ע״ע: יִסַּב, יִמַּס in which *é* can never occur at the end for *a* after the first firm syllable; but they often assume the sound of ע״ו, as יִבּוֹז and on account of 1st rad. gutt. יֵרוֹעַ, יֵאוֹר. — From פ״נ it is formed completely יִנָּתֵן; nevertheless, where the sense admits it, Hof-al is sometimes used for it as a lighter form, יֻתַּן, and Qal in an intransitive sense, as the perf. Nif. נִתַּךְ, יִגַּשׁ are

commuted with the imperf. Qal יִתַּךְ יִגַּשׁ cf. §. 246. 258. יִזָּכֵר Ex. 34, 19. is a perfectly unusual pausal form.

278 All other rarer and more remote stems have no change of vowels, as Hitpael and Hitpalel, the pure passive forms Pual and Hofal, moreover the intensive forms שַׁאֲנַן רַעֲנַן §. 233, and the quadriliteral roots פַּרְשֵׁז §. 230 in which *a* is still in the first syllable of the perfect for this reason. All this has remained undeveloped.

279 Lastly all roots ל״ה follow peculiar rules in this change of vowels, because their vocalic termination does not suit the usual shadings of the vocalization of the last syllable. They rather retain their original final *ae*, attrited to *é*, throughout, and only suffer the *é* to be changed in the perfect into *a* for a general distinction of that tense from the imperfect, as *a* originally distinguished the last syllable of the perfect in all stems. And this simple change then goes indeed through all stems without exception, so that even the stems which are not developed in the other roots distinguish their perf. and imperf. in these, but it also absorbs all other usual distinctions even those of the active or intransitive Qal. Thus: גָּלָה, יִגְלֶה, Piel גִּלָּה, יְגַלֶּה, Hif. הִגְלָה, יַגְלֶה, Hitpalel הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה, יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה. And yet the *a* has only intruded into those persons of the perf. which end in the radical sound; in the middle, before persons with consonants, the original *ae* has been firmly retained. §. 288.

In Aramaic on the other hand the usual change of vowels in the stems has been regularly admitted in these roots also, so that Hif-il would sound הַגְלִי accord. to §. 53. This Aram. mode is found according to the Masoretes in הֶחֱלִי Js. 53, 10 and הִמְסִיו Jos. 14, 8 which would be Hif. 3 pers. pl. aramaic formation.

Roots whose second and third sound is ו or י have always so accommodated themselves to the usual formation, in the verb, that the third rad. is treated like these ל״ה §. 227; only for חָיָה perf. Qal do we still find חַי according to the formation of the ע״ע, as סַב, but it is rare and (except 2 Sam. 12, 21) only in the Pentateuch, and only in this third pers. sg. perf. Qal.

280 The roots ל״א are indeed originally distinct from these ל״ה; but as like these they end in a mere vowel, their formations approximate very closely to those of the ל״ה in all cases in which the ל״ה end in the sounds *é* or *á*; for where they end in other vowels, they depart more from the sounds of the ל״א and can have no influence upon them. These endings in *é* and *á* are most frequent in the verb, and, in it, intrude very much in the ל״א. Many of these anomalies crept in at an early period and have now become predominant (v. §. 288) others gradually and later;

also in some roots more particularly. Thus דִּכָּא, הִפְלָא perf. for דִּכֵּא, הִפְלִיא. On the contrary a ל״ה also adopts the formation of a ל״א; but this is more isolated and singular, as קָרָא, יִקְרָא in the signification *to meet* (קָרָה, יִקְרֶה) commuted with the more frequent verb *to call;* אָתָא for אָתָה Dt. 33, 2; הִפְרִיא *Hif.* Hos. 13, 15; sometimes too there is a mere commutation of the ה and א in the writing (§. 153) as יְמַלֵּה imperf. *Piel* Iob 8, 21 for יְמַלֵּא, יִכְלֶה imperf. Qal for יִכְלָא and this last for יִכְלֶה 1 Kgs. 17, 14. Ps. 119, 117. יְשֻׁנֶּא imperf. *Pual* for יְשֻׁנֶּה Koh. 8, 1. cf. Prov. 11, 25; although then before א *é* easily intrudes instead of *é* as being more suitable, as יֵתֵא for יֶאֱתֶא imperf. Qal Jer. 3, 21 f. יֹבֵא for יֹאבֶא §. 272. Prov. 1, 10.

II. *Signs of the persons.*

1. In the *perfect* 1) in the *third* person as the nearest 281
the *ms. sg.* has remained without any characteristic of person according to §. 209. The *fem. sg.* lengthens itself by *-á* or *ah* ־ָה [1]); the hardening of this termination into *ăt* ־ַת according to §. 209 is very rare if the last radical is a strong one (Dt. 32, 36 a poetical license, Ez. 46, 17 in the later period) but very near and frequent if it is a soft vowelsound, to which the *t* is more easily attached, v. §. 286. — The sign for the *plural*, in which the *fem.* is not yet distinguished, is regularly *-ú* [2]), shortened out of the ancient plural of the pronoun *hûm* [3]), and lastly out of *ûn*, which is still found in יָדְעוּן only Deut. 8, 3. 16.

1) Instead of which, ־ָא is written according to §. 153, only Ez. 31, 5.

2) ־וּ, rarely ־וּא accord. to §. 154, Js. 28, 12 where, however, the final sound *ú* has a particularly long sound from contraction, Jos. 10, 24.

3) For in the *singular* of this nearest person, the influence of a personal pronoun is not to be thought of, though reasonably in the *plural* as in all kinds of the second and first person.

2) In the *second* person, ת is the firmest and most characteristic pronominal sound, by the terminations of which gender and number are distinguished: *a*) *msc. sg.* ־תָ which has become toneless, hence we seldom find the fuller orthography תָה according to §. 153. — *b*) *fem. sg.* ־תְ the vowel at the end having fallen away; the etymological orthography תִי (from the original *ti*) which is more faithfully preserved in Aramaic, is chiefly found in the later writers only, Jerem., Ezech., Ruth 3, 3. 4, 5 (and Mich. 4, 13 where the Masoretes have תִי). — *c*) *pl. msc.* ־תֶם as a full compound syllable always with the tone; *d*) *fem. pl.* usually distinguished from the preceding by ־תֶן; the longer, original form תֶנָה is rare Am. 4, 3.

3) *First pers.* *a*) In the *sg.* the abbreviation from אֲנִי

I should be נִי; but after the weak נ of this termination was lost, and the *i* alone remained as essential, the language compensated for the consonant which had fallen away by the stronger ת from the many forms of the *second* person in which it occurs, so that the regular termination is תִי, without the tone; according to §. 152 the toneless *i* also at the end was regularly written by י; the mode of writing עָשִׂית is very rare, Ez. 16, 59. Ps. 140, 13. Iob 42, 2. 1 Kgs. 8, 48 where the authors appear to have written and read merely *t* shortened for *ti*, as we actually find אָמַרְתְּ for *dixi* Ps. 16, 2. — *b*) in the *pl.* always ־נוּ from אֲנַחְנוּ *we*, without the tone.

282 2. *For the Imperfect.* Since the pronouns are *put before* the verb, they are shortened, as the prefixes in general are more rapidly pronounced, to *one* vowelless consonant which is the *first*, or the *strongest* and most characteristic of the prefix. But as the complete signification of the persons is thus impossible on account of their number, the further distinctions must be denoted by *postfixes*, in such a manner that the person is indeed denoted at the beginning by its firm sound, but the more accurate distinction of number and gender follows at the end. At the same time the formation of the imperf. shows itself here also (§. 268) as less abridged on the whole; hence among others the ן of the terminations ־וּן, ־ִין, which is almost entirely lost in the perfect, has often been preserved in the imperf. e. g. in Joel.

1) *Third pers.* *a*) The *sg.* is not left here without a pronominal affix as it is in the *perf.*; the *msc.* has יְ_ *j'*, which has arisen according to §. 93, from *v'*, *u*, which would remain from the pronoun *hû*; on the other hand *b*) ־תְ has prevailed for the *fem. sg.*, from the termination *at* §. 209. — *c*) In the *msc. pl.* the above mentioned method of separation must be introduced: יְ־וּן or יְ־וּ, the יְ as in the *sg.* being from the pronoun, but the plural being denoted by a termination as in the *perf.*, the form with ן is even in prose not rare Gen. 18, 28–32. Js. 8, 12. — *d*) In the *fem. pl.* יְ־נָה should arise according to the same plan, which form is also, though rarely, found Gen. 30, 38. 1 Sam. 6, 12; but instead of the יְ of the fem. sg. the ת which is also usually the characteristic of the fem. is almost universally adopted: תְ־נָה. The *msc.* יְ־וּ is nevertheless still found for the *fem.* e. g. Iob 3, 24; and twice Jer. 49, 11. Ez. 37, 7 hence the extraordinary form תְ־וּ, in which the ת is from the fem., but וּ is the general termination of this pl.

2) *Second pers.* The תְ, which remains at the beginning as the strongest and most characteristic consonant for the pronoun of this person, is sufficient for the *msc. sg.* but all

the other forms must be necessarily separated: *fem. sg.* תְּ־ִין or תְּ־ִי, the form with ן is not rare even in Prose 1 Sam. 1, 14; *msc. pl.* תְּ־וּן (Gen. 32, 5) or תְּ־וּ, and *fem. pl.* תְּ־נָה. The *msc.* forms, however, are still found for the characteristic feminine ones, though it is rare, as Js. 57, 8. Hos. 14, 1. 7.

3) *First pers.* The *sg.* אֲנִי *I* has lent its nearest sound א, and the *pl.* אֲנַחְנוּ or נַחְנוּ its equally near consonant נ as characteristics, so that by this distinction of the prefixes אֶ (for אְ according to §. 70) and נְ־, there is no need of postfixes [1]).

1) By this means the forms of some persons, which, as some still certain traces in part prove, must have been originally distinct, have become identical; for in the language as we now find it we have the nisus formativi of different periods. The identity of the 3 fem. sg. imperf. with the 2 msc. sg. is especially disagreable; hence ־נָה from the two feminine forms *pl.* is sometimes appended to תִּכְתֹּב as 3 fem. sg. to distinguish it from the 2 msc. sg. Ex. 1, 10. Jdgs. 5, 26. Js. 28, 3. Iob. 17, 16.

283 III. *Consequences of the attachment of these signs of the persons to the verbal stems: 1. of the prefixes in the imperf.* On account of the different beginnings of the verbal stems as to pronunciation, the prefixes do not always remain in their vowelless and separate pronunciation: 1) in all stems in which the first radical has a necessary vowel, the prefixes may remain in their nearest pronunciation, therefore especially in *Piel* and *Pual*, as יְכַתֵּב, יְכֻתַּב [1]) — 2) In all stems which begin with an externally attached ה, *Hif.*, *Hof.*, *Nif.* and *Hitp.*, that aspirate is elided between the succeding vowel and the preceding vowelless consonant, partly on account of the close attachment of the prefixes, and partly because ה is an *external* affix (§. 82); so that

יְהִתְכַּתֵּב, יְהִכָּתֵב, יְהָכְתַּב, יְהַכְתִּיב

always become יִתְכַּתֵּב, יִכָּתֵב, יָכְתַּב, יַכְתִּיב. — 3) In *Qal*, the first radical, because it is in itself vowelless, forms one syllable with the in itself equally vowelless prefix sound, so that according to §. 45. 66 *ĭ* is pronounced after the 1rst sound in a closely shut syllable (§. 212), as יִכְתֹּב [2]). But if the prefix sound stands by itself before the root, as it does in the peculiar class of roots ע״וּ and ע״ע, it is then pronounced with *â* §. 37: יָקוּם, יָסֹב, yet also יֵקַל accord. to §. 270. Concerning יְהוּא see §. 292 *note*.

1) In the first pers. sg אֲכַתֵּב etc. accord. to §. 70. It is very rarely that the sound *e* intrudes instead accord. to §. 70: אֱזָרֶה Lev. 26, 33 on account of the peculiarities of the roots ל״ה §. 275 *nt.*; and with a more firmly established *ê* אֵסָעֲרֵם Zach. 7, 14 accord. to §. 70, 2.

2) In the 1 pers. sg., however, *ĕ* is always pronounced accord. to §.

79 for ĭ in all stems which have ĭ in the first syllable, that is, in Qal, Hitp. and Nif-ʿal, as אֶכְתֹּב, אֶתְפַּלֵּל, אֶשְׁבַּע 1 Kgs. 2, 8; in Nif-ʿal, however, ĭ frequently returns again or account of the medial syllable §. 47, *c*, as אִמָּלֵט 1 Sam. 27, 1, and always does so in פ״ה on account of the ה before which the ē would be still heavier, as אִוָּלֵד.

1 pers. sg. אֹמַר, אֹהַב accord. to §. 156; אָזִין *Hif.* Iob 32, 11 for אַאֲזִין §. 84, 1.

284 In the coarse and relaxed language of the later periods however, the ה of Hif-il is sometimes left to remain again, just as the similar ה of the article after a preposition. Yet this resolution is only found (except Ez. 46, 22 where the *part.* מְהֻקְצָע occurs) in some weak roots פ״י, which, besides the shortening at the beginning §. 206, are also without Qal and, therefore, more irregular in Hif-il: יְהוֹדֶה Ps. 45, 18, יְהוֹשִׁיעַ 116, 6. 1 Sam. 17, 47. יְהֵילִיל Js. 52, 5. Even earlier does the language begin to treat the י of the 3 pers sg. msc. in פ״י as inseparable from the first sound of the stems *ae* or *é*, as if in compensation of the first radical consonant, so that the signs of the persons are placed anew before this י, this is most frequent in the perfectly isolated *Hif-il* הֵילִיל *to wail*, as יְיֵלִיל, תְּיֵלִיל, אֲיֵלִיל Jer. 48, 31; besides this, once יְיֵטִיב *Hif.* Iob 24, 21 and in Qal יְיֵדַע Ps. 138, 6.

285 2. The end of the verbal stems is much more strongly affected by the *postfixes* of the perf. and of some persons of the imperf., because they are most closely attached. And since the verbal formation in general, as distinguished from the noun, is a very short and shortened one, all these terminations, except a few, have become almost always quite toneless. Hence in these formations it depends partly on the nature of the last syllable of the stem and on its vowels, partly on the nature, beginning, and compass of the postfix; and in the last respect the two chief classes of postfixes must be distinguished into those that begin with vowels, and those that begin with consonants:

1) The postfixes that begin with vowels are for the most part merely vowels, since *-ûn* and *-în* for *-û*, *-î* have become rare in the imperf. As they draw the last radical consonant to their syllable, they always recieve the tone if the vowel in the preceding syllable is not strong enough to remain (§. 60), but they become toneless as soon as ever this preceding vowel resists and maintains itself, only that the general laws of the tone do not even in that case permit the long terminations *ûn* and *în* to be toneless §. 34.

a) The first case happens in most stems, since the greater number have a short, or merely accented, vowel in the last syllable; viz. *ă* of the last syllable is so resolved, as כָּתַב:

כְּתֻבָה ; נִכְתַּב : נִכְתְּבוּ; moreover *e* (§. 46) as כָּתֵת : כָּתֵבוּ, imperf. Nif-al יִכָּתֵב : יִכָּתְבוּ, intrans. Qal יָרֵא : יָרְאָה; lastly *o* §. 46, as imperf. Qal יִכְתֹּב : יִכְתְּבוּ, intrans. Qal קָטֹן : קָטְנוּ. It is only very seldom that this obscure, firmer vowel maintains itself, being changed into *ŭ* §. 48, as תַּעֲבוּרִי before the pause, Ru. 2, 8 and, as is still easier, with the tone at the same time retracted יִשְׁפּוּטוּ הֵם Ex. 18, 26 (§. 197). From 2nd rad. gutt. תִּשְׁחָדִי Ez. 16, 33 from the imperf. Qal יִשְׁחֹד, whereas we always find יִפְעָלוּ because the *o* is no longer preserved in this root יִפְעַל. — These are remarkable, תְּאֵהֲבוּ Prov. 1, 22. the 2 pl. msc. imperf. Qal for תֶּאֶהֱבוּ accord. to §. 73. From יֶאֱסֹף, יֶאֱסֹר, יֶאֱרֹג are formed יַאַסְפוּ, יַאַרְגוּ, יַאַסְרוּ accord. to §. 269, the sound *e* disappearing in the new formation by means of affixes at the end accord. to §. 76. And even from the intrans. יֶחְסַר, יֶחְדַּל §. 270 now יַחְדְּלוּ, יַחְסְרוּ. In the 1 pers. sg., however, *e* always remains on account of the א, In the pause, however, the tone returns and again introduces the vowel of the last syllable of the stem, and lengthens it (§. 131), as כְּתֻבָה . כָּתֵבוּ, יִרְאָה, יִכְתֹּבוּ, יִפְעָלוּ.

b) A strong, resisting vowel is only found in the ordinary roots in Hif-îl, as הִכְתִּיב, הִכְתִּיבָה : יַכְתִּיב, יַכְתִּיבוּ, הִשְׁבִּיעַ : הִשְׁבִּיעוּ ; יַכְתִּיבוּן. But in two classes of weak roots this must occur in all stems except the intensive ones, viz. first in the ע״וּ in which there is always an immutable long vowel in the place of the 2nd rad., as קָם, בָּא, מֵת, יָקוּם, קָמָה, בָּאָה, מֵתוּ, תְּקוּמִי, נָסוֹג : נָסוֹגוּ, but יְקֻמוּן. Secondly in the similar ע״ע [1]), because the short vowel also of the last syllable here is supported by the reduplication which becomes perfectly audible before the new syllable, as רַבּוּ, סַבּוּ, יָסֹבּוּ, יִסַּבּוּ from רַב, סַב, יָסֹב, יִסַּב; the last vowel which is lengthened by the tone often becomes short again before distinct reduplication, as in the perf. Hif-îl and Nif-al הֵסַבּוּ, נָסַבּוּ more frequently than הֵסֵבּוּ, נָסַבָּה Ez. 26, 2. From gutt. with weak reduplication accord. to §. 120, שַׁחוּ perf. Qal, but on account of ר, חָרָה, imperf. intrans. יֵחָרוּ Ez. 24, 10 f., and with ע, הֵרֵעוּ perf. Hif. Nevertheless the last syllable is sometimes found with the tone in the perf. Qal, Jer. 4, 13. Ps. 3, 2. 55, 22. [2]).

1) The simple form i. e. the perf. Qal, is however not unfrequently found resolved, as שָׁמְמוּ ; just as without termination זָמַם סָרַר. But rarely any other form, as Hif. הֲשִׁמִּים Mich. 6, 13. Ez. 3, 15. and the poetical הִרְנִין.

2) So also with ע״וּ, though rarely, Gen. 26, 22. 40, 15. Num. 13, 32; but the Mss. vary.

The bringing forward of the reduplication into the 1st rad. §. 217, *b* usually ceases before postfixes: yet it also remains not unfrequently in such a manner that the 2nd rad. is then either doubled at the same time, as the imperf. יַסֵּבּוּ Hif., יֻכַּתּוּ Hof. יִתַּמּוּ intrans. Qal Num. 14, 35, or

gives up this reduplication, as יִתַּמּוּ Ps. 102, 28, יִקְּדוּ from יָקַד, רִכְּתוּ imperf. Hif. Dt. 1, 44, יֻחַקּוּ Hof. Iob. 19, 23. נִחֲרוּ perf. Nif. Cant, 1, 6. Since then the imperf. Nif. and the intrans. Qal are often thus identical in sound, accordingly, both these verbal stems in general are very fluctuating and convertible in many of these roots (§. 246), as נָקַל and קַל *to be light*, נִחַת and חַת *to be terrified*, נָשַׁם and שַׁם *to be desert*, נָדַם imperf. יִדֹּם, יִדְּמוּ accord. to §. 277 and דַּם, יִדַּם pl. יִדְּמוּ and יִדְּמוּ. It is much rarer, on the other hand, for the short vowel (as in an ordinary root) to be resolved without any trace of the original reduplication of the 2nd rad., without the reduplication coming forward into the first rad., but in that case a full syllable must always go before as a support for the voice, and it happens for the most part in Nif., if it rather isolates itself and appears to become a simple verbal stem like נִכְתַּב, as נְסַבָּה fem. sg. (§. 240) Ez. 41, 7, נָקֹטָה *to loathe* and also נָקֹטָה Iob 10, 1, נִבְקְקָה *to be poured out* Js. 19, 3, נָזֹלּוּ *to melt* Jdgs. 5, 5, נָפֹצָה *to spread* Gen. 9, 19, instead of which נָפֹצוּ pl. 10, 18, as this appears to be the easiest method before *á*; very seldom in the imperf. Qal, as נָבְלָה *let us confound* accord. to §. 293 from בָּלַל, and יָזְמוּ from זָמַם Gen. 11, 6 f. Cf. on the other hand in pause Js. 64, 1 f.

286 c) The whole of this formation, however, must be particularly modified in the roots ל״ה. In the genuine Hebrew formation the last sound *é* or *a* falls away here without a trace before the vowel of the postfixes which press upon it (§. 222), as גָּלוּ 3 pl. perf. Qal from גָּלָה, יִגְלוּ, תִּגְלִי 3 pl. msc. and 2 fem. sg. imperf. Qal from יִגְלֶה, הִגְלוּ, 3 pl. perf. from הִגְלָה. The 3 fem. sg. however would not be distinguished by the mere termination *á*, for which reason the hard *t* is attached to the vocalic ending *á* of the stem §. 209, as גָּלַת not with an immutable long *á* in the last syllable; but the *á* which usually forms this person in Hebrew has generally attached itself a second time to this femine formation, so that a distinct double feminine formation comes together (cf. §. 367), as גָּלְתָה, נִגְלְתָה [1]), and the simple גָּלַת is very rare (except before suffixes §. 310) Lev. 25, 21. 26, 34. Jer. 13, 19. 2 Kgs. 9, 37 *K'tíb*. — Together with these genuine Hebrew formations, however, we find a mode of formation produced by the influence of Aramaic, only rarely and in poetry, bywhich the *ae* (ai) returning as 3 rad. and resisting the final vowel recieves the tone (§. 222), *deu* therefore becomes *áju*, as יִשְׁלָיוּ imperf. Qal Iob 12, 6; also 3 sg. fem. perf. חָסָיָה [2]); before *-ún* the tone yields, yet the *á* can still remain before י if only a light syllable goes before תִּבְעָיוּן Qal Js. 21, 12. 33, 7 cf. יִרְבְּיֻן Dt. 8, 13, but not so תְּדַמְּיוּן *Piel* Js. 40, 18.

1) Sometimes the roots ל״א imitate even these peculiarities as well in the attachment of the simple ת, as קָרָאת Js. 7, 14. Jer. 44, 23. Gen. 33, 11 (which is once imitated even by a root ending in

ח, as נִשְׁכַּחַת Nif. Js. 23, 15) as also in the repetition of the feminine termination, in which case we do not find קְרָאתָה like גָּלְתָה, but, because א still makes its sound heard, קְרָאַתָּה, as the weakened form קָרָאת returns beforehand into the more living and full קָרְאָה or קָרְאַת again, and to such a form the repeated ending *á* must now attach itself *toneless;* thus נִפְלָאַתָה Nif. 2 Sam. 1, 26 with a short vowel accord. to §. 60, הֶחְבָּאַתָה Hif. Jos. 6, 19 with a long vowel at a small pause. — Besides מָלְוּ for מָלְאוּ accord. to §. 280 a late form Ez. 28, 16. Jer. 8, 11.

2) In the same manner the very ancient חָיָה Ex. 1, 16 from חַי §. 279 for the usual חָיְתָה. For this formation is properly the primitive one in Hebrew, though not preserved in the ordinary language.

The tone rests on all final syllables in pause, if the third radical is expelled; only rarely does the tone retreat even here, as כָּלוּ in pause, following כָּלוּ, for the sake of variety in words of the same sound Ps. 37, 20. cf. §. 132. The form גָּלְתָה however, as it is perfectly equal to the normal one כָּתְבָה, is always changed into גָּלָתָה; we find נִקָּתָה *Nif.* even in a smaller pause Js. 3, 26.

2) The postfixes which begin with *consonants* (ְתָּ, ְתְּ; ְתֶם, ְתֶן; ְתִי, ְנוּ in the perf., and נָה in the imperf.) are most closely attached to the stem without any sound between, and they have therefore all become toneless (except the two heavy ones ְתֶם, ְתֶן) as the tone can remain upon the *unseparated* final syllable of the stem, as כָּתַבְתָּ. It depends upon this close attachment, however, that 287

a) the vowel in the preceding syllable cannot any longer extend itself freely, but is strongly compressed. The *o* indeed must remain *ó* in tone according to §. 45, as קָטֹנְתָּ, תִּכְתֹּבְנָה and only becomes *ŏ* out of tone, as קְטָנְתֶּם. But the *e* does not remain long as in the final syllable, but contracts itself into a shorter sound; but that according to §. 46 is not *ĕ* but *ă* because the tone falls in most persons upon the second syllable, and *ĕ* according to rule is not accented. Thus כִּתַּבְתָּ, כִּתַּבְתֶּם from Piel כִּתֵּב, also דִּבַּרְנוּ, חָפַצְתָּ from the intrans. חָפֵץ; in the imperf. Piel, where the sound *e* is in general more constant accord. to §. 274, the *é* can nevertheless remain even with ר before the single termination ְנָה which however begins with a soft sound, as תְּדַבֵּרְנָה Iob 27, 4; on the other hand *Nif.* תֵּאָכַלְנָה Jer. 24, 2; and Qal תֵּלַדְנָה from תֵּלֵד §. 271; always possible in pause with *a* (§. 133) in Nif. and Piel, as Js. 13, 16. 18. 28, 3 (on the contrary *é* in Piel Prov. 24, 2). נ as last rad. coalesces with the postfix נָה, as תְּקוֹנֵנָּה Ez. 32, 16; the reduplication is however often wanting here

as at the end of a word (§. 118) especially in pause, as תְּעַגֵּנָה Ruth 1, 13 and תֵּאָמַנָּה pause Js. 60, 4 both Nif.; Ps. 71, 28 in many editt. (The reduplication very seldom ceases in this way in ע״ע, as הֵחֵלוּ 3 pl. perf. Hif. accord. to many editt. for הֵחֵלּוּ 1 Sam. 3, 2). — Even the *î* of Hif-îl is not found here, but Hif. shows its original resemblance to Piel in having *ă* also in the penult, as הִכְתַּבְתָּ, הִכְתַּבְתֶּם, but *é* in the imperf. as תַּכְתֵּבְנָה; but on account of gutt. תַּבַּעְנָה from נבע Ps. 119, 171. — From ל״א on the other hand *é* is always found instead of this *ă*, because in them the sound *e* becomes at once lengthened before א and forms a simple syllable (§. 85), as יָרֵאתָ intrans. *Qal*, טִמֵּאתֶם *Piel*, הוֹצֵאתִי *Hif.* — From a gutt. as 3 rad. שָׁמַעְתְּ *Qal*, הִשְׁמַעְתְּ *Hif.*, שָׁמַעְנוּ always closely attached; the guttural pronunciation is only resolved before the soft נ in a syllable losing the tone. as שְׁמַעֲנוּךָ with suffix §. 74. But before the termination ־תְּ of 2 pers. sg. fem. as a hard sound, the hardest guttural can even remain without a vowel, as לָקַחְתְּ 1 Kgs. 14, 3. Jer. 13, 25; we usually find שָׁמַעַתְּ even Dag. lene remaining contrary to §. 173, as the *ă* is hardly heard; yet לָקַחַת without Dag. lene also belongs here Gen. 30, 15. 20, 16; with ל״א, קָרָאתְ or קָרָאת §. 165.

b) But there are stems in which there is an originally long, immutable vowel before the last rad., viz. most of those from ע״וֹ in which this vowel is radical (§. 218). Since then this vowel first strongly resists being shortened, a foreign *vowel* intrudes between the two syllables which hinders their violent collision, and to which the postfixes are attached, as they are, in other cases, to the last syllable of the stem. This vocalic ending appears to have been *á* originally, but has now so varied on account of the distinctions of the vowels of the tense exercising an influence here also (§. 268), that *ó* is found in the perf. and *e* in the imperf. Yet the language has already accommodated itself to a *shortening* of the radical vowel in many cases, so that these separation-vowels find no place; this formation is indeed more in uniformity with that of the other verbs, but is a later method, and is manifestly only commencing in Hebrew. Particulars are as follows:

1) In the *perf.*, the vowels of Qal, the lightest and most used form, have been regularly shortened, to which is to be added that the prevailing vowel here, *á*, is from its nature most easily shortened: therefore קַמְתֶּם, קַמְתָּ, קַמְתְּ, קַמְתֶּם etc. from בָּא (§. 85) בָּאתָ, בָּאתֶם, seldom written without א 1 Sam. 25, 8; the intransitive stems also, as בּוֹשׁ, בֹּשְׁתָּ, בֹּשֶׁת, but בָּשְׁתֶּם as the *o* now loses the tone; מַתָּה, מַתְנוּ, מֵת (§. 143) *a* being used instead of *e* in the tone, as above in the ordinary Piel and Hif-il, but in a toneless syllable the not only intransitive but at the same time radical vowel is again heard distinctly, as פִּשְׁתֶּם Mal. 3, 20. בִּינוֹתִי however is of a totally different kind §. 245. — In *Hif.* on

the other hand the sharp *î* regularly maintains itself unshortened, *ô* therefore is interposed; nevertheless the *î* descends sometimes to *é* before the *ô* (§. 48) Ex. 19, 23, as הֲקִימֹתָ, הֲקִימוֹתָ, rarely הֲקָמוֹתָ, הֲקִימֹתֶם etc. [1]), cf. farther §. 289. The usual formation is indeed found and without this insertion of the *ô*, but under great limitation; viz. in forms in which a ת or נ as last rad. endeavours to unite with a ת or נ as sign of a person (§. 116) as הֵמַתִּי, הֵמַתָּה, הֵכַנּוּ in which *a* in the penult is for *e* again on account of the tone, hence out of the tone הֲמַתֶּם; in this case even הֲמִיתֶם (or with suffixes הֲמִיתִיו) is sometimes written, as if the long vowel which was just compressed out of הֲמִיתֹתֶם endeavoured to maintain itself still 1 Sam. 17, 35. Moreover in ל״א, as א easily looses its power as consonant and becomes mute after the vowel (§. 85), as הֵבִיא, הֵבֵאתָ (oftener than הֵבֵאתָ) הֲבֵאתֶם, for הֲבֵאֹתֶם, in which the vowel *e* must at once appear even in the tonesyllable because it is long in a simple syllable. Besides these cases it is very rare in Hif. without Qal, as הֵנַפְתָּ Ex. 20, 25; the latter however is more frequent in a new formation which is more favourable for shortening §. 299. — In *Nif.* on the other hand there is as yet no beginning of this shortened form, and the *ô* of the stem often sinks to *û* before the inserted *ô* (§. 48) apparently always immediately before the tone, as נָסוֹג, נְסוּגֹתִי Js. 50, 5, on the contrary נְפֹצוֹתֶם Ez. 11, 17. 20, 34. 41, 43.

1) הוֹשְׁבֹתִי is remarkable on account of its going over into the formation of פ״י Zach. 10, 16 for הֲשִׁבוֹתִי v. 10.

2) In the *Imperf.* the *e* which is always accented before the single ending נָה becomes sharpened to *é*, like the *é* of the roots ל״ה, to whose standard it conforms its pronunciation and orthography (§. 288); hence some editt. write the נ twice after the sharpened vowel Ez. 13, 19. Zach. 1, 17. Moreover, the inserted vowel maintains itself much more constantly in the imperf. than in the perf.; it is regularly found even in Qal, as תְּקֻמֶינָה or תְּקוּמֶנָה also תְּקוּמֶנָּה; only תְּבֹאנָה as in the perfect with a mute א; *Hif.* תְּקִימֶנָה Mich. 2, 12, instead of which however we find the remarkable תָּקִימְנָה Jer. 44, 25. contrary to §. 63, as though the *e* falls away the syllables are yet not closely attached, this is assisted by the soft נ; otherwise the shortened form in Qal must be תָּקֹמְנָה, and in Hif. תָּקֵמְנָה Iob. 20, 10.

The stems of the ע״ע, whose last syllable ends in a properly double consonant, arrive by another way at the same insertion of the *ô* [1]) in the *perf.* and *é* in the *imperf.* For the 2nd and 3rd rad. here form a thick mass [2]), a reduplication of the sound, which at the end of a word indeed is not distinct enough, but which is always prominently audible before postfixes. It would not, however, be at all audible if the postfixes beginning with a consonant were closely attached, and therefore a firm vowel intrudes between the adverse syllables by which also the mass of the double sound becomes audible. *ă*, *ĭ* and *ŭ* (the last two accord. to §. 47, *c*) are always found as toneless vowels before the reduplication according as the pure sound *a* or *i*, *u*, lies originally in

the formation of stems. Thus Qal, סַבּוֹתָ [3]), סַבּוֹתֶם, imperf. תְּסַבֶּינָה from סַב, יָסֹב; *Hif.* הֲסִבֹּתָ, imperf. תְּחִלֶּינָה from הֵסַב, יָחֵל; *Nif.* נְקַלּוֹתִי from נָקַל or נָקֵל §. 276. An example of an intrans. Qal is תְּצִלֶּינָה 1 Sam. 3, 11 which is indeed formed from יָצַל, but in such a manner that the intrans. sound *i* intrudes instead of *a* §. 270. The omission of the reduplication and, therefore, of the inserted vowel also is only found in cases where the reduplication is brought forward accord. to §. 217 *b*, as נֵחַנְתְּ *Nif.* Jer. 22, 23, though the reduplication of the 1st rad. is wanting there, as it is a gutt. It is especially frequent in intrans. Qal as תְּצִלְנָה Jer. 19, 3, and תִּצַּתְנָה 49, 2. תִּמַּקְנָה Zach. 14, 12 which proceed through Nif-al first to intrans. Qal accord. to §. 246, from נִצַּת, יִצַּת, יִצַּתּוּ *to burn*, נָמַק, יִמַּק, יִמַּקּוּ *to languish*. Very rarely without reduplication at the beginning, as תְּמְנוּ Num. 17, 28.

1) Only Mich. 2, 4 נִשַּׁדֻּנוּ *Nif.*, perhaps to imitate the sound of lamentation more nearly.

2) For it is very seldom that the double sound here resolves itself into its parts, by which the formation becomes regular and does not require the inserted vowel, as בָּזַזְנוּ Dt. 2, 35.

3) It is to be observed that the termination ־תִי of the 1st pers. sg. perf. can nevertheless recieve the tone, as שַׁנּוֹתִי Dt. 32, 41. Js. 44, 16. Ps. 116, 7, שַׁתָּ 2 pers. sg. msc. Ps. 90, 8 has also the tone at the end.

נ as last rad. is only lost in the very much used נָתַן *to give* in the ת of the signs of the persons §. 113, but in this root regularly, as נָתַתָּה [1]), נְתַתֶּם.

1) We even find תַּתָּה for it once 2 Sam. 22, 41, cf. the entire form Ps. 18, 41. This great mutilation is precisely in this root least remarkable, cf. §. 273.

288 *c*) The roots ל״ה have still preserved their original vocalic ending *ae* entire before the postfixes beginning in consonants in both tenses alike §. 279; nevertheless there are many peculiarities in particulars: 1) the *long* sound *é* = *ae* still indeed prevails in the *perf.* but has also very often been reduced to the simple *í* accord. to §. 149; viz. regularly in the most used and attrited form, in Qal, as גָּלִיתָ, גְּלִיתֶם, not so often in *Piel*, *Hif.*, *Nif.* and *Hitp.*, as גִּלֵּיתִי and גִּלִּיתִי and not at all in the rarer forms Pual and Hóf-al, as צֻוֵּיתָ, חָלֵּיתָ Js. 14, 10 [1]). — In the *imperf.*, before the single softer termination ־נָה the *e* which is always accented here is always compressed into a sharp *é*, as תִּגְלֶינָה, hence י is sometimes omitted in the writting Iob 5, 12 (which is very rare with the long vowels of the perf. in an accented syllable) and נ may be even doubled after the sharp vowel Mich. 7, 10, cf. §. 287 *b*.

1) But from שָׁלֵו to rest §. 222 we still have שָׁלַוְתִּי Iob 3, 26; nevertheless the 3 pl. שָׁלוּ Lam. 1, 5, because two *ū* or ו come together here and nothing separates them §. 53. 91. The *imperf.* however follows the usual form, יִשְׁלֶה, pl. יִשְׁלָיוּ.

In this very respect the ל״א imitate the ל״ה most easily and frequently. The persons of the imperf. which end in ־נָה always do so, as תִּקְרֶאנָה *Qal*, rarely even without א, as תִּשֶּׂנָה Qal from נָשָׂא Ru. 1, 14; the mode of writing תִּמָּצֶאינָה for תִּמָּצֶאנָה *Nif.* shows the transition, Jer. 50, 20 *Q'rî* [1]). Moreover, the perf. Nif. regularly takes *ê* in the last syllable for *â*, as נִמְצֵאתָ compared with the 3 pers. sg. נִמְצָא without termination. Other transitions are rarer and later in date, as כָּלִאתִי *Qal*, where א has still remained in the writing Ps. 119, 101, and הִתְנַבֵּיתָ *Hitp.* 1 Sam. 10, 6.

1) Even applied to a gutt. ה, as תִּגְבְּהֶינָה Ez. 16, 50, but it is at the same time favoured by the assonance, as also in צְאֶינָה *imperat.* for צֶאנָה together with רְאֶינָה Cant. 3, 11.

It is a remarkable sign how the very short stems try to lengthen themselves again (§. 206) that instead of תָּבֹא 3 fem. sg. imperf. Qal and תָּבֹאִי 2 fem. sg. תְּבֹאָה may be used even with the personal terminations of the *perf.* (whence probably תְּבוֹאָתְךָ with Suffix Iob 22, 21) or with the toneless *âh* §. 293 תָּבֹאתָה from תָּבֹאת Dt. 33, 16; תָּבֹאתִי 1 Sam. 25, 34 *Q'rî*. The only thing like it is תָּרֹנָּה (*she calls*) for תָּרֹן poetical Prov. 1, 20. 8, 3.

3) In all verbal forms in which the tone is retracted by means of these or other postfixes, the foretone vowel also disappears §. 36 ff. Thus: 289
כָּתַב, כְּתַבְתֶּם; יָקוּם, יְקוּמוּן; יָסֹב, תְּסֻבֶּינָה. In הֵקִים perf. Hif. *e* is often retained as fleeting vowel (§. 70) before the strong *t* and for the distinction of tense, as הֲקִמוֹתָ, though also הֲקִימֹתָ; while in ע״ע *a* is always found, הֲסִבּוֹתָ from הֵסַב. If this ה of Hif. however comes in this manner before a gutt. as 1 rad., then instead of the fleeting *a* full short *a* is used with weak reduplication of the following gutt. (accord. to §. 70, 1), as הַחִתּוֹתָ. הַעִדוֹתָ as these roots are disposed to lengthen themselves at the beginning.

If the vowel is dropt in this manner from י as 1 rad., its soft sound is so drawn back upon the following consonant which has lost the tone, that *ĭ* is rather sounded with it than *ă*, which *ĭ* again becomes *ê* in a simple syllable accord. to §. 48, as יְרֵשׁוּהָ, יְלִדְתִּיךָ, יְרִשְׁתָּהּ, יְרִשְׁתֶּם (the last three with suff.) Ps. 2, 7. 69, 36 from יָרַשׁ, יָלַד, in pause יָרָשׁ, יָלָד; very rarely does *a* remain Ez. 35, 10. In the same manner א as 2 rad. takes the weaker *e* (§. 70) instead of *a* when it loses the tone, which *ĕ* can be further changed in a compound syllable into *ĭ* accord. to §. 47, *a*; this is regularly found in the verb שָׁאַל (in pause שָׁאָל), as שְׁאֶלְתֶּם 1 Sam. 12, 13; and with suff. שְׁאִלְתִּיו, *Hif.* הִשְׁאִלְתִּיו 1 Sam. 1, 20. 28. Jdgs. 13, 6; in a simple syllable with suff. שְׁאֵלְךָ Gen. 32, 18.

The only cases in which the foretone vowels remain are: *a*) in the form יָדְעוּן 3 pl. perf. Qal, because the short vowel of the last syllable rather disappears before the short accented terminations of the perf. *â*, *û*, and that form in *ûn* is exceedingly rare. — *b*) In the *imperf. Nif.*, the *â* of the foretone has become heavier, because Nif. in general as a reflexive and passive form has not so much lightness; it remains even before heavy terminations, as יִשָּׁמֵדוּן Dt. 4, 26. Ps. 37, 9, and before suffixes in the same way, as הִזָּכֶרְכֶם inf. Ez. 21, 29.

According to §. 41 f. the vowel which disappears as foretone before the light *û*, *i*, may remain in a simple syllable before the heavy terminations of the imperf. *ûn* and *în* for *û* and *î* (and the suffixes like these), and indeed *a* and *e* generally remain, as יִקְרָאוּן, יֶחְדָּלוּן, יֹאבֵדוּן *Qal*; יִכָּתֵבוּן *Nif.*; but seldom out of pause, cf. תְּדַבֵּרוּן without pause Gen. 32, 20 with תְּדַבֵּרוּן Ps. 58, 2, and even in pause never in Piel (on account of the strong emphasis at the beginning) before suffixes, as תְּשַׁלְּחוּן Num. 5, 3. Seldom too (and never before suffixes) does the *o* of the imperf. Qal remain, as יִקְצֹרוּן Ruth 2, 9. Jos. 24, 15.

NEW MODES FROM THESE TWO VERBAL FORMS.

290 I. *Jussive, imperative, and cohortative, from the imperfect*, cf. §. 266.

1. The *jussive* is the emphatic expression of the will that something be done. It is therefore distinguished from the *imperf.* only by a shorter, more hurried pronunciation, the stress of the voice being rather withdrawn from the end, and the end of the form being therefore shortened. The particular effects of this, however, are only partially observable, and in Aramaic have been progressively lost entirely:

1) In the many persons which end in the 3 rad., the shortening must show itself in the stem itself. But in a strong verb, in which two compound syllables generally come together and in which the vowel in the last syllable is very simple, the rules for the tone §. 34 and those for the accented vowels §. 45 ff. do not permit any further shortening of the last syllable whatever; in *Hif.* only is the *î* §. 252 regularly reduced to the short sound *ĭ* which on account of the tone §. 46 becomes *ê*, as יַשְׁכֵּן *let him make to dwell!* תּוֹצֵא *let her bring forth!* Gen. 1, 10. 24. Ps. 7, 6. Iob 11, 14. In weak roots, however, the shortening is for the most part much easier and more regularly distinguishable; for

a) a greater distinction can be at once established in the roots with 3 rad. gutt. by the *ê* of the last syllable being regularly changed to *a*, as יַבְטַח *Hif.*, יְשַׁלַּח *Piel.* יִרַדֹּף is probably Qal for יִרְדֹּף, Dag. lene still remaining, Ps. 7, 6.

b) The very long and at the same time radical vowel of the last syllables of ע״ו in Qal, Hif. and Nif., can be so shortened that the tone falls upon the penult, because it is a simple syllable, as אַל־תָּשֶׁב *Hif.* from תָּשִׁיב (*ne reduc!*) 1 Kgs. 2, 20; this great shortening, however, is not the usual one, especially if no close syllable goes before on which the retracted tone can rest, as אַל in the example above (cf. 297); unless the tone is retracted on account of a closely attached word at the end accord. to §. 198, in which case this great shortening is always possible, as יָשָׁב־נָא *Qal* from יָשׁוּב 2 Sam. 19, 38. Iob 22, 28. In general, the tone remains on the last syllable, and with it the tone vowels, which are nevertheless shorter than the radical ones; thus *Qal* יָקֹם from יָקוּם, in some places יָקֻם Gen. 27, 31. Jdgs. 6, 18. 2 Sam. 19, 38 (1 pers. sg.) Prov. 9, 4. 16, which is not so much shortened (but still written without ו) and is usually found where the form is more independent, but occurs even without that condition; *Hif.* יָקֵם from יָקִים. From בּוֹא accord. to §. 85 always יָבֹא, יָבֵא; but from יוֹסֵף §. 246 still shorter יוֹסְףְ Prov. 30, 6, in pause תּוֹסַף Iob 40, 32.

c) The distinction is most uniformly sensible in all stems of ל״ה, for here the final é of the last syllable easily admits a distinct shortening. As the tone is withdrawn, the final é first looses its sharp sound and becomes a common e in a simple syllable i. e. ĕ accord. to §. 48, and secondly this ĕ having become quite powerless easily falls away entirely. The former of these two possibilities seldom occurs here, as אַל־תִּהְיֶה Jer. 17, 17; the second is prevalent, as תְּכַל from תְּכַלֶּה, תְּעַר Ps. 141, 8, Prov. 22, 24 from תְּעָרֶה accord. to §. 120, Piel; *Qal*, יִרֶב Gen. 1, 22 from יִרְבֶּה, the *e* still retaining the tone in the sudden shortening accord. to §. 46, though we also find יֵרֶא in which it is changed into *e*; with 2nd rad. gutt. יִשַׁע, יִתַּע; before a gutt. as 1st rad., ă intrudes for ĭ accord. to §. 78, so that Qal and Hif. are of the same sonnd, as יַחַז, יַעַן, יַעַל from יֶחֱזֶה, יַעֲנֶה, יַעֲלֶה in the last of which the full forms of the imperf. in Qal and Hif. are also alike; the ĭ only remains before the harder ח of some roots accord. to §. 80, as יִחַד (in which even the Dag. lene still remains §. 173), יִחַן, יִחַר, while the full form יֶחֱנֶה in Qal is the same as that of Hif.; from ע״ו at the same time, יְחִי and יְהִי accord. to §. 98 from יִחְיֶה, in pause יֶחִי accord. to §. 131, cf. farther §. 297; יֵרָא once Gen. 41, 33, א attracting the tonevowel accord. to §. 73; *Hif*, יַפְתְּ Gen. 9, 27, תֶּרֶף accord. to §. 29. 127, תֶּמַח (§. 78) Neh. 13, 14; *Nif.* תִּגַּל from תִּגָּלֶה Js. 47, 3. יֵרָא from יֵרָאֶה Lev. 9, 6 [2]. From פ״נ at the same time, יֵט *Qal* from יִטֶּה, יַט *Hif.* from יַטֶּה, root נָטָה. It is not seldom however that the entire form

is again found, as the language gradually looses this distinction; this is especially frequent in the 3rd pers., as הֵרָאֶה *let it appear!* Gen. 1, 9 יַעֲשֶׂה *let him do* 41, 34. Iob 3, 9. But where the shortened form occurs, and does not arise from this cause or from the one explained §. 296 f., there the weak vowel *e* is lost by apocopation, this is especially easy in יְהִי for יִהְיֶה, but is still very rare. Gen. 49, 17.

1) This *ē* is regularly changed in Aramaic into *ī* (§. 49) which change begins to appear in Hebrew also in the late periods: תִּמְחִי with the tone drawn quite back in pause, Jer. 18, 23; cf. וַתִּזְנִי 3, 6. and חֲבִי as *imperat. Qal* for חֲבֵה Js. 26, 20. — וַנַּעֲשֶׂה also Jos. 9, 24 may be explained accord. to §. 296 f.; otherwise *ē* is very seldom found for *é*, Gen. 26, 29 (where however אִם *if* goes before) and Dan. 1, 13.

2) יִמַּח Ps. 109, 13. 14 (cf. Gen. 7, 23), appears to be shortened from Nif. יִמָּחֶה in such a manner that the *ā* which has only arisen as foretone has been also shortened at the same time.

2) The persons which end in ־ין or ־ון drop the ן; only in Heb., because the nasal is very frequently dropt even without this cause §. 282, this is no longer a prominent distinction. In the persons which end in ־נָה, no further distinction of the jussive is possible, except that the ע״ו attach the ־נָה to their shortened forms, from which it follows at the same time that the inserted vowel, §. 287, *b*, then falls away, as תְּשֻׁבֶן *Qal* Ez. 16, 55. תָּגֵלְנָה (§. 245) Ps. 48, 12; although even this gradually ceases.

291 2. The *imperative* is the highest intension of the jussive, the shortest expression of the will that something be done. It stands therefore abruptly, as interjection, at the beginning of the sentence; and so little capable is it of being subordined, that the subjective negation אַל (*μή*, *ne!*) is never attached to it, but always with the jussive itself, as אַל־תְּהִי *ne sis!* אַל־תַּעַשׂ *ne fac!* It is moreover only developed for the *second person* as the nearest one to which an immediate command can be addressed; and therefore not yet in the pure passive stems Pual and Hof-al [1]), as the pure passives in general are remoter in use §. 251.

1) The imperat. from Hof-al is only twice attempted in the later period, in the passages (which are in other respects also remarkable) quoted 259. The imperat. is very frequently formed from *Nif.* and *Hitp.*, however, and in every signification.

The form therefore proceeds entirely from the jussive; the stem has the same shortening at the end, which here only has established itself in many cases more strongly and powerfully; the proper characteristic is the casting away of the sign of the person ת at the beginning, by which the word becomes as

short and emphatic as possible; the derivation from the imperf. remains nevertheless distinctly evident by the internal vocalization of the imperf. §. 269 being preserved unaltered, and gender and number are still sufficiently distinguished by the verbal terminations which are retained. In particulars, however, many new changes are produced by this greatest shortening:

1) In the stems in which ת is prefixed without close attachment §. 283, 1, it falls away again without any further consequences; thus *Piel* כַּתֵּב (from תְּכַתֵּב); *ă* is, however, sometimes found in the last syllable for *ē*, and with other than gutt. as פַּלַּג Ps. 55, 10. קָרַב Ez. 37, 17, although we still have בָּרֵךְ, דַּבֵּר always. The pl. כַּתְּבוּ etc.

2) In all stems which begin with an externally attached ה, this aspirate, which was before expelled after the signs of the persons (§. 283, 2), always returns again; thus *a*) *Hif.* הַכְתֵּב; from עֹז, הָקֵם, הָבֵא, but *pl.* accord. to §. 290, 2 is הַכְתִּיבוּ, הָקִימוּ, הָבִיאוּ, the nasal only having fallen away from *-ûn*. Before gutt. הַבְטַח, *pl.* הַבְטִיחוּ. — *b*) *Nif.* הִכָּתֵב, gutt. הִמָּשַׁח; but the tone is sometimes entirely drawn to the penult, as הִשָּׁמֶר Ex. 23, 21. 2 Kgs. 6, 9, which formation is easily possible according to the laws of the tone, but for which the jussive has become too torpid [1]). — *c*) *Hitp.* הִתְכַּתֵּב; with regard to the last vowel, cf. §. 257.

1) There is a remarkable, still greater shortening of this imperat. by which even the הִ at the beginning falls away and the stem is reduced to the most rapid pronunciation (§. 277); this however is only found in the *pl.* נִקְבְּצוּ *assemble yourselves*, for הִקָּבְצוּ Joel 4, 11. Js. 43, 9. Jer. 50, 5.

3) In *Qal*, there is no further difficulty in shortening the *msc. sg.* and *fem. pl.*, as כְּתֹב, כְּתֹבְנָה from תִּכְתֹּב, תִּכְתֹּבְנָה, intrans. גְּדַל, גְּדַלְנָה from תִּגְדַּל; from 1st rad. gutt., עֲמֹד (§. 70) even if the full syllable had *é*, as חֲזֵה from יֶחֱזֶה, *e* only in אֱהַב, where א stands before a gutt., and אֱמֹר; all that is new and remarkable is that the roots which end in a gutt. can shorten the termination -נָה to the mere consonant *-n*, because the gutt. (§. 70) itself easily assumes the weak vowel with which the *n* must be pronounced (§. 29), as שְׁמַעַן Gen. 4, 23 shortened from שְׁמַעְנָה, and hence קְרֶאןָ Ex. 2, 20 for קְרֶאנָה, קְרָאַן, since א in such a concurrence more easily takes the vowel entirely to itself accord. to §. 75, and in that case its *e*; in which, however, the short *ĕ* again characterises the verb. and the imperat.

But in the *msc. pl.* and *fem. sg.* there arises an important difficulty in the formation here, because, after the casting away of ת at the beginning e. g. from תִּכְתְּבוּ, the first two consonants of the word are left without a vowel. First there-

fore a weak ĭ, the nearest vowelsound, is pronounced with the 1st rad. accord. to §. 66, as כִּתְבוּ, כִּתְבִי and in the same manner from the intrans. גִּדְלוּ; and many traces prove that this ĭ is very hurried, as a vowelsound only assumed from necessity, for the syllable remains open, and it is very rare for Dag. lene to follow (Js. 47, 2. Jer. 10, 17); a gutt. as 1 rad. takes ĭ, contrary to §. 79, as חִרְדוּ, חִגְרוּ, הִכְלוּ, אִסְפוּ, (very seldom e, as חֶשְׂפִי Js. 47, 2); from 2 rad. gutt. we find even שִׁחֲדוּ once, Iob 6, 22 with ĭ, usually טַחֲנִי, צַעֲקוּ, שַׁאֲבוּ, שַׁאֲלוּ always with open syllables §. 168; but א takes e before ח, as אֶהֱבוּ, אֶחֱזוּ, though beside the last אֶחֱזִי Ru. 3, 15, the ŏ of the 2 rad. in אֱחֹז making itself again heard; from 3 rad. gutt. שִׁלְחוּ, שִׁמְעִי, and with א יִראוּ *fear ye* 1 Sam. 12, 24 for יִרְאוּ accord. to §. 82, which rapid pronunciation is just suited for the imperat. Only rarely does the original active ŏ of the 2 rad. endeavour to preserve itself in such a manner that it appears again with the *first* rad. instead of the nearest vowel (§. 66), as *fem.* מָלְכִי, עָלְזִי from מְלֹךְ, עֲלֹז Jdgs. 9, 10. Zef. 3, 14. קָסֳמִי §. 169.

The פ״י in going from the imperf. to the imperat. loose their first rad. entirely, because it is already lost in תֵּרֵד, תֵּלֵךְ (§. 271), as רֵד [1]), לֵךְ, שֵׁב; yet י as 1 rad. has often been preserved in the imperat. from the form תִּינַק in which the sound of the 1 rad. has maintained itself much stronger as *i*, thus יְרָא, יְרַשׁ Dt. 33, 23, but we also find רֵשׁ 2, 24, and רֵשׁ in פ״ו from an earlier form יְרַשׁ (cf. inf. const. רֶשֶׁת) 1, 21. יְצַק 1 Kgs. 18, 34 and צַק 2 Kgs. 4, 41. The *pl.* of all these רְדוּ, שְׁבוּ, fem. sg. שְׁבִי; on the other hand, if the 1 rad. is preserved, יִצְקוּ; fem. pl. שֵׁבְנָה, the é maintaining itself in the shorter word contrary to תֵּשַׁבְנָה §. 287. — From the פ״א on the other hand which have ó in the imperf. accord. to §. 272, the imperat. is derived anew accord. to strong formation, as אֱכֹל, אֱמֹר beside תֹּאכַל, תֹּאמַר.

1) יְרַד Jdgs. 5, 13 cannot be imperat. accord. to the connexion of this passage; the *perf.* alone suits the sense, and one may either read יָרַד or consider יְרַד as the shorter pronunciation (contrary to §. 231) for יָרַד.

The פ״נ which may still retain their 1 rad. in the imperf. or at any rate only resolve it without suffering the form to be further mutilated, always retain the נ in the imperat., as נְצֹר, נְדֹר, *pl.* נִטְעוּ, נִדְרוּ, נִפְלוּ; but the more constantly they resolve the נ and become like the פ״י by pronouncing the last syllable with ă or é instead of ó (§. 273) the more rarely can נ return in the imperat.: גַּשׁ, שַׁל, שָׂא, תֵּן, pl. סְעוּ, שְׂאוּ, תְּנוּ, fem. sg. פְּחִי Ez. 37, 9; instead of גְּשׁוּ we have גֹּשׁוּ Jos. 3, 9 with the vowel striving to go back (§. 197). And still

more extraordinarily we find נְשָׂא Ps. 10, 12. In the same manner קַח from לָקַח accord. to §. 273, but also לְקַח again Ex. 29, 1.

From ע"ע, סֹב *Qal*, הָחֵל *Hif.*, הִבּוֹז *Nif.* In the same manner from ע"ו הָקֵם *Hif.*, pl. הָקִימוּ f. without inserted vowel הָקֵמְנָה, sometimes too still shorter הָשֵׁב Ez. 21, 35. *Qal* however does not sound קַם as we would expect from תָּקֹם, but the short word extends itself somewhat again and becomes קֻם, מֻת Jos. 7, 10 or is even written קוּם, מוּת. In the same manner רִיב, שִׂים from the roots described §. 245. Pl. fem. שֹׁבְנָה always without the inserted vowel; it is also sometimes formed from that *sg.* קֻמְנָה Js. 32, 9. — Fem. sg. קוּמִי וָדוֹשִׁי Mich. 4, 10. 13; the second has ó instead of ú, for euphony.

The formation of the ל"ה is already clear from §. 290, *c*: 292
but the relation of the two formations which are possible accord. to §. 290, *c* varies somewhat here. In the longer stems, the utter falling away of the final vowel is indeed possible: viz. usual in *Hitp.* and *Nif.*, as הִתְגָּר Dt. 2, 24, also frequent in *Hif.* and *Piel*, as הַעַל accord. to §. 79, 2. Ex. 9, 1. from הַעֲלֵה [1]), הַט from הַטֵּה Hif. from נטה, צַו from צַוֵּה, but not regularly, as הַכֵּה Hif. from נכה Ez. 6, 11. צַוֵּה קַוֵּה Ps. 44, 5; in *Qal* on the other hand, the last vowel never falls away because the word would become too short and indistinguishable; there remains therefore גְּלֵה, עֲלֵה, so that נְטֵה is even formed anew, although the imperf. and juss. are always יִטֶּה and יֵט. From חָיָה *to live:* חֲיֵה, fem. חֲיִי; from הָיָה *to be:* indeed also הֱיֵה, but also accord. to a more ancient pronunciation הֱוֵה poet. Gen. 27, 29 [2]). — From a פ"א at the same time, אֵפוּ *pl. bake ye* Ex. 16, 23 for אֱפוּ, the א here easily assuming a full vowel in the effort of the tone to go to the beginning (§. 70), and אֵתָיוּ *come ye* accord. to the poetical form §. 286 Js. 21, 12. 56, 9. 12.

1) הָשַׁע imperat. Hif. Ps. 39, 14 for הָשַׁע from שָׁעָה §. 70.

2) ו is always preserved as second rad. in this root in Aramaic; and hence in later Hebrew, יְהוּא imperf. for יִהְיֶה Koh. 11, 5, a strongly Aramaic pronunciation, the 3 rad. ה having been changed accord. to §. 280 into א, the root therefore may be now formed like ע"ו, as קוּם; the indistinct vowelsound at the beginning instead of the á of the foretone is also Aramaic. — Also הֹוֶה *part.* in the later period.

3. The *cohortative* is a peculiar kind of the jussive and 293
imperative, in which the *effort* of the mind, the *direction* of the will to a special object, is rendered emphatically and very externally prominent. For it attaches to itself the á ָה, which in a noun denotes the direction to a place, and which

expresses in this mode of the verb the direction of the will. The cohortative is most frequently and properly used in the *first person* only, in which in fact the effort which results rather from deliberation, which urges on one's own tardy will, is more appropriate than the short, quick command [1]), as אֲזַמְּרָה *let me then sing!* נֵלְכָה *let us then go!* This form is very rare in the other persons, and is only occasionally used in third pers. by the Poets, as תָּבוֹאָה *let it come!* Js. 5, 19. Ps. 20, 4; rather oftener with the *imperative* to make it more urgent, but even in it seldom in the longer stems, as סַפְּרָה *Piel pray tell!* 2 Kgs. 8, 4. cf. Iob 33, 5, more in Qal, as אֶסְפָה Num. 11, 16, but even in Qal most frequent and in part constant in very short imperatives of weak stems only (§. 206), as גְּשָׁה, שְׁקָה Gen. 27, 26, תְּנָה, cf. p. 162; שְׁבָה, רְדָה see page 163; also קוּמָה, שׁוּבָה; constantly in לְכָה *go!* and הָבָה *come on!* which are used as interjections.

1) Hence the same longer, extended form is also used in the first person imperative in Sanscrit (for there is a great resemblance between it and that form in Hebrew) in distinction to the 2nd and 3rd pers., to express ones own determination and urging oneself, as *bôdhâni*, *bôdha*, *bôdhatu*. — In Arabic the modus emphaticus corresponds to it.

294 This vowel *-â*, as an added, external termination, is generally *loosely* attached to the word, not so strongly and close as the terminations of the persons §. 285; but the merely accented vowels of the last syllable are too short to remain, and as *ă*, *e*, *o* thus disappear, that *â-* takes the tone, as אֹמְרָה from אֹמַר §. 272, אֲזַמְּרָה from אֲזַמֵּר *Piel*, אֶכְתְּבָה from אֶכְתֹּב *Qal*, and נַעְבְּרָה from נַעֲבֹר cf. §. 168, although also אֶעֶזְבָה, אֶעֶרְכָה from אֶעֱזֹב, אֶעֱרֹךְ; the *o* however sometimes maintains itself in a fleeting sound (§. 58), as אֶשֳּׁקָה 1 Kgs. 19, 20, and before a gutt. Js. 27, 10 [1]). In the imperative Qal, a new vowel must be thus pronounced with the first rad., usually indeed *ĭ*, as שִׁכְבָה from the intrans. שְׁכַב, אִסְפָה, עֶרְכָה Iob 33, 5 from עֲרֹךְ or rather עֱרֹךְ on account of the ר as gutt., but the *ŏ* which has disappeared regularly returns at the beginning again accord. to §. 68, as כָּתְבָה, עָזְבָה Jer. 49, 11 from כְּתֹב, עֲזֹב [1]), and it never happens that a closely shut syllable is found here to go before (§. 173). In pause, the vowel which is accented returns as in §. 285, *a* to its place again, as אֲזַמֵּרָה, אֶכְתֹּבָה, שְׁכָבָה, עֲזָבָה, תְּנָה. — A longer, firmer vowel however remains against the termination which thus becomes toneless as in §. 285, *b*, as אָקוּמָה, אָקִימָה, אָשִׂימָה; and although such a vowel was shortened in a *compound syllable* on account of the jussive or imperative accord. to §. 285 f. yet the original vowel now returns at once

in a simple, accented syllable §. 57. 64; even in the imperat. Hif. with strong sounds, as הַגִּידָה, הַכְתִּיבָה from הַגֵּד, הַכְתֵּב. — From ע״ע: נָסַבָּה *Qal*, but also more rapidly נָבְלָה accord. to §. 285; *imperat.* קָבָה־ *qóba-*, אָרָה־ *óra-*, the loose *-á* being attached to קָב־ *qób* (before Maqqef for קֹב) without any further change (§. 162, 2) Num. 22, 11. 17; 6. 23, 7.

1) According to the *K'tîb*, however, the *full ó*, that is, with the tone, sometimes maintains itself, as אֶשְׁקוֹטָה Js. 18, 5; instead of which the *Q'rî* will have אֶשְׁקְטָה. In the same way in the imperat. מְלוֹכָה *K'tib* Jdgs. 9, 8.

On the other hand, where *o* has been regularly changed on account of the gutt. into *a*, *o* cannot return at the beginning, as שִׁלְחָה (*send*, active Qal), and מִכְרָה (*sell*, act. Qal) as the shorter מְכַר also was permitted in the early language instead of מְכֹר; the same rule holds even in other cases, as קִרְאוּ *pl. imperat.* (*call ye*) and in pause קְרָאוּ, imperf. יִשְׁלְחוּ; whereas *e* returns in such cases because it is nearer to *a*, as צְמֵאָ, שְׁמֵעוּ.

2) It is to be observed, however, that these and other vocalic terminations (§. 285, *b*) of the short imperat. Qal from ע״י and ע״ע sometimes, and especially in poetry, occur with the tone again, viz. in hurried diction, as שׁוּבָה, *fem. sg.* שׁוּבִי Ps. 6, 5. 7, 7. 116, 7; *pl.* רָנּוּ Js. 44, 23; even alternately, first more hurriedly עוּרִי, then more composedly עוּרִי Jdgs. 5, 12. On the other hand in prose Ru. 4, 1.

The ל״ה never attach this *-á* to their vocalic termination *e*, because two so similar vowels are not compatible close together, and this *-á* is moreover too weak to expel the radical *e;* in the forms of the first person for this cohortative the simpler *é* disappears accord. to §. 290, *c*, and the sharp ending *é* again returns, as אֶגְלֶה, אֶעֱשֶׂה, נִגְלֶה etc. The singular אֶהֱמָיָה Ps. 77, 4 is formed according to the peculiar poetical form §. 286; and only in Js. 41, 23 do we find נִשְׁתָּעָה *Hitp.*, *-á* being actually attached without the tone to the jussive נִשְׁתָּע v. 10. In the ל״א in the same way the cohortative has no external form; only as an exception do we still find רְפָאָה imperat. Qal Ps. 41, 5, the א taking the vowel before the vowel accord. to §. 70 [1]), and once Jdgs. 9, 29 צְאָה in pause, in all other places צֵא imperat. Qal from יָצָא. But אָבוֹאָה can be formed from אָבוֹא, because an immutable vowel goes before. — Lastly, this *-á* cannot be attached in this way to any other persons than those which end in the 3rd. rad., because all others end in a vowel, as כִּתְבוּ, כִּתְבִי *imperat. fem. sg.* and *pl. msc.* cannot take this postfix.

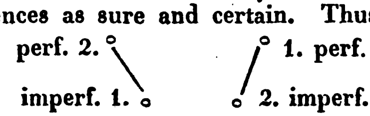
1) In the same manner וָאֶקְרָאֶה 1 Sam. 28, 15 accord. to §. 296 f., in which the *é* weakened out of this *á* is also to be observed, this is seldom found, Ps. 20, 4.

295 From a general survey of these three modes there is yet this important conclusion to be drawn, that these three different shades of the same mode are particularly distinguished according to the nature of the three persons. The *jussive* prevails for the third person only; it is only used in the second, where the imperative is excluded for particular reasons, and very rarely in the first [1]); the *imperative* only for the second; the *cohortative* chiefly and properly for the first only. This distinction goes so far, that in the first person, where the first verb only of a series has that affixed *-â* (and it is very often sufficient for it to be used once at the beginning) the other verbs follow in the simplest form, i. e. in the simple imperfect. The syntax, however, must teach the individual use of these three closely connected modes.

1) As וְאָמֻת 2 Sam. 19, 38, which, however, only means, *that I may die;* in the same way Js. 42, 6; also 41, 23 וְנֵרֶא where the Masoretes, however, wish to read וְנִרְאֶה.

II. *The two tenses with Vav consequutivum.*

296 The copula וְ *and* is prefixed to each of the two tenses in such a manner that this union forms a new whole, and two new forms accordingly arise. This, the *and* before the event and the tense, is still the simplest connexion according to the general character of the language (§. 16): but even these two simple elements are more closely bound together in a new idea and form, so that the one cannot be without the other; both only give the full idea when united. That which is really peculiar in this is, that the copula connects the opposite tense to the preceding one, i. e. that which is concieved as finished or past, as already existing, is followed by that which is concieved as unfinished and being done, and *vice versâ;* the imagination therefore advances from what is done to what is doing, and from what is doing to what is done. For what is actually past, assumed as a beginning, advances to ever new progressive development; that which not yet exists, however, when once admitted as certain, advances, at least in thought, to what exists and has come to pass. On the one hand, the imagination sets out from what is distant and past, descends into the present and beholds the ever new consequences, the ever new progress of the past, and, as it were, accompanies the successive moments as they proceed out of the past; on the other, it sets out from what is near, what 's unfinished, mounts up into the distant reality and calmly anticipates their consequences as sure and certain. Thus:



The copula, however, is the indispensable intermediate member without which the connexion would be indistinct; and thus it appears that the two tenses, thus closely connected by the copula, express indeed the successive *consequence of the act, of the time* (or, which follows from that, of *the sense*) and always refer to a prior beginning, but that both refer to an opposite beginning and in an opposite manner. In all cases in which the beginning must be made or concieved with the *perf.*, the imperf. with this copula gives the successive consequence, and *vice versâ;* and as various as the uses of the perf. and imperf. by themselves may be §. 260-266, so various can this successive consequence be in the *imperf.* or *perf.*, as the syntax must more minutely explain. It is equally clear from this that the imagination especially rules here, and that this imperf. is properly the imperfect. perfecti, this perf. properly the perf. imperfecti; in English: *thén — said* and *thén — says.* The language has also expressed this distinction of the two combinations, and the close connexion of copula and tense most distinctly and powerfully (although it be not universally so strongly sensible in the language as we have it) *by changing the tone of the whole compounded word*; this compounded imperf., as going *back* into the present, drawing its tone very forcibly back from the end, but this comp. perf. as ascending into the distance, drawing its tone forcibly forwards to the end. Thus arise these forms which are perfectly peculiar to Hebrew and which undoubtedly arose before the language existed as a separate dialect, which disappear as too imaginative in the later languages of this stem, and even in Hebrew in the later period, as in Kohelet, are greatly on the decline [1]).

1) The Jewish grammarians have called this Vav, because it apparently changes the signification of the tense, *Vav conversivum*, a very inappropriate name; it were better to name it *Vav relativum*, or, as it will be called below *Vav consequutivum imperfecti et perfecti.* Concerning a third *Vav of consequence* see the Syntax §. 610. 618.

1. *Vav conseq. imperfecti.* The powerful drawing back of the whole tone of the form from the end first causes the copula וְ itself to have a very full and strong sound here, it takes *ă* and doubles the succeding sound, the sign of the person, וַיְּ; and secondly it causes the proper tone of the word to fall on the penult, and the last syllable to be shortened as much as possible. There are however many obstacles to this in Hebrew on account of the laws for the tone of words §. 34; in general indeed the shortening is greater and more regular here than in the jussive §. 290, especially because the וַיְּ furnishes a firm support at the beginning: but 297

nevertheless the tone of the word can only be retracted a little in a strong verb, although it may be more so in a weak one. The most remarkable cases are the following:

1) In the persons which end in the third radical, in a strong verb, *Nif.* only can render its last syllable quite toneless, as וַיִּכָּתֵב although it does not always happen Gen. 25, 8. 17. 49, 33. cf. 32, 25; in the same way *Piel* and *Hitp.* if a gutt. as 2 rad. has entirely lost the reduplication (§. 232) as וַיְבָרֵךְ, וַיְשָׁרֵת, וַתִּתְפָּעֶם Dan. 2, 1; on the contrary וַיְמַהֵר. In Hif. the last syllable is shortened as in §. 290, as וַיַּשֵּׂג, וַיַּכְתֵּב, but the *î* returns again in a simple syllable before suffixes as in §. 294. Before 3 rad. gutt. וַיַּבְטַח *Hif.*, וַיְפַתַּח *Piel*, וַיֵּאָמַר *Nif.* — From weak roots *a*) פ״י and similar ones accord. to §. 271 f. *Qal*: וַיֵּלֶךְ, וַיֵּלֶד, וַיֵּצֶר Gen. 2, 7; 50, 26. 1 Kgs. 22, 35; וַיֹּאמֶר, וַיֹּאחֶז, but also וַיֹּאכַל with permanent *ă* Gen. 31, 15. 2 Kgs. 9, 34; וַיִּיקַץ too sometimes remains with the tone on the ultimate, Gen. 28, 16. 1 Sam. 18, 30 because such forms with *î* in the tonesyllable are against the general nature of the sounds §. 46; *Hif.* constantly, as וַיּוֹלֶד, וַיּוֹלֶךְ, וַיֹּדַע Jdgs. 8, 16, וַתֵּינַק. א as 1 rad. therefore is more easily mute, as וַיָּרֶב for וַיֶּאֱרֹב 1 Sam. 15, 51, וַיָּאצֶל Num. 11, 25; but וַתְּזַרְנִי 2 Sam. 22, 40 (וַתְּאַזְּרֵנִי Ps. 18, 40) is *Piel* — *b*) ע״ו accord. to §. 269 f. *Qal*: וַיָּקָם, *Hif.* וַיָּקֶם, וַיָּבֶן; but *Hof.* וַיּוּשַׂם accord. to §. 254, though וַיִּישֶׂם may be used for it, Hof. being more simply changed into an intrans. Qal as if from ישׂם accord. to §. 246. In the same way from ע״ע *Qal*: וַיָּסָב (but intrans. וַתֵּקַל Gen. 16, 4), *Hif.* וַיָּסֶב, וַיָּחֶל; but since these forms from ע״ע become thus perfectly like those from ע״ו, *ă* and *ĭ* are therefore retained in the former before the double sound which rather excuses it §. 47, but without the tone contrary to §. 46, as וַיָּרֻם Ex. 16, 20 (*it became rotten*) and *Hif.* וַתָּרִץ Jdgs. 9, 53 (*it broke*) in distinction to וַתָּרָם from רוּם *to be high*, and וַתָּרָץ *to run.* The shorter form here is also found from ע״ע which advance the reduplication into the first rad. as וַיַּסֶּת, וַיַּלֶּךְ from הֵלִיךְ, הֵסִית, according to which manner we even find וַנִּבֹּל Js. 64, 5. וַיָּשַׂר 1 Chro. 20, 3 for וַנִּבֹּל, וַיָּשַׂר from נבל, נשׂר, If the last rad. is at the same time a gutt. *Qal* and *Hif.* are identical in form accord. to §. 78, as וַיָּנַח, וַיָּסַר from נוּחַ, סוּר, whereas וַיָּחָס maintains itself, Qal from חוּס. — *c*) From ל״ה, the last vowel very regularly falls away (§. 290, *c*) and indeed without any further changes in *Nif.*, as וַיִּקָּר from יִקָּרֶה, in *Pi.* and *Hitp.* וַיְצַו, וַיִּתְכַּס, but in *Qal* and *Hif.*, the final syllables with two consonants which thus arise may indeed remain in the nearest pronunciation if the last cons. is a *mute*, as וַיֵּשְׁבְּ, וַיַּשְׁבְּ, although *e* is often found for the *ĭ* of Qal accord. to §. 46, as וַיֵּשְׁתְּ, וַיֵּבְךְּ; but in other cases the *ĕ* must be heard before the last cons. accord. to §. 29, which can also intrude before a mute, thus *Qal* וַיִּשֶׁב, וַיִּפֶן, וַיִּרֶב, or rather (especially when without י) וַתֵּרֶב, וַנֵּפֶן, *Hif.* וַיַּשְׁב accord. to §. 45. From יָפָה *Qal* וַיִּיף; — from נָזָה or נָטָה *Qal* וַיִּז only 2 Kgs. 9, 33, every where else וַיֵּט, וַיֵּז, *Hif.* וַיַּט; — from 1 rad. gutt. חָדָה *Qal* וַיִּחַד accord. to §. 209, *c*; from עָלָה, חָזָה *Qal* and *Hif.* וַיַּעַל, וַיִּחַז.

1 pers. *Qal* אֶעֱנֶה, *Hif.* אַעֲנֶה, but both shortened וָאַעַן; from אתה: Qal וַיֵּאת Js. 41, 25. cf. §. 75; from הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה §. 236 וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ §. 98 the short *a* remaining in the verb; — from יָחְיֶה, יְהָוֶה: יְחִי, וַיְהִי, וַיְחִי as in §. 290, *c*; from 2 rad. gutt. שָׁעָה, תָּעָה, כָּהָה: *Qal* וַיִּשַׁע, וַיֵּתַע, תֵּכַה, *Hif.* וַיֵּתַע; from רָאָה *to see*, *Qal* וַתֵּרֶא, וַנֵּרֶא, but the 3 pers. sg. msc. of this very common word is still more shortened וַיַּרְא accord. to §. 85, on the contrary the rarer וַיֵּדֶא from דָּאָה *to fly* remains; *Hif.* is the same in form as Qal וַיַּרְא. The later writers only gradually restore the full ending ־ֶה in all ל״ה, it is very rare in the early period 1 Sam. 1, 7. — On the other hand, א as 3 rad. always keeps the vowel lengthening it in a simple syllable and accenting it §. 85, as וַיִּקְרָא, וַיִּרָא, וַיִּשָּׂא, וַיֵּצֵא, וַיָּבֹא, וַיָּבֵא, וַיִּכָּלֵא. — Concerning the pausal forms וַיָּקֹם, וַיִּגְמֹל see §. 133.

2) The terminations of the persons are shortened nearly in the same way as in §. 290, 2; ־וּן and ־ִין are almost always without ן, and in 1 Sam. 31, 2. Jer. 9, 2. *Hif.* is even still further shortened into וַיַּדְבְּקוּ; the inserted vowels are generally wanting before ־נָה, as וַתָּשֹׁבְנָה, וַתְּגַלֶּן, and ן by itself is often written (and perhaps pronounced shorter) for this ־נָה, which is otherwise very rare Ez. 3, 20.

3) The reduplication of the י of the 3 pers. msc. ceases if it has no vowel §. 119; hence this י can coalesce anew with the י which is 1 rad., as וַיַּבֵּשׁ *Piel* for וַיְיַבֵּשׁ Nah. 1, 4. Lam. 3, 33. 53. But the א of the 1 pers. *sg.* never suffers reduplication, so that the preceding vowel becomes long in a simple syllable (§. 120), as וָאֶכְתֹּב, וָאַכְתִּב. It is only very seldom that the verbal stem occurs just as much shortened after this ־ָו as in the other persons, as וָאַעַל Nu. 23, 4: Gen. 24, 46: as after this very strong vowelsyllable ־ָו the following one is seldom accented, the tone therefore remains on the latter of two succeeding syllables, as וָאוֹלֵךְ *Hif.* Lev. 26, 13. Dt. 29, 4. וָאָעִד Jer. 32, 10. Jos. 14, 7, also וָאָשִׂם, וָאֶבְחַר Gen. 24, 47. Dt. 10, 5. Jdgs. 6, 9. Zach. 4, 8 and וָאָשֻׁב *Qal* 6, 1. 1 Kgs. 3, 22; nay the full form sometimes returns again in the last syllable, as וָאַכְתִּיב, וָאֶעֱשֶׂה Ez. 20, 14. Dan. 8, 27 beside the more common וָאַעַשׂ; and even the *â*, which is so often attached to the first pers. §. 293 begins to attach itself here [1]), as וָאֶשְׁלְחָה Gen. 32, 6, and more frequently afterwards. All this does not occur in the 1 pers. *pl.;* it exceedingly rare for that *-â* to be attached to this form also, as Gen. 41, 11 (as even to the *second* pers. in Ez. 23, 20).

1) Manifestly according to the connexion of the persons §. 295; but not because the whole form of the imperf. originally proceeded from the jussive and cohortative, but merely on account of the external relationship of the sounds; the ־ָה too has an actually different force here, as it *refers to* the past, like the Greek augment at the beginning.

Only very seldom and in poetry is the imperf. thus modified as to form put alone without the ־ַו, the Poet omitting the copula in exalted diction; thus יָשֶׁת Ps. 18, 12 for וַיָּשֶׁת which is found 2 Sam. 22, 12; תֶּשִׁי (pausal form for תֶּשִׁי) Dt.

32, 18 (even placed after it) *Hif.* from שָׁיָה = שָׁוְא, תֶּשִׁי; תָּשֵׁב Ps. 90, 3. The Greeks use their imperfect in the same manner without the augment.

It is to be observed that מַה may also produce the same shifting of the tone and consequent modification of the form as ־ַ, as מַה־יָּגֶל Ps. 21, 2.

298 *Vav conseq. perfecti.* As the tone leans as much as possible to the end, the copula is pronounced here quite short, as וְ; but the change in the tone of the word can only be very weakly and irregularly expressed, for the tone can only descend lower in those forms which have an unaccented last syllable. Therefore 1) the toneless personal terminations which begin with *consonants* recieve the tone; but the weaker ending ־נוּ of the 1st pl. is too weak to take it (Ex. 8, 23) so that this change only affects the 2nd msc. sg. ־תָּ and the 1st sg. ־תִּי. The accented vowel of the penult looses the tone therefore, and if it was long by tone it is shortened, the foretone *á* in the third syllable (§. 65) remains nevertheless in this slight shifting of the tone. Thus וְכָֽתַבְתָּ, with intransitive *o* וְיָכָֽלְתִּי from כָּתַבְתָּ, יָכֹלְתִּי; on the contrary וְהִצַּלְתָּ with a simple Vav without this power, Ps. 86, 13. In ל״ה and ל״א however the tone very often remains on the penult, because it ends in a strong vowel, and indeed it is regularly on the penult in *Qal*, as וּפָנִיתִי (cf. however וְאָפִיתָ Lev. 24, 5. וּבָאתָ Gen. 6, 18. 1 Sam. 20, 19) not so often in the longer stems, cf. however 1 Sam. 15, 30. Js. 8, 17. — The toneless personal terminations which begin with *vowels*, as ־ָה 3 fem. sg. and ־וּ 3 pl. recieve the tone, but not constantly, as the vowel of the penult is often too strong; thus in *Hif.* of a strong verb וְהִכְתִּיבוּ or וְהִכְתִּיבוּ Ex. 26, 33 cf. Ex. 43, 24, especially in the ע״ו and ע״ע accord. to §. 285 *b*, as וְנָחָה Js. 11, 2. 11. וְקַלּוּ Hab. 1, 8. — In pause וְכָתָֽבְתָּ, וְנָחָה etc. see §. 132.

299 This hurrying of the pronunciation at the beginning of a word also influences the change of the vowels themselves in some forms: 1) in *Hitp.* *i* may be used instead of the usual *a* in the penult which looses the tone, as וְהִתְגַּדִּלְתִּי, וְהִתְקַדִּשְׁתֶּם Lev. 20, 7. Ez. 38, 23; for it is manifest from §. 257 that *ĕ* at least is primitively in this syllable. — 2) With gutt. *a* is more frequently sounded at the beginning for *e*; thus constantly in *Hif.* from 1 rad. gutt. in complete distinction to the simple perfect §. 275, and with a change of tone at the end, as וְהַעֲבַרְתִּי, וְהַעֲבַדְתִּיךָ, וְהַחֲרַמְתָּ Ez. 35, 13. Ex. 8, 25, sometimes too without such postfixes at the end, as וְהַאֲזִין Ps. 77, 2. 1 Sam. 2, 19. וְקַרְקַר Nu. 24, 17 where ר is considered as a gutt. as Nah. 3. 5; without such a cause, *a* is found in the simple perfect only in הַחֲיִיתֶם Jdgs. 8, 19. This also occurs for the most part (see the contrary 2 Sam. 15, 25) in the *Hif.* of ע״ו, whenever the tone is shifted more toward

the end from any reason, as וַהֲקִמֹתִי, וַהֲקִימֹנִי (with suff.); and precisely here is the weakening of the *î* before the 3 rad. into *ê*, mentioned §. 287, frequent, as וַהֲקִמֹנוּ, and the falling out of the inserted vowel is most easy here, as וְהֵטַלְתִּי Jer. 16, 13, even וּנְמַלְתֶּם *Nif.* from מוּל Gen. 17, 11 beside נִמּוֹל accord. to §. 228; as also the formation וְהַחִתֹּתִי Jer. 49, 37 is singular in this kind, (Hif. from חתת) in that, at the removal of the inserted vowel, the ת as 3 rad. immediately coalesces with the ת of the person.

ON THE PARADIGMS.

All forms of the language are not brought together in the Paradigms, which cannot be done in a small space on account of their great variety, but only the most important and frequent ones, from which the others may be easily supplied. In fact Paradigms should only serve for the repetition and review of the rules after they are already understood.

The weak verbal and nominal forms are severally arranged under the strong ones, to point out their relation to each other and to facilitate the view. By way of rendering their essential peculiarities and their points of difference more prominent, single forms of the varieties are often placed, from which the others may be very easily supplied:

Among the persons of the verb there are these distinctions as to external form and termination: I. in the *perf.* 1) the 3 sg. msc. as a pure stem form; 2) the personal termination which begin with vowels; in the same way as we form קָמָה so must we necessarily form קָמוּ; 3) the personal terminations which begin with consonants. If there is any thing further in these three classes which is remarkable or different, 2[b]) 2[c]), etc. are placed; the termination תֶן also belongs to 3[c]), — II. In the *imperf.* 1) the persons which end in the last radical. 2) the personal terminations which begin with vowels; 3) the personal terminations which begin with consonants. —

I. Strong

	Qal transit.	Qal intransit.		Piel
Perf. sg. 3 m.	כָּתַב 1)	גָּדֵל 1)	קָטֹן 1)	כִּתֵּב 1)
– – f.	כָּתְבָה 2)	גָּדְלָה 2)	קָטְנָה 2)	כִּתְּבָה 2)
– 2 m.	כָּתַבְתָּ 3)	גָּדַלְתָּ 3)	קָטֹנְתָּ 3)	כִּתַּבְתָּ 3)
– – f.	כָּתַבְתְּ 3b)	גָּדַלְתְּ	קָטֹנְתְּ	כִּתַּבְתְּ 3b)
– 1.	כָּתַבְתִּי 3)	גָּדַלְתִּי	קָטֹנְתִּי	כִּתַּבְתִּי
pl. 3.	כָּתְבוּ 2b)	גָּדְלוּ 2b)	קָטְנוּ 2b)	כִּתְּבוּ 2b)
– 2 m.	כְּתַבְתֶּם 3c)	גְּדַלְתֶּם 3b)	קְטָנְתֶּם 3b)	כִּתַּבְתֶּם 3c)
– – f.	כְּתַבְתֶּן 3c)	גְּדַלְתֶּן	קְטָנְתֶּן	כִּתַּבְתֶּן
– 1.	כָּתַבְנוּ 3)	גָּדַלְנוּ	קָטֹנּוּ	כִּתַּבְנוּ

II. Weak

1. פ״י	יְלַדְתֶּם 3c)			
2. ע״ו	קָם 1) קָמָה 2) קַמְתָּ 3) קַמְתֶּם 3c)	מֵת 1) מֵתָה 2) מַתָּה 3) מֵתֶּם 3c)	בּוֹשׁ 1) בּוֹשָׁה 2) בֹּשְׁתָּ 3) בָּשְׁתֶּם 3c)	(Pilel קוֹמֵם like Piel just so
3. ע״ע	סַב 1) סַבָּה 2) סַבּוֹתָ 3) סַבֹּתֶם 3c)		רֹב 1) רֹבָּה 2) רֻבּוֹתָ 3)	סוֹבֵב or קִלְקֵל
4. ל״ה		גָּלָה 1) גָּלְתָה 2) גָּלִיתָ 3) גָּלוּ 2b) גְּלִיתֶם 3c)		גִּלָּה 1) גִּלְּתָה 2) גִּלִּיתָ , גִּלֵּיתָ 3) גִּלּוּ 2b)
5. gutt. pr. rad.	עֲמַדְתֶּם 3c)			
sec. rad.	זָעֲמָה 2)			זִעֵם 1) בֵּרַךְ זִעֲמָה 2) בֵּרְכָה
tert. rad.	שָׁלַחַתְּ 3b)	שָׁמַע , שָׁמֵעַ		שִׁלַּח , שִׁלֵּחַ 1) שִׁלַּחַתְּ 3b)
6. ל״א	פָּלָא 1) פָּלָאתָ 3) פָּלָאת 3b) פְּלָאתֶם 3c)	צָמֵא 1) צָמֵאתָ 3) צָמֵאת 3b) צְמֵאתֶם 3c)		פִּלָּא , פִּלֵּא 1) פִּלֵּאתָ 3) פִּלֵּאת 3b) פִּלֵּאתֶם 3c)
7. פ״נ				

Verb.

Pual	Hitpael	Hif-îl	Hof-al	Nif-al
כֻּתַּב 1)	הִתְכַּתֵּב 1)	הִכְתִּיב 1)	הָכְתַּב 1)	נִכְתַּב 1)
כֻּתְּבָה 2)	הִתְכַּתְּבָה 2)	הִכְתִּיבָה 2)	הָכְתְּבָה 2)	נִכְתְּבָה 2)
כֻּתַּבְתָּ 3)	הִתְכַּתַּבְתָּ 3)	הִכְתַּבְתָּ 5)	הָכְתַּבְתָּ 3)	נִכְתַּבְתָּ 3)
כֻּתַּבְתְּ 3b)	הִתְכַּתַּבְתְּ 3b)	הִכְתַּבְתְּ 3b)	הָכְתַּבְתְּ 3b)	נִכְתַּבְתְּ 3b)
כֻּתַּבְתִּי	הִתְכַּתַּבְתִּי	הִכְתַּבְתִּי	הָכְתַּבְתִּי	נִכְתַּבְתִּי
כֻּתְּבוּ 2b)	הִתְכַּתְּבוּ 2b)	הִכְתִּיבוּ	הָכְתְּבוּ	נִכְתְּבוּ
כֻּתַּבְתֶּם 3c)	הִתְכַּתַּבְתֶּם 3c)	הִכְתַּבְתֶּם	הָכְתַּבְתֶּם 3c)	נִכְתַּבְתֶּם 3c)
כֻּתַּבְתֶּן	הִתְכַּתַּבְתֶּן	הִכְתַּבְתֶּן	הָכְתַּבְתֶּן	נִכְתַּבְתֶּן
כֻּתַּבְנוּ	הִתְכַּתַּבְנוּ	הִכְתַּבְנוּ	הָכְתַּבְנוּ	נִכְתַּבְנוּ

Verbs.

		B. הוֹלִיד A. הֵיטִיב etc.	הוּלַד etc.	נוֹלַד etc.
Polal קוֹמֵם Pual, just	Hitpalel) הִתְקוֹמֵם Hitpael so	הֵקִים 1) הֵקִימָה 2) הֲקִמוֹתָ or הֵקַמְתָּ , הֲקִימֹתָ	הוּקַם 1) הוּקְמָה 2) הוּקַמְתָּ 3) הוּקַמְתֶּם 3c)	נָקוֹם 1) נָקוֹמָה 2) נְקוּמוֹתָ 3) נְקֻמוֹתֶם 3c)
סוֹבֵב or קִלְקֵל	הִסְתּוֹבֵב הִתְקַלְקֵל	הֵסֵב 1) הֵסַבָּה or הֵסֵבָּה 2) הֲסִבּוֹתָ 3)	הוּסַב 1) הוּסַבָּה 2) הוּסַבֹּתָ 3)	נָסַב 1) or נָסֵב נָסַבָּה 2)–נָסֵבָּה נְסַבּוֹתָ 3)
גֻּלָּה 1) גֻּלְּתָה 2) גֻּלֵּיתָ 3) גֻּלּוּ 2b)	הִתְגַּלָּה 1) הִתְגַּלְּתָה 2) הִתְגַּלֵּיתָ 3) הִתְגַּלּוּ 2b)	הִגְלָה , הֶגְלָה , הִגְלָה 1) הִגְלְתָה 2) הִגְלִיתָ , הִגְלֵיתָ 3) הִגְלוּ 2b)	הָגְלָה 1) הָגְלְתָה 2) הָגְלֵיתָ 3) הָגְלוּ 2b)	נִגְלָה 1) נִגְלְתָה 2) נִגְלִיתָ , נִגְלֵיתָ 3) נִגְלוּ 2b)
		הֶעֱמִיד 1) הֶעֱמִידָה 2) הֶעֱמַדְתָּ 3)	הָעֳמַד 1) הָעָמְדָה 2) הָעֳמַדְתָּ 3)	נֶעֱמַד 1) נֶעֶמְדָה 2) נֶעֱמַדְתָּ 3)
זֹעַם 1) בֹּרַךְ זֹעֲמָה 2)	הִזַּעֵם 1) הִתְבָּרֵךְ		הָזְעֲמָה 2)	נִזְעֲמָה 2)
שֻׁלַּחַתְּ 3b)	הִשְׁתַּלַּח הִשְׁתַּלֵּחַ 1) הִשְׁתַּלַּחַתְּ 3b)	הִשְׁמִיעַ 1) הִשְׁמַעַתְּ 3b)	הָשְׁמַעַתְּ 3b)	נִשְׁמַעַתְּ 3b)
פֻּלָּא 1) פֻּלֵּאתָ 3) פֻּלֵּאת 3b) פֻּלֵּאתֶם 3c)	הִתְפַּלֵּא 1) הִתְפַּלֵּאתָ 3) הִתְפַּלֵּאת 3b) הִתְפַּלֵּאתֶם 3c)	הִפְלִיא 1) הִפְלֵאתָ 3) הִפְלֵאת 3b) הִפְלֵאתֶם 3c)	הָפְלָא הָפְלֵאתָ הָפְלֵאת הָפְלֵאתֶם	נִפְלָא נִפְלֵאתָ נִפְלֵאת נִפְלֵאתֶם
		הִגִּישׁ etc.	הֻגַּשׁ etc.	נִגַּשׁ etc.

I. Strong

Imperf.	Qal transit.	Qal intransit.		Piel
sg. 3. m.	יִכְתֹּב 1)	יִגְדַּל	יִקְטַן	יְכַתֵּב 1)
– – f.	תִּכְתֹּב 1)	תִּגְדַּל		תְּכַתֵּב
– 2 m.	תִּכְתֹּב 1)	תִּגְדַּל		תְּכַתֵּב
– – f.	תִּכְתְּבִי (ין) 2)	תִּגְדְּלִי (ין)		תְּכַתְּבִי (ין) 2)
– 1.	אֶכְתֹּב 1b)	אֶגְדַּל		אֲכַתֵּב
pl. 3 m.	יִכְתְּבוּ (וּן) 2b)	יִגְדְּלוּ (וּן)		יְכַתְּבוּ (וּן)
– – f.	תִּכְתֹּבְנָה 3)	תִּגְדַּלְנָה		תְּכַתֵּבְנָה 3)
– 2 m.	תִּכְתְּבוּ (וּן) 2b)	תִּגְדְּלוּ (וּן)		תְּכַתְּבוּ (וּן)
– – f.	תִּכְתֹּבְנָה 3)	תִּגְדַּלְנָה		תְּכַתֵּבְנָה
– 1.	נִכְתֹּב 1)	נִגְדַּל		נְכַתֵּב

II. Weak

	Qal			Piel
1. פ״י	A. יֵיטַב 1) תֵּיטְבִי 2) תֵּיטַבְנָה 3)	B. יֵלֵד 1) תֵּלְדִי 2) תֵּלַדְנָה 3)	C. יֹאמַר (יֹאכַל)	
2. ע״ו	transit. יָקוּם 1) יָקוּמוּ 2b) (יְקֻמוּן) תְּקוּמֶינָה 3)		intransit. יֵבוֹשׁ, יָבֹא 1) תָּבֹאִי 2) תְּבֹאֶינָה 3) (תָּבֹאנָה)	(Pilel יְקוֹמֵם like Piel
3. ע״ע	יָסֹב 1) יָסֹבּוּ 2b) (יְסֻבּוּן) תְּסֻבֶּינָה 3)		יֵקַל 1) תֵּקַלִּי 2) תְּקַלֶּינָה 3)	just so יְסוֹבֵב or יְקַלְקֵל
4. ל״ה	יִגְלֶה 1) יִגְלוּ (יִגְלָיוּן) 2b) תִּגְלֶינָה 3)			יְגַלֶּה 1) תְּגַלִּי 2) תְּגַלֶּינָה 3)
5. gutt. pr. rad.	יַחְמֹד, יַעֲמֹד 1) תַּעַמְדִי 2) (תַּעֲמְדִי) אֶעֱמֹד 1b) תַּעֲמֹדְנָה 3)		יֶחְסַר יֶחֱזַק 1) תֶּחֶזְקִי 2) (תֶּחְסְרִי) תֶּחֱזַקְנָה 3)	
sec. rad.	יִזְעַם, יִזְעֹם 1) תִּזְעֲמִי תִּזְעָמִי 2)			יְבָרֵךְ יְזַעֵם 1) תְּזַעֲמִי 2) תְּזַעֵמְנָה 3)
tert. rad.	יִשְׁלַח 1) תִּשְׁלַחְנָה 3)			יְשַׁלַּח, יְשַׁלֵּחַ 1) תְּשַׁלַּחְנָה 3)
6. ל״א	יִפְלָא 1) תִּפְלֶאנָה 3)			יְפַלֵּא, יְפַלֵּא 1) תְּפַלֶּאנָה 3)
7. פ״נ	יִנְצֹר יִפֹּל יִגַּשׁ יִתֵּן like פ״י, not intransit.			

Verb.

Pual	Hitpael	Hif-îl	Hof-al	Nif-al
1) יְכֻתַּב תְּכֻתַּב תְּכֻתַּב 2) תְּכֻתְּבִי (יִן) אֲכֻתַּב יְכֻתְּבוּ (וּן) תְּכֻתַּבְנָה 1) תְּכֻתְּבוּ (וּן) תְּכֻתַּבְנָה נְכֻתַּב	1) יִתְכַּתֵּב תִּתְכַּתֵּב תִּתְכַּתֵּב 2) תִּתְכַּתְּבִי (יִן) אֶתְכַּתֵּב יִתְכַּתְּבוּ (וּן) 3) תִּתְכַּתֵּבְנָה תִּתְכַּתְּבוּ (וּן) תִּתְכַּתֵּבְנָה נִתְכַּתֵּב	1) יַכְתִּיב תַּכְתִּיב תַּכְתִּיב 2) תַּכְתִּבִי (יִן) אַכְתִּיב יַכְתִּבוּ (וּן) 3) תַּכְתֵּבְנָה תַּכְתִּיבוּ (וּן) תַּכְתֵּבְנָה נַכְתִּיב	1) יָכְתַּב תָּכְתַּב תָּכְתַּב 2) תָּכְתְּבִי (יִן) אָכְתַּב יָכְתְּבוּ (וּן) 3) תָּכְתַּבְנָה תָּכְתְּבוּ (וּן) תָּכְתַּבְנָה נָכְתַּב	1) יִכָּתֵב תִּכָּתֵב תִּכָּתֵב 2) תִּכָּתְבִי (יִן) 1b) אֶכָּ, אִכָּתֵב 3) יִכָּתְבוּ (וּן) תִּכָּתַבְנָה תִּכָּתְבוּ (וּן) תִּכָּתַבְנָה נִכָּתֵב

Verbs.

		B. יוֹלִיד A. יֵיטִיב etc.	יוּלַד etc.	1) יִוָּלֵד etc. 1b) אִוָּלֵד
Polal יְקוֹמַם Pual just	Hitpalel) יִתְקוֹמֵם Hitpael so	1) יָקִים 3) תָּקִימִי 3) תְּקִימֶנָה (תָּקֵמְנָה)	1) יוּקַם 2) תּוּקְמִי 3) תּוּקַמְנָה	1) יִקּוֹם 2) תִּקּוֹמִי 3) תִּקֹּמְנָה
יְסוֹבַב o יְקַלְקַל	יִסְתּוֹבֵב r יִתְקַלְקֵל	1) יָסֵב 2) תָּסֵבִּי 3) תְּסִבֶּינָה	1) יוּסַב 2) תּוּסַבִּי 3) תְּסַבֶּינָה	1) יִסֹּב, יִסַּב 2) תִּסַּבִּי 3) תִּסַּבְנָה
1) יְגֻלֶּה 2) תְּגֻלִּי 3) תְּגֻלֶּינָה	יִתְגַּלֶּה תִּתְגַּלִּי תִּתְגַּלֶּנָה	1) יַגְלֶה 2) תַּגְלִי 3) תַּגְלֶינָה	1) יָגְלֶה 2) תָּגְלִי 3) תָּגְלֶינָה	1) יִגָּלֶה 2) תִּגָּלִי 3) תִּגָּלֶנָה
		יַעֲמִיד etc.	1) יָעֳמַד 2) תָּעָמְדִי 3) תָּעֳמַדְנָה	יֵעָמֵד etc.
1) יְבֹרַךְ יְזֹעַם 2) תְּזֹעֲמִי	יִתְבָּרֵךְ, יִזַּעֵם 3) תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה	תַּזְעֵמְנָה	2) תָּזְעֲמִי	יִזָּעֵם תִּזָּעֲמִי תִּזָּעַמְנָה
	יִשְׁתַּלֵּחַ יִשְׁתַּלַּח	1) יַשְׁמִיעַ 3) תַּשְׁמַעְנָה		יִשָּׁלַח, יִשָּׁלֵחַ תִּשָּׁלַחְנָה
1) יְפֻלֶּא יְפֻלָּא 3) תְּפֻלֶּאנָה	1) יִתְפַּלָּא 3) תִּתְפַּלֶּאנָה	1) יַפְלִיא 3) תַּפְלֶאנָה	1) יָפְלָא 3) תָּפְלֶאנָה	יִפָּלֵא תִּפָּלֶאנָה
		יַגִּישׁ etc.	יֻגַּשׁ etc.	יִנָּגֵשׁ

I. Strong

	Qal transit.		Qal intransit.	Piel
Jussive 3 sg. m.		1)		1)
- 3 et 2 f. pl.		2)		2)
Imperat. sg. m.	כְּתֹב	3)	גְּדַל	כַּתֵּב , כַּתֵּב 3)
- - f.	כִּתְבִי ,	כָּתְבִי 4)	גִּדְלִי	כַּתְּבִי 4)
- pl. m.	כִּתְבוּ ,	כָּתְבוּ 4)	גִּדְלוּ	כַּתְּבוּ
- - f.	כְּתֹבְנָה	5)	גְּדַלְנָה	כַּתֵּבְנָה 5)
Cohort. 1 sg.	אֶכְתְּבָה	6)	אֶגְדְּלָה	אֲכַתְּבָה 6)
Vav cons. imp. 3 sg. m.	וַיִּכְתֹּב	7)	וַיִּגְדַּל	וַיְכַתֵּב 7)
Vav cons. perf. 2 sg. m.	וְכָתַבְתָּ	8)	וְגָדַלְתָּ	וְכִתַּבְתָּ

II. Weak

	Qal		Piel
1. פ״י	A. יְצֹק , רַשׁ ; יְצֹקִי וַיִּיטַב ; וַיִּצֶר	B. לֵד , לְדָה 3) לְדִי 4) לֵדְנָה 5) וַיֵּלֶד 7)	
2. ע״וּ and 3. ע״ע	יָקֹם 1) תְּקוּמֶנָה 2) קֹם 3) קוּמִי 4) קֹמְנָה , קֹמְנָה 5) אָקוּמָה 6) וַיָּקָם 7)	יָסֹב סֹב סֹבִּי סֻבֶּינָה אָסֹבָּה וַיָּסָב	 וַיְכוֹנֵן 7)
4. ל״ה	יִרֶב , יֵרֶב ; גְּלֵה 3) גְּלֶינָה 5) וַיִּרֶב , וַיִּגֶל 7) like 1) וְגָלִיתָ 8)	יֶגֶל , יֵגְז 1) גְּלִי 4) אֶגְלֶה 6)	יְגַל 1) גַּל , גַּלֵּה 3) גַּלֶּינָה 5) , גַּלִּי 4) וַיְגַל וְגִלִּיתָ
5. Gutt. 1. Rad.	עֲמֹד , אֱמֹר , עִמְדִי , אִמְרִי ,	חֲזַק 3) חִזְקִי 4)	
2. Rad.	זְעַם 3)	זַעֲמִי 4)	
3. Rad.	שְׁלַח 3)	שִׁלְחִי 4)	שַׁלַּח 3) וַיְשַׁלַּח 7)
6. ל״א	קְרָא 3)		יְפַלֵּא 1) etc.
7. פ״נ	נְצֹר , גַּשׁ , גְּשִׁי	תֵּן , תְּנָה 3) תְּנִי 4)	

Verb.

Hitpael	Hif-îl	Nif-al
Hitpael like Piel, besides cf. §. 29 1 ff.	1) יַכְתֵּב	1)
	2)	2)
	3) הַכְתֵּב	3) הִכָּתֵב
	4) הַכְתִּיבִי	4) הִכָּתְבִי
	הַכְתִּיבוּ	הִכָּתְבוּ
	5) הַכְתֵּבְנָה	5) הִכָּתַבְנָה
	6) אַכְתִּיבָה ،	6) אִכָּתְבָה
	7) וַיַּכְתֵּב	7) וַיִּכָּתֵב , וַיִּכָּתֶב
	וְהִכְתַּבְתָּ	8) וְנִכְתַּבְתָּ

Verbs.

Hif-îl	Nif-al
7) וַיּוֹלֶד ; וַיֵּיטֶב	
1) יָקֵם 2) תְּקִמְנָה 3) הָקֵם 4) הָקִימִי 5) הֲקֵמְנָה 6) אָקִימָה 7) וַיָּקֶם 8) וַהֲקֵמֹתָ	3) הִקּוֹם 4) הִקּוֹמִי 5) הִקֹּמְנָה
1) יֶגֶל , יַרְבְּ 3) הֶגֶל , הַגְלֵה 5) הַגְלֶנָה 4) הַגְלִי 7) וַיֶּגֶל , וַיַּרְבְּ וְהִגְלֵיתָ	1) יִגָּל 3) הִגָּל 4) הִגָּלִי 5) הִגָּלֶינָה 7) וַיִּגָּל 8) וְנִגְלֵיתָ
8) וְהֶעֱמַדְתָּ	
3) הַזְעֵם	7) וַיִּלָּחֶם
7) וַיַּשְׁלֵח 3) הַשְׁלֵח	3) הִשָּׁלַח
1) יַפְלֵא etc.	1) יִפָּלֵא etc.

III. VERB WITH SUFFIXES.

300 As the object (the accusative) is put after the verb in the ordinary arrangement, the personal pronouns have accordingly very regularly attached themselves closely to the verbal persons when they follow as accusative; for these little words thus subordined as to the idea, have also externally not maintained themselves independent, but have attached themselves so closely to the verb that *one* tone holds this new combination together, v. §. 211. These *suffixes*, however, are not so closely and necessarily attached to the verb as to the noun §. 420 ff.; hence they are not so much shortened as the latter. — Moreover, every suffix cannot be attached to every person; this connexion is only possible when the subject contained in the verb is different from the object. For if subject and object are the same person, reflexive verbs are formed §. 240. 242, or, when the object is to be rendered more prominent than it is in such verbal stems, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* = *self* is united with the personal pronoun, cf. farther the Syntax.

301 I. All suffixes, and those of the verb still more than those of the noun, are more loosely attached than the signs of the persons §. 281 ff. They are therefore shorter than the pronouns when standing alone, but are still so strong, that the tone, which leans originally to the end of the word §. 33, can never go back entirely from them to the verb. Very few, and in the verb especially, are shortened to a mere vowel; those however which begin with a consonant are never *closely* attached to the preceding syllable (as in §. 287) but always *loosely*, and therefore with an affix-vowel [1]) which may, according to circumstances, be very much compressed, or more lengthened, and which may even become a full vowel §. 62. For when a weak suffix looses the tone, it, the tone, goes back upon this vowel sound which floats between the verb and suffix, by which a full vowel arises in that place.

This accented *intermediate sound* is originally indeed an *a–e* (i) that is, the affix-vowel which becomes a mere fragmentary vowel in Hebrew when without the tone, but, when with it, appears as a full vowel again; but the all powerful change of the vowels in the tenses §. 268 has still so great an influence at the end of the verb, that *a* only remains in the *perf.* but in the *imperf.* is changed to *e* [2]), after the same manner as these vowels change at the end of the stems of ל״ה §. 279. This same change of vowels also takes place with other suffixes, where the vowel before the consonant is radical (ָם, ָךְ).

1) Every thing goes to prove that this union-vowel was originally *ă-ĭ*, as it is still found in the noun, though not so often as *ĭ* §. 406.

2) Yet very rarely *e* also in the *perf.* Jes. 8, 11 (Jos. 2, 18); moreover, on ־ָם see below.

Concerning another way by which the accented affix vowels lengthens itself by an inserted *-n*, see §. 306.

The suffixes are thus shortened:

1. *Third pers.* 1) *sg. msc.* from הוּא it is always shortened 302
to ־ָהוּ or ־ֵהוּ without the tone, but may be also contracted to ־וֹ, *a-u* coalescing in *ó* with expulsion of the aspirate §. 54. 82; even ־ֹה however may be written for this *-ó* accord. to §. 153, and is frequently so found in certain, especially more ancient, passages, as Num. 23, 8. — 2) The suffix of the *fem. sg.* is derived from *-há*, concerning which cf. §. 449, but always toneless, ־ָהָ, ־ֶהָ *éha* with a sharp *é* before the gutt.; instead of the concurrence ־ָהָ *áha* however, ־ָהּ *áh* is used always without exception, and even sometimes for that ־ֶהָ, which *áh* is a shortening of that original and general *áha.* — 3) In the *pl. msc.* and *fem.*, הֵם and הֵן are indeed the basis; but as the gutt. ה easily becomes vocalic, they become first toneless, in such a manner that the affix-vowel accommodates itself to the gutt., as ־ָהֶם, but this is then almost regularly contracted into ־ָם, fem. ־ָן (see §. 421). It is to be observed, however, that the Poets have often retained the more original form ־ָמוֹ for ־ָם on account of its sweeter cadence; only in Ex. 15, 5 ־מוּ after *ú*, for *mó*, in the word יְכַסְיֻמוּ 3 pl. imperf. Piel with the suffix.

2. כ is found as a firm consonant for ת in the *second pers.* of all suffixes, concerning which cf. §. 449; — 1) *sg. msc.* ־ְךָ more rarely ־ְכָה accord. to §. 153; still accented, but yet shortened once (Hos. 4, 6 *K'tîb*, even written remarkably ־אךְ) to *-ák*, the vowel getting before the cons. §. 60, as constantly happens in Aramaic. — 2) *fem. sg.* ־ְכִי, but without the tone ־ֵכִי which form is only found complete in the later writers Ps. 137, 6 cf. 2 Kgs. 4, 7. Jer. 11, 15. Ps. 103, 3. 4. 116, 19; the vowel at the end has usually intruded before the cons., as ־ֵךְ §. 60. — 3) *pl. msc.* and *fem.* ־ְכֶם, ־ְכֶן, constantly with a very strong tone, so that the preceding fragmentary vowel is compressed as much as possible.

3. *First pers.* The suffix from the *sg.* אֲנִי is always ־ֵנִי, and from the *pl.* אֲנַחְנוּ always ־ָנוּ, ־ֵנוּ both toneless.

From this are deduced two distinctions of all suffixes:
1) Suffixes which begin without a full vowel; ־ְךָ, ־ְכֶם, ־ְכֶן (־ָהֶם); all others begin with a full vowel. — 2) But

only ־ְכֶם and ־ְכֶן, consisting of full compound syllables, are the *long* or *heavy* suffixes, which can *never* loose the tone; the others are the *short* or *light* suffixes.

303 II. The suffixes are attached to the *verbal persons* which end with the radical cons. without any further change in the end of the verb. The *postfixes* of many persons however (§. 281 ff.) are peculiarly modified in this concurrence, especially because, in the collision of verb and suffix, every too soft termination is changed into a firmer and resistant one:

1) The mere vowel termination *-â* ־ָה of the 3 *sg. fem. perf.* is hardened into *ăt* accord. to §. 209, and thus with its firm sound resists the suffix; although the vowel *a* still remains from the fem. as the chief sound, and not the *t;* the further consequences of which, see §. 304, 3. — 2) The liquid last sounds ־ן and ־ם are always expelled: the persons therefore which end in ־וּן, ־ִין retain here the sharp vowels *û*, *î* only without the ן; but in the falling away of the liquid from the termination of the 2 *pl. perf.* ־תֶּם and תֶּן, the original *û* has always been preserved as a sharper vowel here, ־תוּ, as that ־תֶּם, ־תֶּן is a shortening of ־תוּם, תֵּנָה §. 51. It is remarkable that the termination נָה of the 2 and 3 fem. pl. imperf. is never found before suffixes, but in its stead the more ancient, general one ־וּ which, though elsewhere appropriated to the msc., is here used equally for msc. and fem., cf. Jer. 2, 19. Iob 19, 15. Cant. 1, 6 and especially 6, 9. — 3) In the 2 *fem. sg. perf.* the original vocalic ending תִּי is often found for the ־תְּ, cf. §. 281, 2, so that here also the sharper sound has been preserved before suffixes.

304 The endings of the verbal persons therefore may be reduced to the following three classes:

1) The persons which *end in the radical consonant,* the nearest, according to which the whole method in which the suffixes are attached is properly calculated. — 2) The persons which *end in vowels:* in these, the vowel at the end expels the intermediate sound, or affix-vowel, which is between the suffix and verb §. 302, and occupies its place altogether, with all the consequences which result from it; the sharp vowels *-î, -û* absorb this intermediate vowel entirely, without a trace, so that not only the toneless suffixes loose their affix-vowel and remain toneless, but even ־ְךָ, which still has the tone, looses its affix-vowel now, and becomes toneless, and only the heavy suffixes retain the tone; on the other hand, the *a* of the termination ־תָ is treated precisely as the accented intermediate vowel. — 3) The termination of the 3 *fem. sg. perf.* ־ַת־ remains, because the *a,*

being the original and important sound in it, is properly speaking nearer to these vocalic endings, and the *a* follows the example of those vowels, but merely carries the *t* along with it: the most important consequence of which is, that this *á* always endeavours to retain the tone, and only gives it up when forced to do so by heavy suffixes; and the next consequence is, that the intermediate vowel disappears here also, so that the suffix which otherwise attaches itself by this affix vowel, is now attached quite naked without it to that *át* which remains sharp and accented.

The verbs ל״ה, as they end with vowels, form a peculiar class, concerning which see §. 310.

The weak vowel of the cohortative ָה §. 293 f. never finds a place between the suffix and verb, so that this formation entirely ceases here. Its force may in a manner be expressed by the particle נָא, concerning which see §. 448.

According to all this, the several suffixes are attached to the several persons of the verb in the following manner: 305

1. *Suffixes of the third pers.* 1) ָ֫הוּ *sg. msc.* is attached *a*) to the third rad. in the *perf.* without change, and in the *imperf.* is changed to ֵ֫הוּ; the contraction וֹ or ֹה however is often found in the *perf.* whereas in the *imperf.*, which is generally partial to longer forms, it is much rarer, as יִרְדְּפוֹ Hos. 8, 3. Ps. 35, 8. 1 Sam. 18, 1 *K'tib*, 21, 14. Koh. 4, 12. — *b*) To vowel endings: כְּתַבְתִּ֫יהוּ , כְּתָבֻ֫הוּ , כְּתַבְתָּ֫הוּ, (Ez. 43, 20 in pause); instead of the last we often find כְּתַבְתּוֹ contracted, and instead of the first כְּתָבוּו, *ú* attaching itself as a semivowel to the *t* with expulsion of the aspirate §. 55; but ֵ֫הוּ is never contracted, because *ú-ú* would become *ú* and thus all trace of the suffix would be lost. — *c*) To *-át-* equally without the tone without affix vowel, as כְּתָבַתְהוּ, instead of which however we often find the lighter pronunciation כְּתָבַתּוּ accord. to §. 115.

2) Instead of the nearest form ָהּ *fem. sg.* we always find *a*) after the third rad. of the *perf.* ָהּ v. §. 302; in the *imperf.* on the other hand, where the affix vowel must be changed, we usually find ֶ֫הָ, and it is only rarely that the same ָהּ remains here too, as in Gen. 37, 33. 2 Chro. 20, 7 [1]). — *b*) To vowel endings, הָ toneless, as כְּתַבְתִּיהָ, כְּתָבוּהָ, but instead of כְּתַבְתְּהָ we always find כְּתַבְתָּהּ for euphony. — *c*) To *-át-*, constantly כְּתָבַתָּה for ַתְהָ accord. to §. 55, the ה being still written for distinctness, but being no longer heard as consonant.

1) ָהּ is sometimes written ָה without *Mappiq*, as Ex. 2, 3. Am. 1, 11, that is to say, its guttural pronunciation becomes lost.

3) ָם and ָן *pl. msc.* and *fem.* are attached *a*) in this nearest pronunciation to the third rad. in the *perf.* unaltered; in the *imperf.*, ֵם may indeed be used instead, as יִכְתְּבֵם, but this is not regularly the case, cf. Ex. 2, 17. 29, 30. Ps. 74, 8. — *b*) The *a* of these suffixes

disappears after the sharp vowels *î*, *û* §. 56; but ־ִים, ־ֻם are always found even for the *fem.*, because ־ִין, ־ֻן in the verb would sound as the mere terminations for persons §. 282, cf. Gen. 26, 18. Ex. 2, 17. 1 Sam. 6, 10. With *â*, the vowels coalesce כְּתָבוּם. — *c*) As - *ât* - endeavours to retain the tone, even the *â* of the suffixes is shortened by this effort §. 34, the accented *á* forming a simple syllable and becoming at once long, as כְּתָבָתַם.

2. *Suffixes of the second pers.* 1) ־ְךָ *sg. msc.* is attached to the third rad. without change; after vowels, it becomes toneless loosing its affix-vowel, as כְּתַבוּךָ, and is attached in the same way to - *ât* - without the tone and without a distinct fragmentary affix-vowel, as כְּתָבַתְךָ, thus in a small pause Jer. 22, 26. Ez. 28, 18, in a fuller pause ־תֶךָ Iob 42, 5. Cant. 8, 5; yet the tone remains also on the *end*, therefore on the rather heavy suffix, out of pause, as חִבְּלַתְךָ Cant. 8, 5. Iob 22, 21. 2) ־ֵךְ *fem. sg.* is attached *a*) to the third rad. in the *imperf.* unaltered, as the *e* is at the same time suited to the vocalization of the *imperf.*, as יִכְתְּבֵךְ, but in the *perf.* this *é* is changed for *â* Js. 54, 6. 60, 9 (and in the *participle* when used as the verb Ez. 25, 4) although *é* also remains in שְׁאֵלֵךְ Jdgs. 4, 20, cf. §. 289. This vowel, however, is entirely lost *b*) after the vowels *î*, *û*, as כְּתַבְתִּיךְ, כְּתָבוּךְ; and *c*) becomes toneless and shortened after - *ât* - כְּתָבַתֶךְ Js. 47, 10 just as כְּתָבָתַם above. — 3) ־ְכֶם and ־ְכֶן *pl. msc.* and *fem.* are attached in the same way as ־ְךָ, only that they must always retain the tone, so that this is the only case in which - *ât* - being deprived of the tone must become ־ַתְכֶם.

3. *Suffixes of the first pers.* 1) ־ַנִי *sg.* is attached to the third rad. in the *perf.* unchanged כְּתָבַנִי, the *a* here before the liquid only appearing *sharpened* in the tone (like ־ֶךָ above); in the *imperf.* ־ֵנִי is used instead, though ־ַנִי is also sometimes found Gen. 19, 19. 29, 32. Iob 9, 18; after *î*, *û*, toneless without affix-vowel כְּתָבוּנִי; but after *a* כְּתָבַתְנִי; in the same way כְּתַבְתַּנִי. — 2) ־ָנוּ *pl.* precisely in the same way, only that, as being a somewhat heavier ending, it has not the sharpened *á* before it, but *â*; in the *imperf.* ־ֵנוּ, very rarely ־ָנוּ (in Js. 63, 16 for the sake of the asssonance).

Inasmuch as the *second pers. fem. sg. perf.* ends in *î* before suffixes, it can only be distinguished by the *sense* from the *first pers. sg.*, as Cant. 4, 9. Jer. 15, 10; but inasmuch as it proceeds in other places from כְּתַבְתְּ, it becomes identical with the *msc.*, as Cant. 5, 9. Jos. 2, 17, 20, 2 Sam. 14, 10; ־ִנוּ is still found in the *perf.* for ־ָנוּ Jos. 2, 18.

The *imperative*, which follows the *imperfect* in all respects, follows it also here in regard to the suffixes.

306 The affix-vowel between the suffix and the verb, which is accented and lengthened to a full vowel, may be still further lengthened by a new development, that is, the mere vowel sound may be lengthened to the greater fullness of a sonorous nasal. The possibility of this greater lengthening

and extension between the two connected words, however, arises from the fact, that the suffixes in general are more loosely attached to the verb; for this lengthening of the intermediate sound has never become customary in the noun. It is also evident from this that *n*, as merely proceeding from the intermediate vowel, can never occur before suffixes which can never have an intermediate vowel, that is, before the heavy, accented ־ְכֶם and ־ְכֶן and also before the similar ones ־ָם and ־ָן. The true nature of this *n* is, that it is sounded after the accented intermediate vowel, so that the toneless syllable of the suffix must be attached to it in the same manner as to the ־ַת of the *fem. sg.* §. 304, 3. And this is 1) most easy and near before the very weak suffixes of the 1 and 3 *pers. sg.* whose consonants are the weak *n* and *h*. Thus ־ֶנִּי 1 sg. where the two ן which come together, coalesce, sometimes too ־ֵנִּי, as *i* is more adapted for the reduplication, but becomes *e* in the tone §. 46 f. Gen. 27, 19. 30, 6. especially in pause Iob 7, 14. 9, 34. Jer. 50, 44; ־ֶנּוּ, 1 *pl.* is possible, but is only found with particles, cf. below; but ־ֶנּוּ 3 *msc. sg.* and ־ֶנָּה 3 *fem. sg.* (for ־ֶנְהוּ, ־ֶנְהָ as above) are frequent, in which *h* has disappeared after the consonant in such close contact with it, but the consonant has been doubled in compensation accord. to §. 115. It is also to be observed that these and all other lengthenings by means of the nasal are more frequent in the *imperf.* than in the perf., and still more so in pause, Gen. 42, 37. 44, 32. The suffix ־ֶךָּ with reduplication of the ךּ is only found, in prose, for the pause, as of itself it is ־ֶךָ in pause and therefore looses the tone, see §. 131. 134. — 2) The poets, however, go farther: some poets are especially partial to these fuller more sounding forms; they leave those contracted forms complete, as יְכַבְּדָנְנִי (pause) Ps. 50, 23. יְבָרֲכֶנְהוּ 72, 15. אֶתְּקֶנְךָּ (with Dag. len. in ך) Jer. 22, 24. they attach the toneless suffixes with this *n* even to the vowel endings of the verbs, as יְשָׁרְתוּנֶךְ Js. 60, 7 (c. כְּתָבַתְךָ §. 305, which is formed precisely so externally) יִקְרָאֻנְנִי Prov. 1, 28. Ps. 91, 12, instead of which once תְּדַכְּאוּנַנִי Iob 19, 2 with a shifting of the tone, in the flow of the sentence (for these poetical forms are usually found in the pause only) and pronounced as if the usual suffix was attached to תְּדַכְּאוּךְ §. 282; and since ־ֵהוּ does not sound well after the termination *-ûn* (it is never found), *n* is even put here before the contracted and alway necessarily accented *-ô*, from *âhu* §. 302, as יְלַכְּדֻנוֹ Prov. 5, 22, besides which we once even find קָבְנוֹ (imperat. Qal, *curse him*) Num. 23, 13.

III. *Effects of the attachment of these suffixes upon* 307

the preceding syllable of the verb. As either a new accented syllable is added by the suffixes, or at any rate, a syllable recieves the tone which had not it before, the vocalization of the verb undergoes various changes according to the laws of the tone, besides the general result that the foretone vowel §. 36 ff. always disappears and that the vowel of the penult, which was before long by tone, becomes short in a compound unaccented syllable, as יְכָלְתִּיו (a bold expression of poetry *potui* i. e. vici *eum*) Ps. 13, 5. from the intrans. יָכֹלְתִּי. These changes are for the most part the same as those produced by accented signs of the persons, and much that has been remarked §. 283–89 holds also here; there are, however, some peculiarities:

1. In the *perf. Qal*, the stemvowel remains before the full and strong syllable of the suffix accord. to §. 65, that is, it becomes long in a simple syllable, as כְּתָבַנִי , כְּתָבוּנִי , although the latter is כָּתְבוּ without suffix, intrans. אֲהֵבַנִי, אֲהֵבוֹ, and even before the appoggiatural sound of the weaker ְךָ; as כְּתָבְךָ, אֲהֵבְךָ, but before the compressed appoggiatural sound of the absolutely heavy suffixes, כְּתַבְכֶם , אֲהֶבְכֶם,

308 2. The other *perfects* and all *imperfects* have an immoveable syllable before the last, so that the last syllable only can undergo changes [1]); aud even that only when it has mutable vowels. The short or accented vowel, namely, disappears here entirely before the full vowel which the suffix brings with it, as גִּדְּלָם from גִּדֵּל or גַּדֵּל *Piel; ó* however (from the imperf. Qal) maintains itself here still more than in §. 285, seldom as *ŭ* Prov. 14, 3, frequently in the shortest *o*, as אֶכְתֳּבֶנּוּ Jer. 31, 33. but always only in pause. The vowel before the appoggiatural vowel of ְךָ, however, does not always remain in a simple syllable after the firm syllable at the beginning (§. 62), so that the appoggiatural vowel is distinctly heard: the nearest sound *a* only is constantly separated, as אֶשְׁאָלְךָ , אֲנַהֶגְךָ Iob 38, 3. Cant. 8, 2 from אֶשְׁאַל, seldom *e*, as תְּכַבֵּדְךָ *Piel* Prov. 4, 8 (var. lect.) the rule is rather that *e* cannot maintain itself long, so that the appoggiatural vowel is compressed, as קִבֶּצְךָ Dt. 30, 3. יַגֵּדְךָ (*Jussive Hif.*) 32, 7, and still shorter יְאַמִּצְךָ (v. §. 62) Iob 16, 5; בֵּרַכְךָ *perf. Piel* with *a* accord. to §. 274 but *imperf.* always יְבָרֶכְךָ; and constantly with *o*, as יִכְתָּבְךָ from יִכְתֹּב; and before the heavy suffixes ְכֶם , ְכֶן ְכֶם the short vowels are always necessary, as אֶשְׁאַלְכֶם. If the first rad. is a guttural, not only the *a* maintains itself before ְךָ but also the *e* in a simple syllable, as אֶשְׁלָחֲךָ , אֵדָעֲךָ *imperf. Qal*, אֲשַׁלֵּחֲךָ *imperf. Piel*, as *e* can separate itself according to what is above stated; but as the vowels must become short before ְכֶם , the guttural

changes the *ĕ* also in its syllable into *ă*, as אֲשַׁלְּחֲכֶם, אֶשְׁלָחֲכֶם, but always with a loose syllable accord. to §. 168. As the suffixes are always much more loosely attached than the signs of the persons, the נ of נְתַן is not contracted with the following mute as in §. 287, as יִתֶּנְךָ; and in ע״ע the thick mass of double consonants remains also unresolved before ךָ (as at the end of the word §. 118) after the *o* or *e* which is of itself disposed to be short, as יְסֻבְּךָ from יָסֹב, in the same way קָבְנוֹ §. 306. Such a double consonant must indeed become distinctly audible before a real vowel; but even then, *o* sometimes remains instead of *u*, contrary to §. 47, *c*, as סָלּוּהָ from סֹלּוּ *imperat.* Jer. 50, 26. Hab. 2, 8, and often in derivatives from חָן (*to be gracious*); the perfectly resolved form חָנְנֵנִי (*be gracious to me*) *imperat. Qal* is also sometimes found here, Ps. 9, 14. Jer. 49, 28, יְשָׁדְדֵם (for יְשָׁדֵּם) *imperf. Qal* Jer. 5, 6, and in Ps. 118, 11 we find both forms together, where the second is manifestly more emphatic, as סַבּוּנִי גַם־סְבָבוּנִי *they surrounded me yea they emcompassed me about.*

1) The vowel which was expelled in the last syllable in the *imperf. Qal*, however, sometimes presses forward to the preceding consonant in a remarkable way, and obtains there a firmer support. This only happens with *o*, the vowel which in general is most difficultly expelled §. 58. 62, and again only before ךָ, the fragmentary vowel before the weaker suffix thus maintaining itself at the same time open and distinct, as יְחָנְךָ (*may he be gracious to thee*) for יָחְנְךָ Gen. 43, 29. Js. 20, 19. יְחָבְרְךָ (*he has fellowship with thee*) for יְחַבֶּרְךָ Ps. 94, 20; this only happens after a full vowel and, as it appears, only when a guttural goes before which easily attracts the vowel, as תָּעָבְדֵם, where o has come altogether into the first syllable on account of the gutt., from תַּעֲבֹד Ex. 20, 5. 23, 24. Dt. 5, 9; on the other hand תַּעַבְדוּם from pl. תַּעַבְדוּ. Here also belongs the new formation before suffix תְּאָכְלֵהוּ *t'ok-léhu* Iob 20, 26 from imperf. Qal, although without suffix it is תֹּאכַל.

The *a* which disappears may remain as foretone before a compound, or, which is the same in effect, an accented penult acc. to §. 41, and indeed even out of pause, as יִשְׁחָטוּם 2 Kgs. 10, 14 from יִשְׁחֲטוּ, sg. יִשְׁחָטֵם, תַּדְבָּקֵנִי Gen. 19, 19 from יִדְבַּק; also especially before א, as we always find יִשְׁאָלֵהוּ, יִמְצָאֵם Gen. 37, 15. 17; and יֶאֱהָבֵנִי, יֶאֱהָבֵהוּ are to be remarked in which it always occurs, cf. the forced shorter pronunciation תֶּאֱהָבוּ §. 285.

3. The *imperat.* follows the imperf. in all respects §. 305. 309
In *Qal*, however, where the first rad. is vowelless, the *o* which is expelled from the 2nd always comes forward to the first §. 62, as כָּתְבֵנִי, כָּתְבֵם from כְּתֹב, but חֲבָלֵנִי with *a* from חֲבֹל on account of the gutt. Prov. 27, 13; *a*, on the other hand, always maintains itself in its place accord. to §. 39 as foretone immediately before the tone, becoming long in a

simple syllable, as מְשָׁחֲהוּ, שְׁמָעֵנִי, גְּאָלָהּ. אֲהֵבָהּ from מְשַׁח etc. In the same way שְׂאֵהוּ, קָחֵנוּ, but תְּנֵהוּ from תֵּן §. 291.

310 Lastly, the roots ל״ה have special peculiarities as to the attachment of these suffixes. Since their last syllable ends in a vowel, and indeed with the weak *é* and the easily expelled *a*, this vowel is lost before the suffix, whether beginning with a vowel or only with an appoggiatural vowel, just as easily as before the terminations of the persons which begin with vowels §. 286, as צִוַּנִי, צִוָּם, צִוְּךָ from צִוָּה, וַיְשַׁנּוֹ *imperf. Piel* 1 Sam. 21, 14 and the 1st pers. *sg.* of the same אֲכֶלְךָ Ex. 33, 3, *e* intruding for *a* at the beginning accord. to §. 275 *nt.* [1]); but since the suffix is always more loosely attached, and especially in the verb, than the termination for the person, that vowel still remains sometimes, so that the suffix is attached to it in the same way as to other vocalic endings §. 304; for this too the tense-vowels of ל״ה §. 279 suit very well to §. 301 at the same time; thus in the *perf.* צִוָּהוּ, עָנָךְ Jer. 23, 37 for עָנֵךְ, as ֵךְ can certainly be shortened to ָךְ on a suitable occasion accord. to §. 302; *imperf.*, in which the *é* becomes long in a new simple syllable, תְּחַיֵּנִי *Piel*, אַפְאֵיהֶם *Hif.* Dt. 32, 26, הַכֵּינִי *imperat. Hif.* from נכה 1 Kgs. 20, 35 [2]). In the 3 *pers. fem. sg. perf.* the suffix is not attached to the longer form גָּלְתָה, but to the shorter and older one גָּלַת §. 286 whose last syllable follows the usual – *át* – in all §. 304 respects, as the vowel as third rad. always yields very easily, as עָשָׂתְנִי Iob 33, 4.

1) It is to be observed that the suffixes may be attached without the tone to gutturals also in the same way as to vocalic endings; thus in the *imperat.*, which is generally prone to shortening, בְּצַעֵם *smite them* Am. 9, 1, קָחֶם־נָא *take them then* Gen. 48, 9.

2) וַיֶּאֱתָיֵנִי Iob 3, 25 according to the rarer poetical formation v. §. 286; of this formation is also אֲרַיָּוֵךְ *Piel* (*I wet thee!* fem.) Js. 16, 9 from רָוָה, *Piel* רִוָּה or accord. to §. 93 רִיָּה, the *a* of this *ai* easily retaining the tone accord. to §. 286, and the suffix ֵךְ being able in case of need to become toneless here also as elsewhere; only a ו has intruded before *e* instead of the second י of אֲרַיָּוֵךְ according to a peculiarity of the roots ל״ה §. 222.

View of the Suffixes to the Verb.

I. *to the Perf.*

	transit. Qal				
Verb:	כָּתַב he has written	כָּֽתְבָה 3 *f. sg.*	כָּתַבְתָּ 2 m. sg.	כָּתַבְתִּי 2 fem. and 1 sg.	כָּֽתְבוּ 3 pl.
Suff.: sg. 3 m.	כְּתָבָהוּ or	כְּתָבַתְהוּ or	כְּתַבְתָּהוּ or	כְּתַבְתִּיהוּ or	כְּתָבוּהוּ
	כְּתָבוֹ 1) him	כְּתָבַתּוּ	כְּתַבְתּוֹ	כְּתַבְתִּיו	
– f.	כְּתָבָהּ her	כְּתָבַתָּה	כְּתַבְתָּהּ	כְּתַבְתִּיהָ	כְּתָבוּהָ
2 m.	כְּתָבְךָ 2) thee	כְּתָבַתְךָ	desunt	כְּתַבְתִּיךָ	כְּתָבוּךָ
– f.	כְּתָבֵךְ thee	כְּתָבָתֵךְ		כְּתַבְתִּיךְ	כְּתָבוּךְ
1.	כְּתָבַנִי me	כְּתָבַתְנִי	כְּתַבְתַּנִי	כְּתַבְתִּינִי	כְּתָבוּנִי
pl. 3 m.	כְּתָבָם them	כְּתָבָתַם	כְּתַבְתָּם	כְּתַבְתִּים	כְּתָבוּם
– f.	כְּתָבָן them	כְּתָבָתַן	כְּתַבְתָּן	כְּתַבְתִּין	כְּתָבוּן
2 m.	כְּתַבְכֶם you	כְּתָבַתְכֶם	desunt	כְּתַבְתִּיכֶם	כְּתָבוּכֶם?
– f.	כְּתַבְכֶן you	כְּתָבַתְכֶן		כְּתַבְתִּיכֶן	כְּתָבוּכֶן
1.	כְּתָבָנוּ us	כְּתָבַתְנוּ	כְּתַבְתָּנוּ	כְּתַבְתִּינוּ	כְּתָבוּנוּ
	é from intrans. Qal in the same way. 1) אֲהֵבוֹ, 2) אֲהֵבְךָ, 3) אֲהֶבְכֶם; *é* from the other Forms, as Piel: 1) כִּתְּבוֹ, 2) 3) כִּתֶּבְךָ, בֵּרַכְךָ.	Just so אֲהֵבַתְהוּ כִּתְּבַתְהוּ	the suff. to the Persons of all Verbalstems: כִּתַּבְתָּהוּ כִּתַּבְתִּיהוּ etc.		in the same way 1 and 2 ps. pl. כִּתַּבְתּוּ, כִּתַּבְנוּ

II. *to the Imperf.*

Verb: trans. Qal, 3 sg. m.			3 pl. m.		Qal Imperat. sg. m.		
	יִכְתֹּב	(So also to all persons ending in the 3rd radical: תִּכְתֹּב אֶכְתֹּב נִכְתֹּב)	יִכְתְּבוּ	(So also to תִּכְתְּבוּ 2 pl. m. and 3 a. 2 pl. f. and to תִּכְתְּבִי 2 sg. f. instead of which תִּכְתְּבִיו[1] is also possible)	כְּתֹב	שְׁמַע	(To the f. sg. and to the pl. like to the *imperf.*)
Suff.: sg. 3 m.	יִכְתְּבֵהוּ[1]		יִכְתְּבוּהוּ[1]		כְּתָבֵהוּ	שְׁמָעֵהוּ	
	יִכְתְּבֶנּוּ				כְּתָבֶנּוּ	שְׁמָעֶנּוּ	
	יִכְתְּבוֹ						
– f.	יִכְתְּבֶהָ		יִכְתְּבוּהָ		כְּתָבֶהָ	שְׁמָעֶהָ	
	יִכְתְּבֶנָּה						
	יִכְתְּבָהּ				כְּתָבָהּ		
2 m.	יִכְתָּבְךָ[2]		יִכְתְּבוּךָ				
– f.	יִכְתְּבֵךְ		יִכְתְּבוּךְ				
– 1.	יִכְתְּבֵנִי		יִכְתְּבוּנִי		כָּתְבֵנִי	שְׁמָעֵנִי	
pl. 3 m.	יִכְתְּבֵם		יִכְתְּבוּם		כָּתְבֵם	שְׁמָעֵם	
– f.	יִכְתְּבֵן		—		כָּתְבֵן	שְׁמָעֵן	
2 m.	יִכְתָּבְכֶם[3]		יִכְתְּבוּכֶם				
– f.	יִכְתָּבְכֶן		יִכְתְּבוּכֶן				
1.	יִכְתְּבֵנוּ		יִכְתְּבוּנוּ		כָּתְבֵנוּ	שְׁמָעֵנוּ	

The suffixes to the other verbal pers. in the same way.

ă in the last syllable: יִנְהַג: 1) יִנְהֲגֵהוּ 2) יִנְהָגְךָ, 3) יִנְהָגְכֶם; יִשְׁמַע 2) יִשְׁמָעֲךָ 3) יִשְׁמַעֲכֶם. — *ē* in the last syllable: יְכַתֵּב 1) יְכַתְּבֵהוּ 2) יְכַתֶּבְךָ, יְכַתֶּבְךָ, יְכַתֶּבְךָ; 3) יְכַתֶּבְכֶם, יְכַתֶּבְכֶם; יְשַׁלַּח: 2) יְשַׁלֵּחֲךָ 3) יְשַׁלֵּחֲכֶם. — *ī* or *ū* in the last syllable: יַכְתִּיב *Hif.* 1) יַכְתִּיבֵהוּ 2) יַכְתִּיבְךָ, 3) יַכְתִּיבְכֶם; with gutt. יַשְׁמִיעֲךָ, יַשְׁמִיעֲכֶם.

SECOND SECTION.

FORMATION OF NOUNS.

1. NOMINAL STEMS.

311 The noun represents the idea not as in motion, active or passive, but as at rest and independent. This, however, may be concieved in two ways. The noun either represents the inert idea perfectly independent, as a mere idea, that is, as a substantive, which is the direct opposite of the verb, or as a predicable, i. e. predicating something of a thing, referring the idea of the action to it, which is therefore nearer to the verb and always proceeds from its idea. Proper names, however, that is, conventionally established names for concretes

e. g. *man*, *heaven*, *day*, are always borrowed either from a substantive or from a predicable.

Very many special distinctions and further developments 312
of the meaning may, however, be added to this fundamental distinction of nouns, as the noun in general, because it expresses an individual thing, ramifies into forms much more than the verb. The predicable may be concieved *a*) as predicating of a subject the pure idea of a verbal stem i. e. as *participle*; or *b*) more generally as attributive, *adjective*, either primitive or derived, in which there may be very many special distinctions; *c*) or as a *substantive* arising from an adjective, used of persons. The substantive may be concieved *a*) as *infinitive* expressing the mere idea of the verb, or *b*) as a definite neuter substantive distinct from the verb and independent, as יֵשַׁע *salvation*, דָּבָר *word*, or *c*) as an abstract derived from a verbal or nominal idea, as יְשׁוּעָה *salvation*, צְדָקָה *righteousness*. To these, many possible accessory modifications may be still added, as that of the intension of an idea, that of the diminutive, that of the instrument or place of an action etc.

So much does the internal formation by means of the 313
different position and nature of the vowel and by the reduplication of the radical sounds, predominate here also in Hebrew, that we find very few external affixes in the formation, and the external formation is added rather as the last complement of the internal one. The principal part of the internal formation itself, the change of vowels, runs through three stages: 1) the simplest and most primitive nouns, formed in such a manner from the simple stem that the vowel is after the *first* radical, as מֶלֶךְ, which, in direct opposition to the verbal formation, express the pure idea of the root as independent i. e. as substantive; compare the simplest nominal formations of the Sanscrit family of languages, as *vox*, *rex*, *fall*, *blow* etc. 2) Words with an originally accented *second rad.*, which therefore stand nearer to the verb, and are either predicables or substantives which are formed from the verb, as the nearest participles (adjectives) and infinitives (verbal substantives). — 3) The newest and last formation with an inserted *long vowel*, which is the strongest distinction for substantives and adjectives as well as for abstracts, and which proceeds from that second formation by a new power. Besides this, the termination of the *fem.* (and in some cases that of the *plural* §. 374) is not unfrequently used either to form the idea of the abstract or to render it more prominent, so that these feminine or plural forms are

also to be enumerated here. Lastly, all rules that hold of the simple stem, hold more or less of the augmented ones and of the roots of more than three sounds also.

314 Only a small part of the simple nominal forms, therefore, are directly opposed to the verbal forms §. 317: the greater part are derived from verbal forms, infinitives and participles standing nearest to them, but substantives and objectives being much more independent. As infinitives and participles in general, however, as intermediate forms between verb and noun, show many peculiarities, the special consideration of them must be reserved till afterwards. §. 348 ff.

315 The more firmly infinitives and participles retain the verbal idea, the more firmly are they connected to their verbal stems, so that the characteristics of the derived verbal stems are preserved in them. But the more they become independent nouns, the more easily are these characteristics lost, as the new formation of the noun becomes as simple as possible, as יֵשַׁע *help*, although it is in the end derived from הוֹשִׁיעַ *to help*, דָּבָר *speech*, קְלָלָה *curse* from דִּבֵּר, קִלֵּל, שְׁבוּעָה *oath* from נִשְׁבַּע *to swear* §. 240, מִצְוָה *command* from צִוָּה *to command*. Cf. something similar §. 357.

316 It is also dependent on the nature of the noun, according to which it designates what is at rest and permanent, that its vowels recieve a greater lengthening; which is not only shown in the derivations of nominal forms from verbal forms, but also in the further flexion of all nouns. The word is not so light, moveable, and pliable here as in the verb, and this lengthening and immoveability encreases the more a noun becomes a pure substantive; the infinitives and participles stand in this respect also nearest to the verb on account of their light vocalization. There is also a resemblance in this, that *reduplication* has often established itself in a consonant in the noun, which, however, may be produced by different causes, cf. §. 61.

I. *Nouns of the simple stem.*

317 1. *First formation of nouns:* its characteristic is the accented but originally short vowel after the first radical, so that the second is properly without a vowel, or only suffers an auxiliary vowel to be faintly heard; which form is the direct opposite of the verb cf. §. 231, and by which the idea of a pure *substantive* arises, whether for more general significations, as קֶטֶל *murder* (war), חֶלֶד *duration*, חֵפֶץ *delight*, גֹּדֶל *greatness*, or whether the word is confined in the usage of the language to more definite objects, as זֶבַח *sacrifice*,

עֵדֶר *herd* prop. row, to which class proper names may also belong, as מֶלֶךְ *king*, עֶבֶד *servant*, יֶלֶד *child*, עֶלֶם *a youth*; a mere adjective, however, can never by expressed by this form, as פֶּתִי *foolish one, a youth*, orignally signifies *foolishness* as a substantive. This form, as the shortest nominal stem which expresses the mere radical idea as a substantive, may indeed be also simplified in certain words from older longer forms, as יֵשַׁע *salvation* from הוֹשִׁיעַ *Hif. to help*, יֶלֶד *child* beside the older and rarer וָלָד Gen. 11, 30, which as adjective corresponds still more nearly to the etymology of the Latin *natus* and the German *kind*, which is from *kin* = *γενν-αω*, but it remains nevertheless the first and nearest nominal form, as to the structure of the language, which is independently opposed to the verb. — The feminine termination, however, is rare except where it has a physical sense by a special signification, as מַלְכָּה *regina*, יַלְדָּה *nata, maiden*, or in short words of weak stems (§. 206), as often in ל״ה.

The characteristic vowel after the first radical changes accord. to §. 205. 248: *á*, or instead of it *é* §. 318 is therefore the nearest, most generally prevalent vowel; *o*, which is by no means rare here, and *e* are peculiar to intransitive and passive ideas, as קֹדֶשׁ *holiness*, גֹּדֶל *greatness*, כֹּבֶד *heaviness, burden*, חֵפֶץ *delight* which have intransitive verbs corresponding to them; פֹּעַל *deed*, אֹכֶל *food*, אֹמֶר and אֵמֶר *word*, שֹׁמַע and שֵׁמַע *report* from passive ideas; that most general form is also sometimes found together with one of these two more definite ones, as חֶסֶר and חֹסֶר *want*, but usually with a difference of signification. נֹעַר *youth* from נַעַר *young person* is an instance of the derivation of an abstract by *o* from a substantive with *a* [1]).

1) The vowels in the termination *-ân* §. 341 change in the same way, as אַלְמָן *widower* and אַלְמֹן *widowhood* derived from it.

The three original forms therefore are כַּתְב, כִּתְב, כֻּתְב, *é* and *ó* being caused in the last two instead of *i* and *u* by the tone; these very common words, however, have so constantly assumed an auxiliary *e* in Hebrew accord. to §. 30, that those perfectly monosyllabic words have become very rare even in cases in which their sound would be permitted accord. to §. 29, as קֹשְׁטְ *truth* poetical Prov. 22, 21, נֵרְדְּ *nard* not so genuinely Hebrew, אַרְדְּ proper name. The pronunciations כֶּתֶב accord. to §. 45. 127, כֵּתֶב, כֹּתֶב are used instead; but as soon as ever a postfix is added to the end, this pronunciation, which has arisen for the case of a word standing by itself, ceases, and כַּתְבִּ־, כִּתְבִּ־, כֻּתְבִּ־ are always found again before accented postfixes, only that *i* has become very prevalent for *a*, especially because the *a* is already changed to *e* in כֶּתֶב; see a more particular statement below

381 1) *From third rad. gutt.*: גֹּבַהּ, נֹכַח, נֵצַח, פֶּרַע, פֶּתַח, accord. to §. 78; the auxiliary *e* generally remains unaltered with א accord. to §. 85, as פֶּלֶא, דֶּשֶׁא (חֵטְא) גֹּמֶא, דֹּבֶא, though many begin to loose it, as חֵטְא does always; concerning גַּיְא and שָׁוְא see a little below under the ע״וּ. Before postfixes, א is again sounded as usual.

From *middle rad. gutt.* נַעַר, שַׁעַר, פַּעַם, סַחַר, שַׁחַר, בֹּהַן accord. to §. 78 *β*. 79, in which case therefore both forms כֶּתֶב and כֹּתֶב become indistinguishable, as the gutt. expels the original *e* (*i*) after the first rad. also; a few words only with the harder ח still retain the *é* which is a shade of *a* and is always nearer to it, as רֶחֶם (רַחַם Jdgs. 5, 30 for assonance), לֶחֶם; *o*, on the other hand, always maintains itself, as בֹּהַן, נֹעַר, פֹּעַל in which there is always *a* instead of *e* after the gutt., though we still find אֹהֶל *tent* always. א however is too weak to support these two vowels on either side of it and to hold them apart, it rather takes the accented vowel to itself accord. to §. 76, and, as it is partial to *e*, *a* becomes *e* in this change, so that the first two forms are identical, as פְּאֵר and פֵּאֶר always become פְּאֵר, זְאֵב, בְּאֵר; *o* on the other hand remains here also, as בְּאשׁ, תְּאֹם. In such syllables, however, א is often easily rendered inaudible accord. to §. 82, 2, so that the pronunciation becomes רֹאשׁ, תֹּאם, though א is retained in the orthography; but we also find תּוֹם, בּוֹר. This א has still continued more or less mutable before postfixes; the changed vocalization has become fixed in many words, especially where א has become quite mute. — It is very rare for the other gutt. besides א to attract the accented vowel to themselves in this manner, v. §. 319.

2) From ל״ה. According to §. 222 *c*, these stems almost always proceed from י or ו as third radical; י however is more frequent. But in this naked condition, where no vowelsound follows י or ו, they cannot maintain themselves as consonants, but as י and ו, as vowels, sound *í*, *ú* accord. to §. 98, the *í* draws the whole vocalization and the tone so strongly to itself, that the original vowel after the first rad. disappears, as פְּרִי, חֲצִי for פֶּרְי, חֶצְי, *o* only maintaining itself somewhat firmer, viz. constantly with gutt. as חֳלִי, עֳנִי, then in a very small pause (with the accents of members) as צְרִי and צֳרִי Gen. 37, 25. cf. 43, 11 and Ez. 28, 7, seldom otherwise, as דֳּמִי Ps. 83, 2; in the proper pause, they all again become פֶּרִי, חֵצִי (even in a smaller pause Ex. 25, 10) חֹלִי, יֹפִי accord. to §. 131. The heavier and at the same time rarer ו, on the other hand, always remains toneless, so that we have שַׁחוּ (*a* having maintained itself pure here), שְׂכוּ

(proper name 1 Sam. 19, 22) בֵּחוּ. Before postfixes, however, ו and י can still become consonants, see below.

Very seldom are the formations derived from the more usual conformation of these roots which is mentioned §. 222, as בֶּכֶה like פֶּרֶא, only in Ezr. 10, 1 for בְּכִי *fletus*, קָצֶה *end* Js. 2, 7.

Many words of obscure derivation or great apocópation have nevertheless entirely lost the last vowel which is particularly weak in these roots, and with it the third radical, without its ever returning in the derivations from the greater part of them; thus בַּל (usually בְּלִי) as particle, שַׁד (dual שָׁדַיִם *breasts*) זַן *kind* (genus) with the shortest pronunciation; moreover with a rather longer one, בֵּן *son*, שֵׁם *name*, עֵץ *wood*, יֵשׁ particle, רֵעַ friend (v. §. 409) אֵל *God*.

3) From ע״וֹ (and ע״י): *a*) the form with *a* מָוֶת, תָּוֶךְ, אָוֶן, in which *a* is retained before ו accord. to §. 96, but is lengthened, (not מֶוֶת), as *a–u* agree bettertogether than *e-u*, whereas, when the third rad. is a gutt. also, רֶוַח, שֶׁוַע, as the formation becomes strong again here §. 227; י however often appears as second rad. here, as בַּיִת, חַיִל, צַיִד. It is not at all rare, however, for that form with *a-u* to coalesce regularly in *ô* accord. to §. 54, as קוֹל (קֹל Ex. 4, 8), סוֹת, חוֹב, שׁוֹק *leg*, אוֹר *light*, חוֹת, the others with *a–i* do not so often coalesce in *ae*, as לֵיל poet. Js. 15, 1. 21, 11, שֵׁישׁ or שֵׁשׁ beside לַיִל, שַׁיִשׁ, these do so always חֵיק, אֵיד, נֵר *lamp*, which *ae* or *é* may then be further reduced to *î* accord. to §. 49, as רִיק beside רֵיק, אִין only in 1 Sam. 21, 9, for אֵין particle; cf. רִישׁ *poverty* beside רֵאשׁ or רֵישׁ. — *b*) The form with *o* (*u*) must necessarily sound טוּב, רוּחַ, שׁוּק *street* accord. to §. 53, as *u-u* would clash together. — *c*) The form with *e* (*i*) is not distinct here, and is probably identical with the others, for דִּין *judgment*, שִׁיר *song*, רִיב *strife* have been formed accord. to §. 245; probably *i* is primitive only in חִיל *trembling*, גִּיל *exultation*, צִיץ *brightness*, שִׂיד *lime*. — With לא at the same time, when א becomes so much the more easily mute, שָׁוְא with *â* for *ă* accord. to §. 96 (on the contrary צוֹא), and גַּיְא, concerning which last see farther on. With ל״י at the same time, גּוֹי like the form with *a*, in which therefore י cannot draw the vowel of the word to itself, but becomes a vowel after *ô* §. 227.

4) From ע״ע, always without resolution: *a*) גַּל with a primitive *a*; *b*) with a primitive *e* (*i*) צֵר accord. to §. 46, or somewhat longer צֵל; *c*) חֹק, כֹּחַ *strength*, later writers only write כּוֹחַ instead. — We are not to confound with these many forms of ע״ע whose second rad. might easily be resolved with the 3rd in this formation acc. to §. 113: אַף *nose* for אַנְף, חֵךְ *palate*, עֵז *goat*, whose נ never returns in the progress of formation. אִישׁ *man* is lengthened

from אִשׁ by a still greater deviation and with a complete loss of the original reduplication of the שׁ §. 48; its fem. however is still regular אִשָּׁה woman with redupl. of the שׁ; in the more isolated *pl.*, however, the נ has been preserved אֲנָשִׁים; אִישִׁים is only a late and rare pl. formed anew from that אִישׁ Js. 53, 3, cf. farther §. 369.

ו as 2nd and 3rd rad.: קַו or קָו acc. to §. 96; in the same manner from י in the nearest form with *a*, שַׁי *homage*, דַּי *sufficiency*, מַי *water* whose plural only is found §. 374; this *ai*, although the *i* in it is originally double, has also been softened in others into *ae* and in tone to *é* after the manner of the ל״ה §. 95 f. 222, as שֶׂה *small cattle*, פֶּה *mouth* 1), as also that גַּיְא can not only be changed into גֵּיא accord. to the above Zach. 14, 4 but also into גֵּיא after this manner Js. 40, 4. Lastly, this *ae* (*é*) may be reduced to *î* acc. to §. 49, as is the case in צִי *ship* (on the contrary צִי *desert* for צִיִּי §. 323), אִי *coast* (on the other hand אִי *howler*, proper name, for אִיִּי) עִי *ruins* (for פִּי see below §. 409).

1) Cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* I. §. 442.

319 Except the words which draw the essential vowel from the first to the second rad. on account of their radical sounds, there are only a very few isolated ones which *have the tone-vowel thrown back*, which is a poorer pronunciation and necessary in Aramaic: thus *a*) with *a* מְעַט as particle *a little*, the gutt. is also to be observed, גְּבַר poetical, Ps. 18, 26 for גֶּבֶר *man*, סְתָו (for סְתַו §. 96) *winter*, דְּיוֹ from דְּיַו accord. to §. 54 *ink*, סְנֶה (*a bush*) accord. to §. 222 for סְנַי, לְשַׁד *sap*, אֲגַם *marsh*; — *b*) with *e*, שְׁכֶם *shoulder* in which *ĕ* has remained in tone which is very rare against §. 46, דְּבַשׁ *honey* in which it has been changed into *ă* §. 46, כְּרֵשׂ *belly*; — *c*) with *o* אֶשְׁכֹּל *cluster* in which *e* is assumed at the beginning accord. to §. 112; — sometimes in ע״ע, which may thus become resolved: חֲשַׁשׁ.

320 Very rarely is this shortest formation somewhat lengthened in this manner, that after the first rad. the second is pronounced with the nearest tonevowel, with *a*: thus in a word which has the, in itself, heavier *o* at the beginning, and gutt. at the end, כּוֹבַע or קוֹבַע *helmet*, cf. 409.

321 2. *Second kind of formation:* whose characteristic is *the accented distinguishing vowel belonging to the second* rad. These formations show by this at once that they run parallel with the verb, as the accentuation of the second rad. distinguishes the verb §. 231; and in fact all the forms belonging to this class are most intimately connected with the verbal forms, and are rendered possible by them. And as the verb as tense always divides itself into two great halves, perf. and imperf., accordingly, from the *perf.* as the tense which signifies what is finished, existing, experienced, the noun *adjective* proceeds, which expresses what is visible

certain in things, their manifest qualities; but from the *imperf.* as the conception of what is unfinished, what is only *thought*, is derived the noun *abstract*, which gives the pure idea by itself as a thought; or, to speak more accurately, the *participle* is derived from the *perf.* and the *infinitive* from the *imperf.* The change of vowels which belongs to those two fundamental divisions of the verb §. 269, therefore, returns here again; but with this distinction, that the vowels become longer here according to the general nature of the noun §. 316, and especially in the adjective, which denotes the inherency and permanency of the quality; and secondly, that the noun is split even here into very manifold divisions, and ramifies into many possible forms.

1) The *adjectives* are formed not only with the accen- 322
ted *a*, *e*, *ó* after the shorter vowels of the verb §. 249, but also with the immutably long *í* and *ú* accord. to §. 48; which five possible forms have also at the same time nice distinctions of signification appropriated to them. The degrees of the length of the five vowels, however, according to the general relation of the vowels, are these, that *a* is always mutable before further flexion, *e* and *o* are more prone to be immutable, and especially *o*, and *é* and *ú* are always immutable. The first radical in all these five forms has the foretone *a* without distinction accord. to §. 37 (see the contrary §. 325). They are as follows:

a) The form with *a* is originally, indeed, of the most general signification; but as a later more definite form has been appropriated to the adjectives of purely active signification or to the *part.* act. §. 326, accordingly, with the exception of a few remains of earlier date §. 327, this simpler form has the mere adjective signification, as כָּסָל *foolish*, רָשָׁע *wicked*, יָשָׁר *upright*, חָדָשׁ *new*, רָחָב *distant* beside the substantives of the first formation כְּסֶל, רֶשַׁע, יֹשֶׁר; חָלָל *pierced through* cf. חָלַל intrans. verb, Ps. 109, 22.

b) The form with *e* is founded more definitely on intransitive ideas, whether the word be in use as a participle or not, as צָמֵא *thirsty*, רָעֵר *hungry*, שָׂבֵעַ *satisfied*, חָרֵב *dry*, בָּשֵׁל *boiled*, אָשֵׁם *guilty*, אָבֵל *mourning*, יָעֵף and עָיֵף *exhausted*, יָגֵעַ *weary*, עָמֵל *labouring* = *suffering*, toiling, שָׁכֵחַ *obliviscens* (intrans. accord to §. 250) and has rarely become a substantive, as עָקֵב *insidians* accord. to §. 250 = *insidiator* Ps. 49, 6.

c) The form with *o* is indeed founded in the same way on intransitive ideas, but is rather appropriated to adjectives of a *permanent* quality and is thus sensibly distinguished from

the preceding form. It is also in consequence of this signification of an fixed inherent quality and of the nature of the appropriately firmer vowel *o*, that the third rad. is doubled in most of these words before accented postfixes and the *o* thus remains firm before it; hence too the word is pronounced with a more compressed vowel and is written without ו even without such postfixes: עָגֹל (pl. עֲגֻלִּים) *round*, עָבֹת *entwined*, אָרֹךְ *long*, עָמֹק *deep*, חָשֹׁךְ *dark*, מָתֹק *sweet*, עָנֹג *delicate*, אָיֹם *terrible*, and adjectives of colour אָדֹם, אָמֹץ, שָׂרֹק, נָקֹד, בָּרֹד, עָקֹד, cf. with gutt. גָּבֹהַּ *high*, (גבוה is a rare and late form) שָׁחֹר *black*, נָכֹחַ *straight*. A much smaller number have a pure *o* without reduplication, which in that case becomes very strong and immutable and is generally written with ו: גָּדוֹל *great*, קָטוֹן *little*, רָחוֹק *distant*, טָהוֹר seldom טָהֹר *pure*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*, חָמוֹץ *cruel*, *haughty* Js. 1, 17. The corresponding substantives of the first formation have this *o* very often also: גֹּבַהּ, חֹשֶׁךְ, מֹתֶק, נֹכַח, קֹדֶשׁ, טֹהַר, גֹּדֶל.

323 *d*) The form with *û* has above all others the strictly passive signification, and is for the most part used as *pass. part.* of the simple stem, as כָּתוּב *written*, מָשׁוּחַ *annointed*; nevertheless, it sometimes is related to intransitive ideas also, partly as adjective, as שָׁכוּל *childless* beside the intrans. verb שָׁכֹל §. 249, עָצוּם *mighty*, שָׁלוּם *peaceful* 2 Sam. 20, 19, עָרוּם *cunning*, and has already become substantive as יָקוּשׁ beside יָקוֹשׁ *auceps* from intrans. verb יָקשׁ §. 250, partly as participle, but only from the influence of Aramaic, in which the intrans. or reflexive and passive are not so strictly distinguished in the whole formation of the verb, as בָּטוּחַ *confisus* Ps. 112, 7, זָכוּר *mindful* 103, 14, אָחוּז properly reflexive like *amplexus* of the state with joined, firmly clasping hands, although it may again be immediately connected with an accusative §. 250 *amplexus gladium* Cant. 3, 8. [1]).

1) It is not necessary that the verb should always have the same development in all its parts; it is also easily explained, and especially according difference of dialect, how the active participles may exist beside those: בֹּטֵחַ *confidens*, אֹחֵז *amplectens*. But זָכוּר *always mindful* is actually fuller than זֹכֵר or מַזְכִּיר *remembering*.

e) The form with *î* is 1) a variety of this pure passive form with *û*, as this *û* can be changed into the softer *î* accord. to §. 43, as soon as a substantive is formed out of the participle, in which case the verbal derivation ceases to be so prominent, נָשִׂיא *prince* beside נָשׂוּא *exalted*, פָּקִיד *overseer* beside פָּקוּד *appointed to overlook*, יָצוּעַ and יָצִיעַ

together *stratum*, or if an adjective only is formed from a participle, as שָׂנִיא *hated* as *adj.* שָׂנוּא as *part.* Dt. 21, 15. This form, as substantive, is especially used to signify the seasons of the year according to the occupations prevalent in them, as אָסִיף *autumn* prop. the time when the fruit is *gathered*, cf. Cant. 2, 12. — 2) The *î* is formed by the greatest lengthening from *e* of intrans. ideas §. 322, as נָעִים *pleasant*, עָתֵק and עָתִיק *bright*, יָגֵעַ and יָגִיעַ *weary*, פָּלֵט and פָּלִיט *fugitive* cf. §. 351.

These five forms are thus modified in derivations from 324
weak roots:

Before 3 rad. gutt. the long vowel is always preserved: יָגֵעַ, שָׁמוּעַ; from ל״א: צָמֵא, קָרוּא.

In ע״ו each of the five long, characteristic vowels maintains itself with expulsion of the ו, or with coalescing with it (with *û*), precisely as above §. 269 f., as רָם *high*, קָם *standing* cf. §. 326; זֵד *arrogant*, לֵץ *a mocker*; טוֹב *good;* סוּר *rejectus;* צִיר *a messenger* prop. *missus.*

From ע״ע: *a*) the form with *a*, which may be always shortened, compresses the vowel before the properly speaking double consonont, as in §. 254: דַּל *low*, חַת *dismayed*, also חַי *living*, all very different from the substantives of the first formation §. 318; yet some have nevertheless lengthened the vowel, as יָם, חָם, מָךְ, and others lengthen the vowel at least with disjunctive accents and with the article [1]), as הַר (הָהָר) רַב *many*, רַע *wicked*, פַּר *ox*, עַם *people*, צַר *enemy* prop. oppressor. — *b*) The forms with *û*, *î* must separate the 2nd and third rad. accord. to §. 217, because these vowels are immutably long, as תָּמִים, שָׁדוּד. It is remarkable, however, that although we find these three chief forms with *a*, *î*, *û* those with *e*, *o* do not at all occur in ע״ע, except only מֵחַ or מֵיחַ *fat.*

1) Because a noun with the article is more complete, more perfect in itself; in the same manner, אֶרֶץ *earth* with the article becomes הָאָרֶץ. — In the adj. רַב and רַע, however, *â* is only found on particular occasions.

In ל״ה, the first three forms with *a*, *e*, *o* are indistinguishable, and only make one single one in the same way as in the verbal formation §. 279, only that the only ending here is still the original *ê* (from *ae*), as יָפֶה *beautiful*, מְזֵה *exhausted* Dt. 32, 24 [1]). On the other hand, the immutable *û*, *î* are distinguished here also, so that the formation is again founded upon י or ו as third rad. accord. to §. 222. *b* and with a preponderance of the formation with י: גָּלוּי, עָשׂוּי, very seldom עָשׂוּ, ו remaining as 3nd rad. but coales-

cing with *â* accord. to §. 53 Iob. 15, 22. 41, 25; from *î* always נָקִי *pure*, עָנִי *bent*, רָזִי (Is. 24, 16 as neutr. *aegrum*) *î* coalescing with י [2]).

Shortened words (cf. §. 318): 1) The ancient words of relationship אָב *father*, אָח *brother*, חָם *father-in-law*, which when alone generally remain so short, but which almost always end in a long vowel *û* or *î* before postfixes; there is no doubt that they originally had a vowel at the end, e. g. *aba*, *abo* for the present *âb*, v. §. 201 *nt.* — 2) יָד *hand*, דָּם *blood*, דָּג *fish* for יָדָה etc. which continue so short even before postfixes; the first cons. of the former is therefore still equal to the first rad. of יָשָׁר before postfixes, but the latter are only equivalent to the second syllable of יָשָׁר.

1) The oldest pronunciation *ai* (*ae*) is still found in some words: שָׁמַי prop. *high*, but is only preserved in the pl. *heaven* §. 374; שָׂדַי *field* beside שָׂדֶה, שָׂרַי proper name probably meaning *quarrelsome* Gen. 17, 15, cf. something similar §. 330. 339. Also עָנָו ancient form for עָנִי.

2) There is no passive formation גְּלוּי or גָּלִי in Aramaic, but there is still simpler גְּלֵה merely even for the passive participle, as the form כָּתֵב which may be contained in that, as intransitive, is near to the passive. According to this too very rarely in Hebrew; the *fem. sg.* עֲרִיָּה *nudata* Mich. 1, 11. בְּרִיָּה *pinguefacta* Ez. 34, 20. Concerning the absence of the foretone vowel see §. 328 at the end

325 2) Abstracts are formed from the *imperf.* Qal, but in various ways:

a) As mere *infinitives*: and as the imperf. has two forms accord. to §. 269, so כְּתֹב and גְּדַל are possible forms here also, the latter from intrans. ideas, which forms are still closely connected with the verb, as the accented vowel is very short and the foretone vowel is altogether absent, as if they had proceeded immediately form יִכְתֹּב, יִגְדַּל. For more concerning them and concerning the derivations from weak roots, consult the section on the infinitives §. 353 ff.

b) As *substantives*, and not so much from active stems whose abstracts (very much as the participles §. 322, *a*) can be more clearly and firmly distinguished, as from intransitive ones. The mere feminine ending is first used here, as רִשְׁעָה (from רֶשַׁע accord. to §. 45. 66) differing from רֶשַׁע as ἀδικία from ἄδικον, שִׂנְאָה *hatred*, יִרְאָה *fear*, עַצְלָה *sloth*, חֶזְקָה *grasp*. But the abstract only becomes properly independent (substantive) by lengthening the accented vowel, which also produces a foretone vowel; and thus usually without feminine formation, although it can also exist at the same time: רָעָב

hunger, צָמָא *thirst*, אָשָׁם *guilt*, whereas אַשְׁמָה (with *a* at the beginning, at the same time on account of א) is still rather an infinitive, קָהָל *assembly*, שָׂכָר *reward*; צְדָקָה differing from צֶדֶק §. 317 as *justitia* from *jus*, נְדָבָה *freewill*, שְׁמָמָה *desolation*: some few have lengthened the accented *a* to the immutable *ó*, as כָּבוֹד *majestas*, שָׁלוֹם *salus*. These abstracts cannot be confounded with the adjectives of the same sound §. 322, for an adjective formed from the same root has always *e* (*í*), as רָעֵב צָמֵא, אָשֵׁם (צַדִּיק) נָדִיב, שָׁמֵם, שָׁלֵם, כָּבֵד; hence from עָנָף *ramus* the derivation עָנֵף *ramosus* Ez. 19, 10. They sometimes indeed come very near the substantives of the first formation, as שֵׂכֶר rare and poetical beside שָׂכָר *reward*; but their origin is different. It is to be observed, however, that substantives also from derived stems simplify themselves in this longer but yet simple form, as דָּבָר *sermo* from דִּבֵּר *to speak*, קְלָלָה *curse* from קִלֵּל *to curse*, as also that the ע״ע are resolved in that rather later formation, as קְלָלָה, שְׁמָמָה, שָׁלָל *booty*, בָּדָד *solitudo*; in the same way צְוָחָה and שַׁוְעָה *cry*, the latter rarely shortened to שׁוּעַ, שֶׁוַע; also from a ל״ה רְוָיָה *abundance*.

e is sometimes found as foretone instead of *a*, which *e* is accord. to §. 270 properly a trace of intrans. derivation, as נֵכָר *a foreign land*, and probably חֵמָר *pitch*, שֵׁכָר *sweetwine*, עֵנָב *cluster of grapes*, צֵלָע *rib*, שֵׂעָר *hair*, לֵבָב *heart* beside the shorter לֵב belong here also. Cf. in Arabic قِمَعٌ.

3. *Third kind of formation:* whose characteristic is an *originally immutably long vowel* newly inserted into the root: this is the strongest and last vocalic formation, which has proceeded from the former ones by new power; and the new strong vowel here so throughly governs the whole word, that the vowel of the other syllable, even the accented one, sinks before it to the weakest sound. Thus there arises on the one hand 326

1) the strongest active formation for adjectives with *ó* after the first rad. (always changed into *o* from the more original active *á* accord. to §. 50 [1]), after which, the second syllable sinks, although accented, and has therefore originally *ĕ* (*ĭ*) instead of which, however, *é* is used on account of the tone accord. to §. 46; while that *ó*, however, is absolutely immutable, this *é* is entirely dependent on the tone of the compound syllable and disappears as soon as ever the tone deserts it and the compound syllable is broken up. As the strongest active form, it is used as the *participle active* of the simple stem, as כּוֹתֵב *writing*, although it may also be gradually derived with more freedom from any verbal

idea that is simple or is becoming so, as יֹתֵר as neutr. *remainder*, לֹבֵשׁ *putting on* a garment, only in Zef. 1, 8 usually לְבוּשׁ *indutus*; but it is also frequently derived from an older noun and becomes a substantive, as סוֹפֵר *scribe* prop. one who busies himself with סֵפֶר *book*, שׁוֹעֵר *keeper of the gate* from שַׁעַר *gate*, כֹּרֵם *vinedresser* from כֶּרֶם *vineyard*.

The *e* in the last syllable is so essential here as a deep sound after the *ô*, that it even remains before gutturals: שֹׁמֵעַ, לֹקֵחַ. — From ל״ה: גֹּלֶה, as every where else. — From ע״ע: סֹבֵב, the second and third rad. being obliged to separate accord. to §. 217. — From ע״ו, however, there are accord. to §. 218 no forms with such an immutable vowel yet developed; the older, more simple form כָּתֵב §. 322 *a*, which has been lost in other classes of roots, is used therefore here as *part. act.* thus קָם *stans*, סָר, אָץ, בָּא *coming*; and as this form cannot, therefore, serve so well for a proper adjective, the distinction of the adjective from the participle is effected, when necessary, by the form with *e* §. 322 *b*, as גָּר *peregrinans*, גֵּר *peregrinus* Lev. 17, 12, שָׂם and שֵׂם. Nevertheless, the later language sometimes has *ô* for this *â* even here, as קוֹם *stans* 2 Kgs. 16, 7. Zach. 10, 5. Js. 25. 7. concerning אֹיֵב, however see, §. 219. From ל״ה at the same time: קֹנֶה, הֹיֶה or later הוֶֹה cf. §. 292.

1) This *â* is only found in שָׂהֵד *witness* Iob 16, 19 borrowed from the Aramaic.

327 If a word of this kind is always a substantive, the vowel in the last syllable may be lengthened on account of that signification: *e* into *a*, which in the noun usually becomes *â* by the tone; thus תּוֹלָע *worm* beside תּוֹלֵעַ which has been still preserved in the fem. תֹּלֵעָה, חוֹתָם *seal-ring*, עוֹלָם *eternity* prop. what is *dark*, obscure, unlimited time.

The *ô* may even descend to *ê* before this stronger *â*, as it appears in כֵּילָף *hammer* prop. striker, in an active sense.

There is a definite substantive derived from this *part. act.* which signifies an actor with passion and constant toil, and is formed by the insertion of the long *û* or *ô* after the 2nd rad. before which the *o* in the first syllable is changed into *â* to avoid the coming together of two *o* accord. to §. 50 and 213, as עָשׁוֹק *oppressor* Jer. 22, 3 compared with עוֹשֵׁק 21, 12, and again בָּחוֹן *prover* 6, 27. The express power of the substantive, as implying the permanency of the action in the agent, depends on that long vowel in the last syllable, and it is to be regretted that no derivation of this form with an accented postfix occurs (except. בָּגוֹדָה, *fem.* as proper name

for Juda Jer. 3, 7. 10 *faithless one* prop. hypocrite) that we might ascertain if the *â* at the beginning is merely foretone or not, as, if it did remain, it would settle its derivation from the part. act. beyond a doubt. The form is moreover only found in Jeremiah; compare קָטוֹל chald. ܩܛܘܠ, قَاتُول which latter gradually became shortened into قَتُول v. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 144.

There are some other substantives, in which the *ô* or *ê* arise in a 328
perfectly different way, which are not to be confounded with those of this origin. Thus צֵלָה *dish* (only in the *pl. fem.* צַלָּחוֹת) beside צַלַּחַת *sg. fem.* in which the sound *ê* (*ae*) proceeds from the loss of the reduplication §. 125; דּוֹנַג (in pause דּוֹנָג) *wax* (from דּוּג = דָּאַג *to melt,* and lengthened דָּנַג, related to דּוּב *idem* and to τήκω and *tabeo*,) which is an abstract formation arising accord. to §. 331; moreover, גּוֹרָל *lapillus* (lot) and גּוֹזָל the *young* of larger *birds*, which appear to be ancient diminutive formations §. 346 *b;* concern. מוֹרַג see §. 347 and concern. הֵיכָל §. 336.

2) *Abstract substantives* are formed by passive vowels after the second rad. and are therefore a new formation from the passive participles §. 323; that which has, or, which is imagined as having, happened, being concieved as an independent thing, as *divisio* prop. the being divided, from *divisus*, and similar formations in Indo-Germanic. This very long and always immutable vowel, however, has such a new, great power, that the first rad. which stands alone is pronounced in shortest manner e. g. in Hebr. *without* a distinct vowel, and the rules for the foretone §. 36 ff. are, therefore, not applicable here §. 322. Hence the nearest vowel here is *û*, as גְּמוּל *recompence,* רְכוּב *chariot,* כְּסוּי *covering,* לְבוּשׁ *clothing*, גְּבוּל *boundary*. This *û* may be even changed on the one side for *î* accord. to §. 248, as נְצִיב *statua*, פְּסִיל *graven image* (only used in the *pl.* beside the more simplified *sg.* פֶּסֶל) כְּלִיא *prison*, מְעִיל *mantle;* *ê* is very rare, as יְלֵל *wailing*, רְתֵת *terror;* — on the other side, it may be softened into *ô*, which is especially easy from an intrans. verb, as חֲלוֹם *dream*, בְּכוֹר *first-birth* (of animals and man, in the latter case it is in sense equivalent to *first-born*, but the *pl.* is still generally בְּכוֹרוֹת) מְלוֹא *fullness*, בְּלוֹי *rag*, and the poetical שְׁכוֹל *orbitas*, שְׁחוֹר *blackness;* this *ô* can then be changed into *â* accord. to §. 50, but this is very rare in the early period, as אֱסָר *vow*, and only frequent afterwards, as עֲבָד *deed* Koh. 9, 1, כְּתָב *writing* (book) beside the older *fem.* כְּתֹבֶת, poet. קְרָב *war*, אֱיָל *strength* Ps. 88, 5.

Many words of this form which have א as 1st rad. have assumed a

firmer vowel accord. to §. 70: אֱפוֹד, אֱזוֹר, אֱזֹב, אֱטוּן, אֱבוּס, אֱמוּן, for עֱמוּן etc.

The derived abstract is so much characterised by this very long and always immutable vowel, that even some abstracts formed by means of external affixes, especially poetical and late ones, render their first consonant, which stands alone, quite as short: תְּהוֹם, מְעִי, מְתֹם, מְצָד, מְנָת, יְקוּם from צוּד, תַּם, עָדָה, הוּם, קוּם, מָנָה cf. §. 387.

Some few words also of the second formation §. 222 f. have no foretone vowel: they are, however, poetical words borrowed from Aramaic but with the poorer Aramaic pronunciation still retained: אֱלוֹהַּ *God*, אֱנוֹשׁ *Man*, כְּסִיל *fool;* the adverb זְעֵיר *a little;* and these which only occur late, חֲסִין *strong* Ps. 89, 9, שְׁלִיו Jer. 49, 31. Also זְמָן *time* an original substantive accord. to §. 325 *b*, which also occurs in prose in the later period.

329 The signification of the abstract is often expressed here by the feminine formation at the same time, and this is a still newer, stronger abstract formation, while the lighter masculine form is often used even as proper name for more distinct, definite objects. The characteristic vowel *u–i* is often lowered before the *–á* of the *fem.*, and indeed in such a manner accord. to §. 316 that the 3rd rad. is doubled, as this formation distinguishes substantives; this reduplication is, however, only frequent in a *liquid* and especially in *l*. Many of these formations too are only of later date or poetical innovations. Thus with *u:* קְבֻצָה *collectio*, גְּדֻלָּה and גְּדוּלָּה *magnitudo* Est. 1, 4. 10, 2; and even in the early period גְּאֻלָּה *redemption*, פְּעֻלָּה *opera;* with *o* חֲבֹלָה *pledge* Ez. 18, 7 beside חֲבֹל v. 12, 16, בְּשׂרָה *εὐαγγέλιον;* with *i* or *é*, עֲלִילָה poetical *deed*, הֲרִיסָה *eversio*, קְהִלָּה *congregatio*, הֲרֵגָה *mactatio*, יְרֻשָּׁה and יְרֵשָׁה *hereditas*. Many of these formations are also derived from older nouns, as מְלוּכָה *kingdom* from מֶלֶךְ, כְּהֻנָּה *priesthood* from כֹּהֵן *priest*, גְּבוּרָה *fortitudo* which is at the same time simplified from גִּבּוֹר *fortis, heros* with reduplication of of the 2nd. rad. accord. to §. 330.

But there is a still newer and stronger expression of the abstract sometimes found, and especially in derivations from earlier nouns, which consists in the use of the plural formation together with that *u* accord. to §. 374, as in the uniformly developed abstracts from names for certain periods of life, as זְקֻנִים *senectus*, עֲלוּמִים and נְעֻרִים *juventus*, בְּתוּלִים *virginitas* from זָקֵן, עֶלֶם, נַעַר, בְּתוּלָה; very rarely from Qal, as חֲנֻטִים *embalming* Gen. 50, 3.

Here also there is no form derived from קֹץ; the only example is קְוֻצּוֹת *locks* Cant. 5, 2. 12. Nevertheless אֵיל, עֵירֹם §. 219. The formations of the weak roots are clear from §. 324, and §. 345.

II. *Reduplicated* or *intensive stems.* They have been partly given already as verbs, and partly are only newly formed in the noun; but the attributive alone can be formed quite new here, and produces a great number of various derivations; the abstract either only proceeds from the verbal stem or from this attributive. The capability of formation, however, is by no means so great in these longer and rarer words as in the simpler ones, though the change of vowels has the same signification. 330

1. The new, independent, and frequent formation of *adjectives* which express the idea of an inherent, permanent, or stronger intrinsic quality, are produced by the reduplication of the simple participles and adjectives of the second formation §. 322 f., and have, in the same manner, the characteristic vowel accented after the second rad., but so that the simple active form accord. to the third formation §. 336 is not distinguished here. Hence *a*) the pronunciation with *a* is not only the generally usual one for adjectives here, as the simple one, as חַלָּשׁ *very weak*, דַּוָּי *sick* and the ancient proper name for God שַׁדַּי prop. the *almighty*, רַגָּז *always trembling*; but also, according to the more definite signification of *a*, for purely active ideas, as intensive form of כֹּתֵב §. 326, as עַוָּל *wicked* from עָוֶל *wickedness*, סַלָּח *forgiver* = forgiving much and readily Ps. 86, 5, and therefore especially denotes one who always occupies himself with something according to his manner of life, as סַבָּל *porter*, טַבָּח *cook*; it is often only derived from a noun, as צַיָּד *hunter* (which only occurs Jer. 16, 16, whereas Gen. 25, 27 יֹדֵעַ צַיִד) from צַיִד *hunting*, מַלָּח *mariner* from מֶלַח *salt, the sea*. Hence the *a* in this new and rather strictly active form is longer here and tries to become immutable; whence דַּוָּי from ל״ה with an immutable *a* beside שַׁדַּי which has been preserved from an earlier period. — *b*) The pronunciation with *u* is of passive origin, as אַלּוּף *friend* prop. always attached, עַמּוּד *pillar* prop. firmly fixed, or of intransitive origin with the accessory idea of permanency or abundance, as שַׁכּוּל *robbed of young*, חַנּוּן, רַחוּם *full of grace, mercy*, קַשֻּׁב *always, readily, attending* Ps. 130, 2 beside קַשָּׁב. This *u* is sometimes changed on the one hand *c*) into *o*, as יִלּוֹד *born*, not however as a simple participle, but as an independent adjective farther developed [1]) Ex. 1, 22; moreover from intransitive ideas, as גִּבּוֹר *very strong* = *hero*, שִׁכּוֹר *drunken*, and with the accessory idea of passion יִסּוֹר *reproacher* Iob 40, 2, קַנּוֹא *iracundus* beside קַנָּא. — *d*) On the other hand, î is found beside û where it is of passive origin, as אַסִּיר *prisoner*, more than the mere participle *imprisoned*; in others from intransitive ideas, as צַדִּיק *just*,

אַדִּיר *noble*, שַׁלִּיט *mighty*, עַלִּיז *exulting*. — *e*) The pronunciation is exclusively appropriated to adjectives which denote a personally permanent condition, in a material sense, as אִלֵּם *dumb*, עִוֵּר *blind*, פִּקֵּחַ *having* open = *good eyes* Ex. 4, 11, כֵּהֶה *expiring*, *dim*, or even in an intellectual sense, as עִקֵּשׁ *perverse* = *false*, גֵּאֶה *proud*, מֵאֵן *averse to* Jer. 13, 10, סֵעֵף *doubter* Ps. 119, 113. This *e* has remained very short, partly in itself, and partly on account of the strong reduplication which goes before it §. 212; שֵׂעִיר however as foreign proper name *rough* prop. hairy corresponds to this class.

The nearest vowel of the first syllable is indeed *a*, which remains unchanged, especially before the same sound *a*, and for the most part before *ū* and *ī* also; yet the thinner *ĭ* is also sometimes found here accord. to §. 45, as אִכָּר *husbandman* prop. *digger*, עִזּוּז *very strong*, לִמּוּד always learning = *scholar;* but *ĭ* is constantly sounded before the intransitive *ĕ*, as if the force of the intransitive sound had particularly established itself at the beginning; before *ó* too we generally find *ĭ*, although קַנּוֹא beside קַנָּא. — It is to be observed in the formation from weak roots, that the gutt. in these somewhat later forms often looses the reduplication entirely contrary to §. 232, as כֵּהֶה etc., and that ע״י or even ע״ו sometimes go through their formations uniformly, as צַיָּד, דַּיָּן *judge* from דִּין, דַּוָּג or דַּיָּג Ez. 47, 10 *fisherman* from דָּג *fish*. Besides cf. above.

1) It answers exactly to ܐܠܡ.

331 No independent abstracts of this formation are found, since when an abstract is to be formed, one of these adjectives either becomes a simple abstract with loss of the reduplication §. 329, or renders the reduplication more prominent in a more emphatic way §. 332 f. Nevertheless some perfectly isolated originally lighter words have gradually been lengthened by reduplication of the 2nd rad. on account of the substantive signification (§. 316), as אֱסָר *vow* §. 329, before suffixes אִסָּר, אֲשׁוּר *step*, before suff. אַשּׁוּר. the nature of the א has also an influence here at the same time §. 70; on the contrary, the foreign word כֻּתֹּנֶת = χιτών, *tunica* doubles the 2nd rad. indeed when in stat. abs. and in the fluctuation of the firm vowel *o*, has assumed *o* twice §. 58, but when shortened at the end, it retnrns to the short pronunciation without reduplication and with a simple *o*, as it is originally quite short כְּתֹן or כֻּתֹן.

Abstracts according to the third formation are, however, very commonly derived from *Piel*, as the *pl.* שִׁלּוּחִים *dismission* Ex. 18, 2, כִּפֻּרִים *atonement*, מִלּוּא *that wherewih a space is filled* generally in the *pl.* מִלֻּאִים, שִׁלּוּם *recompense*, שִׁקּוּץ *abomination*, also *an abomination* = idol; not so often *é* in the last syllable (accord. to 329), as שִׁלֵּם Dt. 32, 35, קִטֵּר *suffitus*, and the *fem.* מְלֵאת *fullness*, נִשֵּׂאת *present* 2 Sam. 19, 43, or *ó*, as בִּקֹּרֶת *chastisement* Lev. 19, 20. This form is sometimes, on account of its frequency, derived from Qal at once, as פִּקּוּד *command*, זֵרוּעַ or זֵרֻעַ *seeds*.

Here also we have ĭ in the first syllable on account of the strong vowel of the third formation in the last, by which these forms are at the same time almost regularly sufficiently distinguished from the adjectives §. 330 [1]).

1) The reduplication of the 2nd rad. is even lost in some more attrited words, when the preceding vowel has become long, as it always endeavours to do in the substantive, צִירֹק *confinement*, קִיטֹר *smoke*, to which the proper name שִׁלֹחַ prop. *missio aquae* probably belongs. This does not easily happen to the adjective, as קִימוֹשׁ Hos. 9, 6 beside קִמּוֹשׁ has become a substantive from an adjective, *nettle* §. 125.

This abstract formation, however, is found in a peculiar state in later writings from the influence of Aramaic, viz. always with an immutable *á* (from *ó*) and with the feminine ending, and from that time is used as the prevailing infinitive form; the *ă* of the first syllable, on the other hand, remains unaltered as the vowels loose their capability of formation in Aramaic. Thus בַּקָּרָה Ez. 34, 11, קַלָּסָה *derision* 22, 4, נְאָצָה *contempt* 35, 12; in the same way from Hitpalel of a ל״ה הִשְׁתַּחֲוָיָה 2 Kgs. 5, 18 from הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה §. 236, where י must appear again as 3rd rad. after the immutable *á* §. 222.

As this last formation is entirely proper to the infinitive in Aram., the substantive is rather developed as an abstract by the *u* entering the *first* syllable anew and very strongly, while that *á* (*ó*) remains in the last; the reduplication of the second rad. easily ceases after the heavy *u*. This formation is, however, still very rare in Hebrew: סוּגַר *prison* Ez. 19, 9 in which the last syllable has lightened its vowel, דּוֹנַג *wax* §. 326, גּוּמָץ *pit* Koh. 10, 8, עֻגָב and עוּגָב a musical instrument prop. *loveliness*. תּוֹמִיךְ *possession* Ps. 16, 5.

Moreover, all that is said of Piel in these abstract formations holds also of Hif-îl and Nîf-al which are externally like it, as from *Hif.* הִתּוּךְ *a melting* Ez. 22, 22, in which however *é* is more frequent because its sound is already in the verbal stem, and thus the form coincides more with the common *infinitive*, as הַשְׁמֵד *destruction* Js. 14, 23, הֵיטֵב *doing good* Js. 1, 17, הַמְשֵׁל *dominion* Iob 25, 2; the ה of Hif. is then weakened to א in the *fem.* אַזְכָּרָה *remembrance-offering*, in which there is *á* for *ó*. and אַחֲוָה *declaration* = charge which is a more simple feminine formation from חִוָּה *Piel* = Hif., infinit. אַחֲוָה = הַשְׁמֵד, the fem. of which is אַחֲוָה accord. to §. 222; from *Nif.* in the *pl.* נַפְתּוּלִים *struggle* Gen. 30, 8 (the *a* at the beginning, though not originally wrong, is yet designedly retained here on account of the attempt at etymology, נִחוּמִים *compassion* Hos. 11, 8 from *Nif.* נִחַם, although it may also be formed from *Piel* and mean *consolation*, v. §. 258 *note*. From ע״ו Hif. הֲנָחָה Est. 2, 18. הֲפֻגָה Lam. 3, 49.

2. Adjectives with repetition of third rad., a rather rare formation, have for the most part verbal stems which corres- 332

pond to them §. 233, as שַׁאֲנָן *tranquil*, רַעֲנָן *green*, חַכְלִיל *dark red*, פִּרְחָח perhaps *presumptuous* Iob 30, 12 (without a known verbal stem to correspond to it); these have simply a lengthening of the vowel in the accented syllable for a distinction of the noun: in the adjective אֻמְלָל *mournful* Neh. 3, 34 from אֻמְלַל as verb §. 256, an immutable *é* from the intransitive idea however, intrudes into the penult, which is a new firmer formation strongly characteristic of the noun, like the one §. 326 in another manner.

Abstracts are formed in the third formation in *ú*, sometimes in *ô* and *î*, and 1) from adjectives of lesser intension, by the strong vowel which intrudes in the last syllable of the new stronger abstract form separating the elements of the word and the stress of the reduplication falling on the third rad., as גַּבְנֹן *ridge* from גִּבֵּן *rugged*, accord. to which נַעֲצוּץ *hedge of thorns* probably from נָעַץ *prickly*, עֲבַטִיט *guilt* from עָבַט guilty prop. *woven*, (from the idea of a *net*) שַׁפְרִיר *ornament* from שֶׁפֶר *bright*. This abstract form, however, sometimes arises 2) in the same way from *Piel* also, especially if the 2nd rad. is a gutt. cf. §. 236: נַאֲפוּפִים in the *pl. adultery* Hos. 2, 4 from נִאֵף, נַהֲלֹל *pasture* from the verb נִהֵל *to drive* to pasture (as *Trift* in Germ. from *treiben*). From verbal stems like קוֹמֵם §. 234, 1, which are at least concievable, are derived נִיחֹחַ *satisfaction* from נוֹחֵחַ *to appease*, נִיצוֹץ *spark*, the *ô* having been lowered before the new, strong *ô* and having been changed into *î* §. 213, roots נוּחַ, נָץ.

333 3. The adjectives with repetition of the *second* and *third* rad. are more freqnent, and the force of the pronunciation is so divided in their greater compass, that the last syllable, although accented, has yet very short vowels; for *ă* generally remains, besides which *o* sometimes occurs, but even this as little lengthened as possible §. 46. The form indeed also expresses general intension, as יְפֵה־פִיָּה in the *fem. very beautiful* Jer. 46, 20, but the idea of continual, regular repetition without interruption is also especially expressed by the repetition of nearly the whole word, as עֲקַלְקַל or הֲפַכְפַּךְ *twisted, tortuosus*, and the Heb. form as it were paints the many windings, פְּתַלְתֹּל *perplexus* also in an intellectual sense Dt. 32, 5, in the same way חֲלַקְלַק smooth-smooth = slippery; or the idea of *partition*, of that which continues with interruptions, according to which חֲצֹצְרָה *fem. trumpet* (from חֲצַרְצַר cf. §. 335) §. 244 would derive its name from the broken, crashing sound, and which, when used of colours, expresses the varying shades (as in a

shot silk), as אֲדַמְדָּם *reddish,* יְרַקְרַק *greenish,* שְׁחַרְחַר *blackish.*

An *û* merely or an immutable *ô* in the last syllable is also found here as an abstract, as אֲסַפְסֻף *a crowd collected from all sides, colluvies populi* Num. 11, 4; and also developes an abstract derivation from an intensive adjective to this longer form, as פְּקַח־קוֹחַ *opening or clear sight of the eyes* from פִּקֵּחַ §. 330.

Further, the repetition in the root is so strong that it is sometimes found written by itself as a separate word: יְפֵה־פִיָּה, חֲפַר־פַּר (as probably ought to be read Js. 2, 20) *digging much* = *mole;* in the same way פְּקַח־קוֹחַ Js. 61, 1, קַו־קָו 18, 2. 7 §. 334.

The roots ע״ע and ע״ו not unfrequently have the repetition of their last two characteristic sounds here also, as in the verb §. 235, whereas the lighter formation קוֹמֵם §. 234 is only verbal. Thus with *a* עַרְעָר or עַרְעָר (Jer. 17, 6 the Mss. vary, Ps. 102, 18 does not decide the question) quite naked = *desolate,* helpless, and with an intruding *ô* קְלֹקֵל vilissimus Num. 21, 5 like אֻמְלַל §. 331, cf. the proper name עֲרֹעֵר. 334

The abstract is indeed here also most distinctly formed after the third formation, i. e. with *û* in the last syllable, as חַרְחֻר fever prop. *inflammation,* and in the *pl.* accord. to §. 374 שַׁעֲשֻׁעִים *deliciae* from the verbs חִרְחֵר, שִׁעֲשַׁע §. 235. But there are also many lighter substantive formations here, first, by fem. or even plur. formation, as שַׁרְשְׁרָה *chain,* חַתְחַתִּים *terror* Koh. 12, 3, עִוְעִים *dizziness* Js. 19, 14 from the sg. עִוְעָה, root עו, עועו *to be perverted,* and from עו״ חַלְחָלָה *great trembling,* טַלְטֵלָה *a hurling,* which are distinguished by a greater lengthening of the vowel in the last syllable; with *ĕ* in the last syllable, as גַּלְגַּל (where *ă* is for *ĕ* only on account of the tone §. 46) *wheel* prop. roller, from גִּלְגֵּל to go on rolling, moreover כַּלְכַּל *basket* prop. woven work; or the short *ŏ* in the same way like the first formation §. 317, which then extends throughout the whole word, being sounded in both syllables, as קָדְקֹד *vertex* prop. separation, from the parting of the hair (as *Scheitel* in Germ. from *scheiden*) in which the *ô* in the last syllable is only lengthened on account of the tone, and does not continue long before accented affixes, גֻּלְגֹּלֶת *fem. skull;* lastly, with a stronger vowelsound and somewhat drawn back צְלָצַל *rustling* (Dt. 28, 42 in pause צְלָצַל) which however immediately looses the foretone *a* before accented affixes and returns to the short צִלְצַל; cf. §. 347. קַו־קָו *great strength* is used quite simply as an abstract Js. 18, 2.

335 All these fullsounding intensive forms §. 333 f. often loose some of their sounds and soften their hard pronunciation if the etymology of a word which is used as a substantive becomes indistinct, cf. §. 237 *note.* Thus 1) most frequently by a softening of the final consonant of the first syllable into a vowel, namely after *a* into *ŭ*, from which *ô* is prodnced (or *â*, as עֲזָאזֵל), as כּוֹכָב *star* prop. twinkling, for כַּבְכָּב, טוֹטָפוֹת *pl. f. armlets* or *frontlets*, and חֲצֹצְרָה §. 333; or even after *ĭ* into *ĭ*, from which *î* is produced, as in the abstract קִיקָלוֹן with the ending *ôn* §. 342 for קְלָקְלוֹן *ignominy* Hab. 2, 16. — 2) By resolution of this final consonant into the succeding one §. 113: כִּכָּר *circle* from כִּרְכָּר. 3) Not so often by casting away the final cons. of the *second* syllable, as שַׁרְשָׁה *f. chain* from שַׁרְשְׁרָה; in the same way מְחֻסְפָּס Ex. 16, 14 *part. pass.* from חַסְפַּס shortened from חֲסַפְסַף.

336 III. *Formations with external affixes*, some of which are very rare in Hebrew:

Thus אַכְזָב an adjective formation, in which the emphatic *a* added at the beginning denotes a permanent, active quality [1]) and which external formation gradually occupies the place of the internal one with reduplication of a rad. §. 330. 332; it is still very rare in Heb. however and rather poetical: אַכְזָר *hard, cruel,* אַכְזָב *deceitful,* אֵיתָן *constant;* הֵיכָל probably belongs here also, *palace* prop. spacious, roomy from יכל = כול to contain. The *a* of the last syllable is the same as in the simple adjective §. 322 *a.*

1) So that, fundamentally, this is the same *a* or *ha* which forms the causative stem in the verb §. 238. Cf. besides Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 147 ff.

337 Substantives with a prefixed י are also very rare; this י is connected with the pronoun of the third pers. §. 282, and is founded on the third pers. of the *imperf.* in such a manner, that the idea of the *actor* is alone retained from the continuing action, and the last vowel is therefore lengthened according to the nature of a substantive [1]). Thus יָרִיב (one who) quarrels = *adversary* from רִיב §. 245; יִצְהָר *oil,* prop. from יִצְהַר (what) shines; יְקוּם as abstract *whatever sxists, substance,* from קוּם, the pronunciation is accord. to §. 328.

1) As in Indo-Germanic *dator* as substantive differs from the participle *daturus.*

338 The three following are the most usual external formations:

1. A prefixed *m'*, as its pronominal origin also shows [1]), always gives the idea of a substantial *who? what?* most intimately connected with an action, so that a word thus formed might be always resolved, at least as to origin, into a particular relative proposition. Its personal or adjective use, however, is very confined; namely, to certain participles of derived verbal stems §. 351; but it is very common as a *neuter*, and is then always most simply and closely attached to the

root in such a manner that the first rad. becomes vowelless §. 212 [2]). This neuter signification may have very various applications in particulars: מ may 1) denote *that in which* anything happens, the place of the action (the so called Mem loci), as מִרְעֶה (*ubi pascitur*) *pasture*, מַאֲרָב *locus insidiarum* [3]), hence also in the same manner a *time* in which anything happens, as מוֹשָׁב *that which* the Israelites *dwelt* in Egypt, i. e. the time of their abode. Ex. 12, 40. — 2) *that by which* anything is done, the *instrument* of the action, as מַפְתֵּחַ (*quo aperitur*) *key*, מַזְמֵרָה *fem. pruning-knife;* and lastly 3) more generally *that which* may result or be, from active verbs, as מַלְקוֹחַ *booty*, prop. *what is taken*, מִרְמָס *what can be trodden under foot*, of the foot of men and animals, as from intransitive verbs, מֶרְחָק *what is far* = a distance, *distant land*, מִצְעָר *something small;* this formation serves in a more unlimited sense for neuter substantives generally, as מִסְפָּר *number*, מִצְעָד *step*, and is so common that it even begins to be used instead of the more simple infinitive forms, as מַהְפֵּכָה *destruction*, used precisely as the *infin.* Am. 4, 11. מַשּׂוּאוֹת *to pull up* (concern. the ending cf. §. 354) Ez. 17, 9. The feminine formation is indeed possible throughout this neuter form, but is only frequent in the words for instruments and in the abstract forms.*

When such words have a personal sense, they can only have it by a metaphor, for which all words are not suited, as מוֹדָע *acquaintance*, מֵרֵעַ *friend*, prop. *acquaintanceship*, *friendship;* מַלְאָךְ *messenger*, prop. mission, as a slave appears more like a thing; הַמִּרְשַׁעַת *wickedness* once 2 Chro. 24, 7 emphatical for *the wickedest*, as *scelus* is used with similar emphasis for an individual.

1) It is related to מָה *what?* מִי *who?* The much more various endings in Indo-Germ. *ma*, *va*, *mant*, *vant*, *mânas* etc., are also of the same origin.

2) Hence it is formed in the same way even in short roots which are repeated like טֵאטֵא §. 235, as מַטְאֲטֵא *everriculum*, because the monosyllabic root nowhere occurs. In the same way מַהֲתַלּוֹת *deceits* accord. to §. 247. — Yet is to be observed that Chatef-vowels prevail with gutt., and that the firmer pronunciation is only rare with ח, and as an exception in מַעְבָּר.

3) It is even derived from nouns in this signification, as the *pl.* מַרְגְּלוֹת *what is at the feet*, *place at the feet*, and מְרַאֲשׁוֹת *what is on the head* Jer. 13, 18, instead which we also find it pointed מְרַאְשׁוֹת, but perhaps only from an erroneous interpretation of 1 Sam. 26, 12.

The vowels are not quite constant in their changes in 339
this formation. The nearest and most usual vowel in the last syllable is *a*, generally lengthened by the tone to *â* [1]),

but very seldom immutable or changed to *ô* (מִבְחוֹר 2 Kgs. 19, 23 beside מִבְחָר Js. 37, 24) before whose high sound the vowel in the first syllable descends to *ĭ* (§. 45), so that *a* only seldom remains here, as in מַלְאָךְ messenger, מַשְׁאָב *water-trough*, in which however the *a* appears to be more firmly retained on account of the following א, *pl.* מַמְתַּקִּים *sweetnesses*, *ĕ* too rarely maintains itself in this fluctuation between *a* and *i*, especially before liquid consonants, as מֶרְחָק, מֶלְקָח, מֶרְקָח and the *fem.* מֶלְתָּחָה, מֶמְשָׁלָה Mich. 4, 8. There is a newer, sharper vocalization in which the clearer, stronger *a* is designedly retained at the beginning, so that the lower *i* is now rather sounded after it in the second syllable (in tone *é* §. 46), as מַקְהֵל, מַפְתֵּחַ; *fem.* מַזְמֵרָה, rarely is there an *ĭ* before *é*, as מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, מִסְפֵּד *lamentation*. There is indeed no strict distinction of signification observable between these two pronunciations, nevertheless the first form is more proper to simple substantives. Lastly, passive pronunciations are also not unfrequently found in the last syllable accord. to §. 329, before which the sharper *a* also remains in the first; thus with *û*, מַלְבּוּשׁ *garment* for the older לְבוּשׁ §. 329, מַנְעוּל *bar*, מַבּוּעַ *fountain*; with a change into *ó*, מַלְקוֹחַ *booty*, or *â* (immutable) מַעְבָד *deed* Iob 34, 25 = עֲבָד §. 329, but also into immutable *é*, as in the abstract *fem.* מַהְפֵּכָה *destruction*, very seldom *î*, as מַשְׁחִית *id.* Ez. 5, 16.

1) Very rarely *a* still without lengthening, as מַחֲנַק *suffocation* Iob 7, 15, Js. 10, 6. מַסַּד 1 Kgs. 7, 9; most easily when the form is used as *infin.* as מַסַּע Dt. 10, 11. In the same way from other stems is formed מֵרַק Jdgs. 6, 19 f. (where, however, the Mss. do not agree) accord. to §. 325, פַּנַּג Ez. 27, 17 acc. to §. 330.

These distinctions of the vocalization are still less discernible in the weak roots; the *a* constantly remains in the first syllable before a *gutt.* as first rad., very rarely with expulsion of the א, as מָסֹרֶת for מָאְסֹ *fetter* Ez. 20, 37. — Also from פ״נ is the pronunciation with *a* in the first syllable the prevalent one, if contraction takes place, as generally does (acc. to §. 275), as מַפָּל, מַטָּע, מַתָּן, only Zach. 9, 5 מֶבָּט with *e*, not yet with *ĭ*, and מִטָּה *fem. bed* in distinction to מַטֶּה *staff*. — The פ״ו and פ״י have originally merely *a* at the beginning in the same way, which remains in the פ״ו with coalition with the *u* into *ó*, and the last syllable has *a* or *e*, only not *o* or *u*, as מוֹשָׁב, מוֹצָא, מוֹקֵד; the *û* of the abstract has, however, intruded into the abstract מוּסָר *chastisement* instead. From פ״י with *a* at the end מֵישָׁר *straightness*, מֵיתָר, whereas if *ó* establishes itself in the last syllable it depresses the vowel at the beginning, so that *î* is used, as מִישׁוֹר *plain*. With contraction of the י (cf.

§. 253) מַצָּע, מַבּוּל *flood* a very old word, and later מַדָּע *consciousness* Koh. 10, 20, מַסָּר. From פֿא the form מַכְתֵּב accord. to §. 272 מֹאזֶן in *du. scales*, and מוֹסֵר *fetter* written without א, Ps. 2, 7. — The usual form from ע״וֹ is מָקוֹם, מָבוֹא, for מַקְוָם accord. to §. 91, and the form מַכְתֵּב does not occur here at all; this ó also is changed as in §. 329 into an immutable á, though it is rare and chiefly in poetry and late in the language, and the consonant before this syllable looses its foretone vowel by this Aramaic pronunciation, as מְצָד 1 Chro. 11. 7. *fem.* מְעָרָה *cave* from עוּר; beside מָדוֹן *strife* we find the *pl.* מְדוֹנִים *K'tîb* Prov. 21, 9. 19 and elsewhere) and מְדָנִים Prov. 6, 19. 10, 12. Instead of the last there is, however, also found מְדְיָן formed in another manner as a new abstract derivation from דִּין §. 245 (in the *pl.* Prov. 18, 18. 19, 13). An abstract form מַכְתּוּב is found in מָעוּף *darkness* Js. 8, 22. — The ע״ע have a short vowel for the most part before the properly double sound, and indeed ă, as well for the original *a* of מַכְתָּב, as מֵמַד, מֵצַר (some read מַצַּר Ps. 118, 5) as also for é of מַכְתֵּב on account of the tone §. 46, as מֵסַב; the double sound, however, which is thus compact, is separated before accented postfixes; concern. é as foretone v. §. 217, *a* [2]). Much seldomer has a long vowel established itself in the last syllable (and then there is á as foretone), as מָסָךְ *curtain* = מַכְתָּב, מָגֵן shield = מַכְתֵּב, and מָעוֹז *strength* = מַכְתּב; but there is no word with an immutable vowel. The reduplication is rarely brought forward (§. 217), as מַשָּׁק *course*, cf. מְשׁוֹט from שׁוּט §. 228. Lastly, with the form of abstracts §. 328: מְתֹם *something sound*, מְעִי *heap of ruins* from עִיר = עוּר = עוה. — The ל״ה precisely as in §. 324: 1) מִכְסֶה, מִקְנֶה; 2) מַדְוֶה, מִדְוֶה, מַטֶּה = מַכְתֵּב; 3) מַחֲלוּי = מַכְתּוּב. Although even here מַאֲוַי Ps. 140, 9 instead of 1).

2) As these forms have a very weak sound at the end, some of them have drawn the stress and the tone entirely to the beginning and have forgotten their origin and become perfectly like simple nouns of the first formation: מֶמֶר *bitterness*, מֶכֶס fem. מִכְסָה, מַעַר *nakedness*, from ערר; in the same way תַּעַר, תֶּבֶל, תֶּמֶס according to the very similar formation §. 340.

It is very rare and in part new for such neuter substantives, which denote the object of the action, to be formed immediately from derived verbal stems, as 1) substantives of the place or instrument, מְבַשְּׁלָה *fem. kitchen* from *Piel to cook* Ez. 26, 23, מְנַקִּית *fem. libatorium, dish for recieving the blood of the victim* from *Piel; pl.* מְנַעַנְעִים 2 Sam. 6, 5 *sistrum*, which Latin word also signifies an instrument according to its ending *-trum*, from נִעֲנַע §. 235. — 2) Substantives of the object of the action itself, מְתַעֵב *object of*

abomination Js. 49, 7, and מַסְתֵּר פָּנִים מִמֶּנּוּ *something* (or person) *from which we hide our face* = object of aversion, with complete verbal connexion, Js. 53, 3 from *Hif.* הִסְתִּיר *to hide.*

340 A prefixed ת is very like this מ in signification and formation, in so far as it forms merely abstract substantives; which ת is originally the more definite external formation for this idea [1]), though it is not so frequent in Heb. as מ. It seldom occurs with a perfectly strong root, as תַּגְמוּל *recompense* Ps. 116, 12, for the more ancient גְּמוּל §. 328, תַּלְבֹּשֶׁת *clothing* Js. 59, 17; but rather with weak roots which are disposed to assume a firmer sound §. 206, and even here especially in derivations from the longer stems, Hitpael, whose prefix הִת־ is preserved in this ת, and Hif-îl, whose ה also seems to preserve itself in this harder ת. The feminine formation is very prevalent on account of the abstract signification. Thus 1) from ע״ו where the feminine ending is seldom wanting, as it is in the poetical תְּהוֹם (roaring) *flood* formed acc. to §. 328; on the other hand, the pronunciation with the abstract *û* is usual before the fem. ending, as תְּשׁוּבָה *answer* Iob. 21, 34, תְּעוּדָה *testimony* both from *Hif.*, תְּקוּמָה *resistance;* and so great a favourite is this abstract formation, that it is even derived from similar stems, the stress of whose vowels is contracted into that *û* after the first rad., as תְּרוּפָה *healing* from רָפָה or רָפָא Qal; תְּקוּפָה *circuit*, תְּשׁוּעָה *deliverance* from Hif. הִקִּיף (נקף), הוֹשִׁיעַ; there is a similar formation with מ, מְשׁוּגָה *error* from שָׁגָה *to err*; and as this abstract *u* can be changed into *ô*, *â*, accord. to §. 328, *fem.* תְּעָלָה, תְּלָאָה with immutable *â* from עָלָה, לָאָה. — 2) From ע״ע, *fem.* תְּפִלָּה, תְּחִנָּה, *pl.* as abstract תַּעֲלוּלִים, all these derived from *Hitp.;* moreover cf. §. 339 *note* 2 — 3) From פ״ו, *fem.* תּוֹצָאָה *passage out* in the same signification as מוֹצָא which differs a little, תּוֹרָה *doctrine* and תּוֹדָה *thanks* also *fem.* derived from *Hif.* From פ״י, תֵּימָן direction to the right = *the south*, from יָמִין *the right hand*, Hif. to go to the right, תֵּבֵל poet. for *the earth*, from יבל *to bear fruit*, like *tellus* from *tollo.* — Besides many derivations from roots with gutt., as תַּעֲצֻמָה, תַּלְאוּבָה; and תִּקְוָה *hope* from *Piel* קִוָּה.

1) The origin of this ת is indeed obscure, yet it appears most reasonable to suppose it to be derived from a pronoun, as is the case with מ and י. We should then have recourse to the Indo-Germ. abstracts in *-tis*, *tio*, (actio), *-tâ* etc. which are derived from the perf. part. pass. in *tă*; this *-tă* however seems to be related to the reflexive personal pronoun *sva* (tva), hebr. את §. 242 *note.* The whole of this formation with ת is manifestly on the decline in Semitic and only preserved in isolated words, it is also no new

formation, but a primitive one. There appear to be still traces of an earlier personal use in תּוֹשָׁב *inquilinus* prop. habitare factus, jussus, and תַּלְמִיד (in Aramaïc and 1 Chro. 25, 8) *scholar* prop. passive, taught by others, *docendus*.

2. An *án* or *ón* (which change accord. to §. 50) added to the end, the first and oldest derivative syllable, has a twofold and essentially different signification; it forms *adjectives* and *abstracts*. 341

It is indeed concievable that both significations should come together in the same termination after the example of מ־ and ת־ §. 338. 340; but originally there is always a nicer distinction at the same time. The adjective signification must be the nearest as it always is, and this *-án* appears to be related to the pronominal root *an* أَنْ and the adjective ending *-na*, *an* in Indo-Germ.; the abstract signification is only derived from this as in §. 328, just as abstracts are also formed in Indo-Germ. in *-nâ*, *-nis*, *-nam*. There is indeed no difference discernible in the ending itself now in Heb. (as in ὕπ-νος abstract, δει-νός adjective), but perhaps *-ăn* was originally the adjective, and *-ón* denoted the derived abstract (at any rate compare אַלְמָן and אַלְמֹן §. 317 *nt.*), and the adjective ending is even now less strong and sharp.

Moreover, there are some ancient traces of *n* being changed into *m*: in the adjective, always עֵירֹם, probably also אוּלָם; in the substantive סֻלָּם Gen. 28, 12. פְּדוּיִם Num. 3, 49 (where the ם however appears to be supported at the same time by the following מ, cf. the contrary Ex. 21, 30, and in the same way in the verb יְשֻׂשׂוּם Js. 35, 1, for the usual ־וּן, on account of a succeding מ) and in adverbs, words of primitive form, as חִנָּם *gratis*, *for nothing*.

It is only in proper names that *-ón* is shortened to *-ó*, as שְׁלֹמֹה, שִׁלֹה or even written שִׁלוֹ; concern. the orthography with ה v. §. 153. The complete termination returns here again before postfixes, as שִׁלֹנִי accord. to §. 343.

1) To form adjectives, this ending is attached to any noun; yet it is not very frequently so used, there being a still newer ending which is more usual for this purpose §. 343. Thus אַחֲרוֹן *hinder* (western) from אַחַר *behind*, קַדְמוֹן *anterior* from קֶדֶם *before*, תִּיכוֹן *medial* from תָּוֶךְ *the middle*, חִיצוֹן *external*, רִאשׁוֹן *first*; יִדְּעֹנִי *soothsayer* from a simple adjective יָדֵעַ accord. to §. 330; derived from the *fem.* with feminine ending remaining, נְחֻשְׁתָּן *iron* from נְחֹשֶׁת, לִוְיָתָן prop. *having* לִוְיָה *windings*, עֲקַלָּתוֹן *crooked* from עֲקַלָּה or עֲקַלָּה *a winding*. Very seldom is it a simple adjective form, not first derived from a noun, as אֶבְיוֹן *needy*, עֶלְיוֹן *highest*, אַלְמָן *viduus*, עֵירֹם *naked*. The sounds of the stems are not changed by this ending, further than that the long vowels *ó* or *ú* are lowered to *í* or *é* before *ón* acc. to §. 213, as תִּיכוֹן, חִיצוֹן, רִאשׁוֹן (in which however the א is still retained, only seldom and late do we find רִישׁוֹן) from תּוֹךְ, חוּץ, רֹאשׁ, in the same way

אוּלָם *vestibule* is sometimes changed into אֻלָם, these lowered vowels are still perfectly immutable, and only עֵירֹם *naked* from עוּר can be shortened into עֵרֹם, pl. עֲרֻמִּים, quite distinct from עָרוּם pl. עֲרוּמִים *wise*, *cunning* prop. πυκνός.

342 2) As an *abstract* formation, it is sometimes used to derive abstracts from more simple nouns, and is thus the first external derivation of an abstract from a pre-existent noun, as יְשִׁימוֹן the *desert* from the adjective יָשִׁים = שָׁמֵם *desert*, עִוָּרוֹן *blindness* with *á* as foretone from עִוֵּר *blind* §. 330, שַׁבָּתוֹן *cessation from labour* from שַׁבָּת *rest* [1]), moreover also from more simple abstracts, as רְעָבוֹן *famine* from רָעָב *hunger* §. 325, even מַשָּׁאוֹן *deception* Pro. 26, 26 from a former possible substantive מַשָּׁא §. 339. But frequently is an abstract derived even from the root itself by this ending, which external formation gradually supplants many more simple ones and is very prevalent in the later periods, although hardly without a slight difference of signification at the beginning, as מַחֲזֶה *phantasm in a dream* Gen. 15, 1, חָזוֹן prophetic *vision*, זֵכֶר *remembrance* in general, זִכָּרוֹן *memorial*. Such substantives from the simple root lengthen themselves, the emphasis of the tone being drawn indeed to the end, but the beginning of the word being always pronouced with a certain countertone: hence the sharp vowel of the first rad. often occasions a reduplication of the second §. 316. as זִכָּרוֹן, צִמָּאוֹן, חִזָּיוֹן, יֵרָקוֹן, which reduplication, however, disappears together with the foretone *a* §. 40. 392; very rarely is the stress at the beginning so thrown upon the second rad. that the third is doubled, as אֲבַדּוֹן *destruction* poet. The shorter pronunciation, without foretone and reduplication yet, for the most part, still without close attachment of syllables, is found in only few early words, but becomes afterwards prevalent from the influence of Aramaic, and then the compressed *ĭ* is the nearest vowel at the beginning accord. to §. 45, as קִנְיָן, יִתְרוֹן, כִּשְׁרוֹן, instead of which we find *a* with a gutt. רַעְיוֹן, אַבְדָן (without *Dag. lene* Est. 9, 5), although *u* (*o*) the vowel still nearer to the abstract has also often intruded into the beginning accord. to §. 329. 338 [2]), as שֻׁלְחָן *table* (prop. *mat*) in which *u* has remained in a loose syllable contrary to §. 47, דָּרְבָן *dor'bán* §. 162, in the same way קָרְבָן Ez. 40, 43, instead of which however, on account of the frequent use of this word, קָרְבָּן or קֻרְבָּן with a close syllable, have become very usual, אָבְדַן Est. 8, 6; after this *u*, *o*, then there is seldom *ôn* for *án* in the last syllable (Koh. 12, 11).

1) This שַׁבָּת, for whose reduplication there is no apparent cause and which cannot well be originally an adjective, appears to be so

changed accord. to §. 331 for שֶׁבֶת according to primitive frequent use.

2) Which is entirely prevalent in Syriac.

From ע״ע: שָׂשׂוֹן *gladness*, לָצוֹן *mockery* with *a* in the penult as mere foretone for שׂוֹשׂוֹן; accord. to §. 213, the *ó* before this very strong ending -*ón* has lowered itself so much that the weakest vowel-sound only, that is *a* accord. to §. 37, has remained.

From ע״ע perfectly simple; סֻלָּם *ladder*, נִצָּן *flower;* for a pronunciation like זִכָּרוֹן is very distant here, just as in the ע״ע the 2nd rad. does not so easily suffer itself to be separated and lengthened.

The ל״ה set out indeed from י as third rad., as the second has no vowel §. 222 *c*, as קִנְיָן *possession*, רַעְיוֹן, הֵרָיוֹן *pregnancy*, but the very strong and heavy vowel of the ending easily expels the weak י floating between accord. to §. 91, 3, so that the first rad., which would then stand by itself, recieves *a* as foretone accord. to §. 37, as קָלוֹן, חָזוֹן, נָדָן Ez. 16, 33; together with הֵרָיוֹן we find, at least before accented postfixes, הֵרוֹן, the vowel remaining accord. to §. 70 as before reduplication of the ר. Much seldomer is the sound of the 3rd rad. preserved as a vowel *î* or *û* and thus elides the following *a* of the ending: קָצִין prop. *decision*, authority, hence *prince*, זְנוּן always in the *pl.* *whoredom.*

It is only in a few words that the ending -*an* has lost its power and the tone on account of a preceding strong vowel which is either already there or which fixes itself there, as צִפֹּרֶן *finger-nail*, shortened from צִפֹּרֹן, with a carrying forward of the *ó*; and a new *fem.* thus formed, בָּשְׁנָה, *shame* Hos. 10, 6 from בֹּשֶׁן, root בּוֹשׁ.

3. The vocalic ending *î* is the last and newest formation 343 *for deriving an adjective from any noun whatever;* this is always an external derivation before which the noun may remain perfectly unaltered, it is as it were a *relative adjective* i. e. it contains the idea, — *which is of* — and may be paraphrased by a relative proposition because it only denotes derivation, origin, and refers to the source mentioned [1]). This derivation is therefore most frequent and necessary from *proper names,* which admit of no internal formation, as עִבְרִי *Hebrew*, יִשְׂרְאֵלִי *Israelite*; but also from other nouns whose signification is more isolated, as רַגְלִי *pedes* from רֶגֶל *pes*, פְּרָזִי *paganus* from פְּרָז *pagus*, נָכְרִי *a foreigner* from נֵכָר = נֹכֶר §. 325, צְפֹנִי *northern* from צָפוֹן *the north*, עִתִּי *timely* from עֵת *time*, even פְּנִימִי *anterior* from the pl. פָּנִים §. 361; moreover, from particles, as תַּחְתִּי *inferior* from תַּחַת, לִפְנַי *anterior* 1 Kgs. 6, 17 from the stat. constr. לִפְנֵי *ante*, *î* being united to *ae* and thus *ái* being formed acc. to §. 54. This last and most definite adjective ending may be also attached to older adjective forms by way of rendering the idea of the adjective more promi-

nent, as אַכְזָר and אַכְזָרִי *horrid* (the latter prop. *horrible*), אֱוִיל accord. to §. 328 and אֱוִלִי *foolish* Zach. 11, 15, and as the adjectives in – *ân* §. 341 often assume this more definite ending in their change into the *fem.*, as רִאשֹׁנִית Jer. 25, 1. רַחֲמָנִית Lam. 4, 10. In these instances especially, we discover a more recent, just arising continuation of the formation, as indeed many of these adjective formations generally belong to the later period of the language.

1) This is confirmed by the sound *-i*, which is evidently related to the pronoun *i*, *ia* which expresses the *relative* idea in Sanscrit; the adjectives in *-ja*, *-in*, *-ika* in Sanscrit, and those in *-ιος*, *-ικος*, *-ιδης* in Greek, those in *-icus* in Lat. and those in *-ig*, *-isch* etc. in Germ. correspond to these last adjectivs.

As an accented ending it causes the foretone vowels to disappear, יִשְׂרְאֵלִי from יִשְׂרָאֵל; from יִזְרְעֶאל (which is shortened from יִזְרְעֶאל) on the other hand יִזְרְעֶאלִי as a long vowel must be sounded in a simple syllable before the tone. In some words the *î* has such an influence on the preceding syllable that the high *a* is used in preference to other vowels before it [1]) §. 213, as יְמָנִי *dexter*, שְׂמָאלִי *sinister* from יָמִין, שְׂמֹאל. Rare traces of shortening in the derivation of common proper names are found *a*) in מִדְיָנִי beside מִדְיָנִי *Midianite* Gen. 37, 36. 28. — *b*) The endings of *gender* and *number* sometimes fall away, as יְהוּדִי from יְהוּדָה. — *c*) In compound proper names the smaller part often falls away, as בֶּן־יְמִינִי and even יְמִינִי alone *Benjaminite* from בִּנְיָמִין 1 Sam. 9, 1. Ps. 7, 1.

1) As in Arabic. v. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 153.

There is a harder pronunciation of this ending, *âi*, which is prevalent in Aramaic. It is found in Hebr. in proper names, as זַכַּי, חַגַּי, very seldom in other nouns; as *pl.* דּוּדָאִים, *fem.* לֻלָאוֹת from sg. דּוּדַי, לוּלַי cf. §. 393. Moreover, חֶלְכָּה *faint*, *powerless*, only in the *K'tib* Ps. 10, 8, 14, in the *pl.* חֵלְכָּאִים v. 10; the form, which the Masoretes have not understood, is like חָפְשִׁי.

344 Finally, by means of the *fem.* of this last derivation ־ִיָּה, or more frequently ־ִית, the *last abstracts* are formed from any noun whatever, in which the form of the previous noun may remain perfectly unaltered, as פְּלִילִיָּה *judicium* from פָּלִיל *judex*, רֵאשִׁית *beginning* from רֹאשׁ *head*, שְׁאֵרִית *remnant*, עֲלִילִיָּה a later formation like *activitas* Jer. 32, 19.

The more frequent this ending *-ît* for abstracts becomes, however, the oftener is it changed in pronunciation into *-ût*, *û* as the proper vowel of the abstract intruding here also, as חָפְשִׁית and חָפְשׁוּת *sickness* even formed from חָפְשִׁי *sick*. This gradually becomes an external abstract formation instead of the earlier internal one, and supplants the earlier simpler stems more and more. Thus 1) from adjectives of the second kind of formation: כְּרִתוּת *separation* from כָּרִית or rather

פְּרוּת *separated*, כְּבֵדוּת *gravitas* from כָּבֵד *gravis* which is used rather earlier, עִקְּשׁוּת *perversitas* from עִקֵּשׁ §. 330, עֲלִיצוּת *gladness* from עָלֵץ, הֲרִיסוּת *destructio*, in the same way חַכְלִלוּת *dark redness* from חַכְלִיל §. 332, מַבְלִגִית *hilaritas* Jer. 8, 18 from the part. *Hif.* מַבְלִיג = *hilaris*, מַלְאָכוּת *message* from מַלְאָךְ §. 338 Hag. 1, 13, even אַכְזְרִיּוּת from אַכְזָרִי §. 343. — 2) simpler stems which have already of themselves an abstract signification may become still further distinguished by this ending, as אֱיָלוּת *strength* Ps. 22, 20 beside אֱיָל §. 329; and the *infinitives* of the derived verbal stems begin afterwards to be distinguished by this form, as הִתְחַבְּרוּת from *Hitp.* Dan. 11, 23, and with *á* before the last rad. at the same time accord. to §. 328 הַשְׁמָעוּת from *Hif.* Ez. 24, 26. — 3) There are also found formations of the simplest kind in which the radicals only are placed before the ending *-ût*, partly from nouns of the first formation, as מַלְכוּת *kingdom* a later formation from מֶלֶךְ *king*, partly by a simplification of the form, this form becoming a mere abstract form, as גַּבְהוּת *pride* from גָּבוֹהַּ *proud*, סִכְלוּת *folly* from סָכָל *fool*, קַדְרוּת *deep mourning* from קָדַר. These forms often have *a* in the first syllable before *û* like מַכְתּוּב, תַּגְמוּל §. 338. 340 which have also an abstract signification, but with regard to the ending they are like the abstracts in *-ôn* §. 342, as the first syllable remains *loose*. From ע״ו: עֵדוּת, in which the vowel always remains long; but לָזוּת Pro. 4, 24 has only the foretone *a* as לָצוֹן §. 342; concerning derivations from ל״ה v. §. 345.

The corruption of this *-ût* into *-ôt* accord. to §. 329 is very rare, but is found *a*) in חָכְמוֹת or חַכְמוֹת *wisdom*, a new poetical formation for the simpler חָכְמָה Ps. 49, 4, Prov. 1, 20. 9, 1. 14, 1. 24, 7; in the last place it appears to be used as a *pl.* and it is clear that this *-ôt* passes over into the ending of the *pl. f.*, and the *pl.* accord. to §. 360 suits the idea of the abstract very well; nevertheless the explanation of רָאמוֹת according to this presupposition is not certain. — *b*) רִבּוֹת *Myriad* a late formation, a word in which the signification of the *sg.* and *pl.* appears to be indistinguishable in the same way (cf. Neh. 7, 65. 71. 72. Jon. 4, 11 with Ezr. 2, 69. Dan. 11, 12 where the *pl.* is also in a new form). This is also shortened to רִבּוֹ, or instead רִבּוֹא accord. to §. 154, just as in Aram. the *ût* in stat. absolut. is always shortened to *-û*.

There is a still nearer use of the feminine formation as 345
being that of the *neuter* according to our languages §. 368, 3, by which it forms an abstract from any stem that has a personal signification, as 1) from a simple adject. of the second formation: נְבָלָה *folly* from נָבָל *a fool*, עֲנָוָה *humility* from עָנָו *humble*; פְּלֵיטָה *deliverance* from פָּלֵט or פָּלִיט *escaping*, גְּזֵלָה *spoil* prop. in a passive sense *raptum*, beside which the *msc.* גָּזֵל also occurs in the same neuter

signification; צְעִירָה *smallness* and בְּכֹרָה *right of primogeniture* from צָעִיר *little,* בְּכוֹר §. 328 = *firstborn* Gen. 43, 33. Of the third formation: תּוֹעֵבָה *abomination* prop. *malum* as neuter of an adject., גּוֹלָה *captivity* from גֹּלָה *captive*; and from the other participles, as נִפְלָאָה *wonder* prop. *mirum*, נְסִבָּה *a turning*, both from *Nif.* — 2) This formation is rather more frequent in adjectives whose second rad. is doubled §. 330, since they have no nearer abstract form, as חַטָּאָה *sin* (prop. rather *sinning*) from חַטָּא *sinful;* the adjectives כִּתֵּב have then generally *a* at the beginning for *i*, accord. to a newer, somewhat stronger formation, as עַוֶּרֶת *blindness* from עִוֵּר, גַּבַּחַת, קָרַחַת by which these common abstracts are at the same time distinguished from the fem. which remains adject. עִוֶּרֶת *coeca;* nevertheless אִוֶּלֶת *folly* from אִוֵּל = אֱוִיל. — 3) Especially remarkable, although rather rare and poetical, is the formation of the abstract from a passive participle of a derived verbal stem, which, however, is properly as *divisio* from *divisus* §. 328, only that the abstract here cannot be expressed by anything else but the simple feminine ending, as מֻטָּה (from the part. *Hof.* root נָטָה) prop. *the being extended, extensio* Js. 8, 8, מְבֻלָּקָה *desolation* from the part. *Pu.* Nah. 2, 11. Yet the nearest form may be also used here without feminine ending (as the idea of the neuter is not necessarily expressed by the *fem.* §. 364 ff.), as מוּעָף *obscuration* prop. the being obscured, from part. Hof. root עוּף Js. 8, 23. רוֹמָם *praise,* prop. elevation Ps. 66, 17, *pl. stat. constr.* רוֹמְמוֹת Ps. 149, 6.

The fem. is also used besides to render the idea of the abstract which is already in the stem, more prominent, as חָכְמָה *wisdom* acc. to the first formation §. 317, עֹצֶם and עָצְמָה *strength,* עֵזֶר and עֶזְרָה *help;* נָקָם and נְקָמָה *revenge* accord. to §. 325, and many words explained above. In cases also in which the fem. formation is according this possible, but not very usual, it is more prevalent if the word suffers great shortening in the weak roots, cf. §. 354. Thus the formation כְּתוּב is usual from ע״ו accord. to §. 328; but instead they have a greater proneness to feminine formations, as דּוּמָה *silence,* קִימָה *a rising up,* בִּאָה *entrance* Ez. 8, 5, in which at least the characteristic vowel of the abstract formation remains firm. Particularly from ל״ה are there many feminines formed, as the fem. ending is easily attached to their vocalic ending, as חֵמָה, מָנָה, שִׁבְיָה, חֶדְוָה, then שְׁבִית, בְּכִית Gen. 50, 4, which last form, on account of the resemblance of the sound to the abstract ending §. 344, is also easily changed into שְׁבוּת, רְאוּת Koh. 5, 10. The abstract formations with the ending *-ît* or *-ût* §. 344 are distinguished by the third rad. being lost before the ending, while the foretone *a*, supporting the force of the form, becomes immutably long, as בָּכוּת, גָּלוּת, חָגוּת, חָזוּת, דָּלִית, זָוִית, cf. ܙܕܩܘܬܐ.

Inasmuch as the feminine thus expresses the idea of the 346
abstract, the idea of *species*, or *collectives*, may be also formed by it, by which all individuals of a class are comprehended in a higher whole. Thus partly actual feminine forms, as עֲבֻדָּה *servitium*, *familia*, *the household*, אֲכִילָה *food* 1 Kgs. 19, 8 accord. to §. 329; partly feminines of adjectives, as פְּלֵטָה that which *escapes* = the whole number saved, אֹרְחָה the *wandering* = company of travellers, Caravan; partly fem. of substantives or proper names, as from דָּג *fish* דָּגָה *piscium genus*. This relationship between the ideas of the abstract and the collective is very important and influential for the whole language.

Diminutive formations in Semitic have originally the characteristic of 346 b
broken vowels, as if the broken mutilated sound expressed the idea of what is small or unfinished. Thus in Arabic the sound of diminution is *u-ai* or shorter *ai*, and indeed, in accordance to the general nature of the formation of words, in the *middle* of the word; in Aramaic, however, it is *ûn* (from *ôn*, *aun*) and has become an external syllable attached at the end and is seldom used. Hebrew also has lost the proper lightness and fullness of the dimunutive formation: there is perhaps an ancient internal formation of this kind preserved in גּוֹרָל, גּוֹזָל (*ô* from *au*) §. 327, as also in the proper name אֲמִינוֹן for אַמְנוֹן 2 Sam. 13, 20; besides we find only *-ôn* or even *ûn* as ending in proper names, as זְבֻלוּן, יְדוּתוּן (instead of which יְדִיתוּן Ps. 77, 1. 39, 1 *K'tib*) שַׁלּוּן, and the poet. יְשֻׁרוּן a new formation from יִשְׂרָאֵל, *'Ισραελίσκος* as if this name meant the *righteous*, pious *little people*, moreover אִישׁוֹן in the signification of *pupilla* (oculi) *κόρη*, *κοράσιον* from אִישׁ *man*, צַוְּרוֹן (in the *pl.* accord. to §. 360 f., as term of endearment Cant. 4, 9) זֵרְעֹנִים *pl. vegetables* prop. *small herbs* Dan. 1, 12 cf. 16. Nevertheless a similar vowel *û* is often found before the ending.

The nominal form of the roots of four sounds resembles 347
that of three, only that it is less developed and various, and for this reason, because almost all these words are substantives. The nearest and still most prevalent pronunciation is that which divides the four consonants into two equal syllables and accents the latter, and *a*, *e* and *o* have remained as very short last vowels in these longer words, as חַשְׁמַן, עַקְרַב, כַּרְמֶל, גַּרְזֶן in which we even find *ĕ* in tone, חַרְטֹם, חַרְגֹּל, חַרְצֹב, which short vowels, however, in these words of minor capacity for formation, are very immoveable and maintain themselves before accented vocalic postfixes by reduplication of the last rad. §. 316; with *û* and *î*: עַכְשׁוּב, שַׁרְבִיט. The first rad. almost always recieves *a* as the *per se* nearest vowel, but we also find סִרְפַּד, and in חֶרְמֵשׁ *sickle* and סָלְעָם (from a preexistent סָלְעָם) the sound of the accented ruling vowel has intruded into the first syllable also [1]).
צַוָּאר *neck* (generally in the *pl.* accord. to §. 360 f.), for

צַוָּאר accord. to §. 55, usually retains its א indeed in the last syllable; מוֹרַג *threshing-sledge* with ă for ĕ acc. to §. 45. Seldom is a word shortened in pronunciation in such a way that the second rad. is accented after the manner of the first formation §. 317, as דְּמֶשֶׁק *soft cushion* Am. 3, 12; more frequently a vowel is inserted here as foretone before the accented second rad. in the endeavour of the neuter substantive to lengthen itself, as עֲרָפֶל, סְמָדַר (both so in pause also), חֲנָמַל, or the second rad. is doubled, as חַלָּמִישׁ, עַכָּבִישׁ which redupl. has only arisen on account of the substantive signification, as in זִכָּרוֹן §. 342; very seldom is the third rad. doubled, as סַנְפִּיר *fin*, חֲבַצֶּלֶת *fem.*

The *pl.* סַנְוֵרִים *blindness* is an abstract from a verb of four sounds formed accord. to §. 328.

The very few and isolated roots of five sounds still entirely adhere to the origin of their composition: צְפַרְדֵּעַ, שַׁלְאֲנַן, פַּלְמֹנִי §. 230 [2]).

1) Cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 167 *nt.* and above §. 336.

2) The origin of such words is particularly illustrated by such still perfectly new and plastic languages as the American, see John Pickering *on the Indian languages of America*, transl. into Germ. by Talvj. Leips. 1834.

348 The *proper names* have much that is remarkable, in that many a difference of dialect or much that is antiquated is more faithfully preserved in them, as is shown in many places. The vocalization, however, is often no longer so moveable and light in them, because they remain fixed and immoveable words; e. g. the foretone vowel sometimes remains before the derivative ending *-î* §. 343, as כָּלֵב, כָּלִבַּי with reduplication of the last rad. at the same time §. 316; יָמִין Gen. 46, 10: יָמִינִי Num. 26, 12 at the same time as a distinction from another יְמִינִי §. 343.

Two words forming one proper name (as the ancient prop. names are often of longer compass) have often become so closely attached, that the first looses its tone and is much shortened in the pronunciation. A dissyllabic word therefore ending in a consonant only retains a firm vowel at the beginning and shortens the last syllable entirely, as יְחֶזְקֵאל for יְחַזֵּק אֵל (*God is strong*), מְשֶׁלֶמְיָה or still shorter שֶׁלֶמְיָה) for מְשַׁלֵּם ר״י (*God* is *a recompenser*) as even the reduplication of *Piel* may be lost, יָשָׁבְעָם *Jáshob-'ám* from יָשֹׁב עָם (*let the people repent!*), יָרָבְעָם from יָרֹב עָם; a word ending in a vowel, root ל״ה, may be shortened at the end if the first syllable is a firm one, as יִרְמְיָהוּ from יִרְמֶה ר״י, on the contrary the vowel is preserved at the end, as פְּדָהצוּר from פָּדָה (*the rock* = the Eternal, God, *delivers*) where ה even remains written in the middle of a word contrary to §. 153, and פְּדַהְאֵל where it becomes guttural in the middle of a word after a sharp *a*, although there is חֲזָאֵל also, without ה written or pronounced. The highest divine name יַהְוֶה (pointed יְהֹוָה) is in the same manner shortened into — יָהוּ (from jahu) by the falling away of the vowel at the

end and by the *a* which disappears at the beginning coalescing with the *û* following, and this יְהוֹ is then further shortened into יוֹ־ accord. to §. 82. At the end of a word, on the other hand, this name, which is frequently used in such compositions, remains as ־יָהוּ, the tone supporting the *a*, afterwards also ־יָהּ or ־יָה the unaccented *u* falling away accord. to §. 86. — The name of a tribe יִשָּׂשכָר (as it is constantly pointed) is contracted from יֵשׁ שָׂכָר (*there is reward*), the *sh* being resolved into the *s* following, although the ancient orthography always retains both שׂשׂ. — Primitive long vowels are much better preserved, as יְדִידְיָה *beloved* (יָדִיד) *of God.*

All these, however, are only external *composita* and not in the sense of the Indo-Germanic languages §. 13. And even this external combination of two ideas is very rare except in proper names; בְּלִיַּעַל prop. *not-high* hence what is low, bad, destruction, does not so properly belong here because the first half is merely a particle; the poetical צַלְמָוֶת would be formed from צֵל מ״ *death-shadow* for *deepest shadow*, darkness of Orcus, yet it is probably more accordant to its origin to read צַלְמוּת an abstract accord. to §. 344 from the root צלם.

THE PARTICIPLE AND INFINITIVE.

349 These are the kinds of the formation of nominal stems. The *participles and infinitives*, however, as peculiar kinds of nouns in which the noun becomes again more closely connected with the verb, are lastly to be more accurately described here in conjunction.

I. The participle does not represent the action as proceeding from a person (as the person of a verb does), but it represents a person (or thing) as that to which the action is to be attributed; the chief thing in it is the idea of the personal noun, to this person, however, the action is simply ascribed as belonging to it. The participle has its form, therefore, from the personal noun, and its substance from the verb, and is therefore as various as the verb is in its stems; even with respect to its shorter, lighter pronunciation it is connected with the verb, in contradistinction to the heavier substantive. But in this respect is it, like the infinitive, a thorough noun, in that it is utterly unconscious of even the insignificant beginning of distinction of time which has arisen in the verb. There are two differences as to its use which are to be accurately distinguished:

1. It is merely a short combination of person and finite verb: *agens* = *qui agit*, as the participle may be used in every connexion of the sentence, with or without article, in apposition to a substantive, as הָאִישׁ הַנֹּפֵל *the man the falling* = *who falls*, or, if this sense is implied in the connexion of the sentence, *who is fallen*, or even by itself,

as נֹפֵל *a falling one*, אֹהֵב *a lover*, הַנָּס *the flying one, fugitive*, הַנִּשְׁאָרִים *those that remained.* There is no definite signification of time in this participle: nevertheless as the present is the nearest time for the active part. so also is the past the nearest time for the passive which speaks of what is experienced. It belongs to the meaning of certain passive participles, however, that they express a property well known by experience and, therefore, permanent or necessary, as נוֹרָא, נֶחְמָד are indeed first *feared, desired*, but then also *terrible*, *desirable*, as an object which is actually or generally feared or desired must have an intrinsic ground for fear or desire in itself.

350 2. The participle is used in the proposition as a simple *predicate*, in the signification and construction of a verb it is true, but with this difference, that it represents the action as *inherent*, *continuing*, *permanent in* a person (or thing) whereas the perfect and imperf. express the mere exercise and development of the action. By this means the action is represented before the eye as a fixed, permanent *image*, and this form is therefore used in *descriptive* propositions to express an action continuing in the condition. Hence the participle is an essential complement to the signification and usage of the perfect and imperf. (see especially §. 264) and becomes an extremely important member in the circle of Hebrew forms, see below the Syntax. It is thus placed either *alone* in an unconnected descriptive proposition, if the condition is of itself evident to the hearer from the circumstances, as אָנֹכִי הֹלֵךְ *I* (am) *going* i. e. *I go* at this time as thou seest, Jdgs. 17, 9; or in connexion with other propositions to describe a condition *continuing during* another action, as בָּאוּ וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *they came and Lot* (was) *sitting* i. e. *while L. sat* Gen. 19, 1. The sphere of time in which the condition described belongs, is in all cases contained in the connexion of the sentence, and not in the participle. It is only seldom and late that the Language begins to supply the signification of the period of time, in the participle thus used, by הָיָה *to be* as a finite verb, so that הָיָה כֹתֵב *he was writing* expresses a duration in the past, and יִהְיֶה כֹתֵב *he will be writing* a longer duration in the future (Dt. 28, 29), and the simple participle, on the other hand, more accurately describes the abstract present; by which the use of the participle certainly becomes more independent and is capable of wider extension. Thus in connexion with other actions: *Joseph* הָיָה רֹעֶה *was feeding the flock — and brought* etc. (while he fed the flock with his brothers) Gen. 37, 2. *Joshua* הָיָה לָבוּשׁ *was clad and was standing, and said*

(in this condition) Zach. 3, 3. Iob 1, 14; 2 Sam. 3, 6; but even entirely by itself also, to describe an action continuing long in a time already known, as הֱיִיתֶם מַמְרִים *ye have been provoking* i. e. ye have continually provoked Dt. 9, 7. 22. 24. Even at an earlier period and more necessarily with the jussive, יְהִי מַבְדִּיל *be it* (the firmament) *separating* i. e. let it separate constantly, for ever. Gen. 1, 6. It is however always sufficient, in an enumeration of many such actions, to introduce the sphere of time with הָיָה *once* at the beginning, as 1 Kgs. 5, 1.

As to form, the participles are divided into two classes: 351

1) simple formations with a mere strengthening of the vowels as the noun requires; thus throughout *Qal*, part. *act.* כּוֹתֵב acc. to §. 326, part. *pass.* כָּתוּב, see further §. 323, and part. *intrans.* as in the verb. §. 250 cf. 322 very seldom with *ó*, as יָגוֹר *being afraid*, but generally with *é*, as יָרֵא *fearing*, so that in the same intransitive stem the part. is distinguished by *é* and the *adj.* by *ó* or *á*, as קָרֵב *approaching*, קָרוֹב *near*; גָּדֵל *becoming great*, גָּדוֹל *great*; רָחֵק *departing*, רָחוֹק *distant*; חָזֵק *becoming strong* Ex. 19, 19, חָזָק *strong*. According to §. 323 this *é* is lengthened to *î* in יָצִיא *sprung from*, 2 Chron. 32, 21, נָטִיל *bearing* Zef. 1, 11 intrans. accord. to §. 250.

The simple formation has besides remained in *Nif.* constantly, where the part. proceeds from the *perf.* accord. to §. 321 and is merely distinguished by the lengthening of the *ă* in the last syllable, נִכְתָּב, accord. to §. 322 a. From ע״ו, נָקוֹם, without any possible distinction from the *perf*; from ע״ע, נָקֵל or נָקַל acc. to §. 276. In ל״ה the original *é* is preserved at the end, as in the noun of this tone and vowel in general §. 324, as נִגְלֶה, although this *é* is always changed into *a* in the perf. §. 279.

2) The participles of the other derived verbal stems all assume an external formation by means of a prefixed מְ accord. to §. 338. Since this מְ, as originally a pronoun, corresponds to the prefixed signs of the person in the imperf. §. 282, accordingly, it imitates the manner in which these signs of the person are attached to the verb §. 283 f. 337, only that the lengthening of the vowel remains at the end from the earlier simpler formation, though it can express itself in the *ă* of *Pual* and *Hof-al*, as *Hif.* has already an almost immutable vowel, and *Pi.* and *Hitp.* have at least one long by tone in the verb. Therefore *Pu.* מְכֻתָּב, *Hof.* מָכְתָּב cf. §. 253; *Pi.* מְכַתֵּב, *Hitp.* מִתְכַּתֵּב, both always with *é* acc. to §. 274; *Hif.* מַכְתִּיב; from ע״ע and ע״ו: מֵסֵב, מֵקִים,

ê, as being somewhat longer, establishing itself in the part. as foretone accord. to §. 217 while *a* remains in the *imperf.* יָסֵב, יָקִים. The remaining formations are clear from the laws of the verb.

Nevertheless the part. in *Pu*ₗ is sometimes without מְ, as אֻכַּל Ex. 3, 2. יוּלָּד Jdgs. 13, 8. cf. מוֹרָט Js. 18, 2. 7. זֹרֶה 30, 24; other examples 2 Kgs. 2, 10. Jer. 29, 17 and in the later period with loss of the reduplication §. 125 יוּקָשׁ Koh. 9, 12. This is also most easy in *Pual*, partly because the lengthening of the vowel at the end is still a sufficient distinction of the *part.*, partly because מְ is closely agglutinated to the stem at the beginning, as in Hof-al.

352 II. The *infinitive* expresses the naked idea of a verbal stem; not only without signification of person or time, without which the verb cannot exist, but also without giving a person as supporter of the action, as the participle. It is therefore even more imperfect than the participle, and in this imperfection it always refers to the full verb which it represents as to its substance in a shorter, less living form. For in Hebrew it is by no means quite the same as a full abstract noun, so as to be used with every liberty of a substantive (as in Arabic); especially can it have no apposition, and properly not even the article [1]): although it is not so dead and inanimate (as in Latin for instance) as to be no longer capable of being externally attached as a noun at all; nor is even its form so entirely uniform and devoid of all transition into the more definite abstract formation. In every language however, the infinitive becomes more uniform and inanimate the more frequently it is used as a short substitute for the full living verb; and in Heb. it is already very frequent, as it can be used in all cases in which it is either sufficient according to the sense of the sentence, or appropriate to use the naked verbal idea instead of the full verb. In particulars there are chiefly two different cases in which this is possible, on account of which even two different infinitive forms have arisen.

1) For in cases like Gen. 2, 9 הַדַּעַת the article essentially depends on the preceding noun which is in close connexion, and is only thrown back on the infinitive.

353 1. The verb becomes an infinitive, because, *according to the connexion of the sentence*, it is nearer and easier to place the naked action in the form of a noun. Thus the *nominal connexion* is easier 1) after a closely connected word of the same kind, viz. after another noun or a preposition, as בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת *on the day of God's making the earth* = when G. made, *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ποιεῖν τὴν γῆν,* בְּדַבֵּר *in speaking,* לְדַבֵּר *to speak.* — 2) as a

mere object of a former verb, as יָדַעְתִּי דַּבֵּר *novi loqui* מִהֵר בֹּא *he hastened to come* Ex. 2, 18. This is, however, not constantly the case, v. the Syntax. — 3) sometimes also by way of more briefly stating the subject in the proposition in cases like לֹא טוֹב הֱיוֹת הָאָדָם *not good is the man's being alone* = that the man be etc. Gen. 2, 18. This naked combination of an originally completer idea has, however, always a tendency to be subordined as dependent, so that the connexion of לְ *to* is very frequent with the infinitive in Hebr. (as in modern languages *to do* etc.) and begins to be used in the place of all other connexions of this infinitive in the proposition, v. Syntax. This kind of infinitive is called *inf. construct*, because it is here entirely dependent on the structure of the proposition and closely interwoven with it; the name *inf. nominalis* would be also not unsuitable. Its form, accordingly, remains the shortest and lightest, and is formed in the several verbal stems from the *imperf.* accord. to §. 325 in the following manner:

1) *Qal* כְּתֹב, *intrans.* שְׁכַב Gen. 43, 7 accord. to §. 269 f. 354
Yet this short intrans. pronunciation with *ă* has become rather rare; very frequently has either the pronunciation with *ó* intruded here, as נְפֹל *to fall* [1]), or the feminine formation is added, as שִׂנְאָה Dt. 1, 27. אַהֲבָה *to love* Js. 56, 6, יִרְאָה *to fear* Dt. 4, 10. Ps. 86, 11. דַּאֲבָה Jer. 31, 12. זִקְנָה *to grow old* Gen. 24, 36. יִשְׁרָה 1 Kgs. 3, 6. קִרְבָה Js. 58, 2. Ps. 73, 28, חֶזְקָה *to seize*, which *fem.* forms in part pass as substantives also, accord. to §. 325; feminines from the form כְּתֹב are much rarer, as שְׁמְעָה *to hear* Js. 30, 19. מָשְׁחָה *to annoint* Ex. 29, 29, קָרְבָה (even without *Dag lene* in ב) Ex. 36, 2. טָמְאָה Lev. 15, 32, חֶמְלָה beside חֻמְלָה with intrans. pronunciation *to spare*.

1) Yet it is to be observed that the original vowel *a-i* easily returns then before accented postfixes, as נִפְלוֹ and נָפְלוֹ 1 Sam. 29, 3. 2 Sam. 1, 10, especially before third rad. gutt. as שִׁבְרִי, פִּתְחִי, בִּלְעִי Iob 7, 19, נִטְעֵךְ Js. 17, 11. בִּקְעָם Am. 1, 13. מִכְרָם 2, 6. מַחְאֲךָ, רַקְעֲךָ Ez. 25, 6. For these gutt. roots never have the *ă* from the imperf. §. 269 in the infinitive, but, as very short words, the sharper *ó*, as שְׁמוֹעַ, שְׁלֹחַ, שְׁבֹר, מְכֹר, and hence קְרֹא, שְׂנֹא; whereas their *imperat.* on account of its greater shortness, only very seldom suffers the *ó* to be heard, as טְבֹחַ Gen. 43, 16.

The ל״ה very seldom retain the *e* from the *imperf.* §. 279, and indeed augmented by the *stat. construct.* to *ê*, as הֱיֵה *Qal* Ez. 21, 15 (in the same way הַעֲוֵה *Hif.* Jer. 9, 4). Generally that *ó* has also intruded here and indeed, as the last syllable of these roots remains the same in all stems in the verb accord. to §. 279, proceeding from Qal

through all the other stems uniformly, as רְאֹה or רְאֹו *Qal* Gen. 48, 11. 31, 28. הֵרָאֹה *Nif.* Jdgs. 13, 21. The ה of the *fem.* is then easily and very frequently attached to this vocalic ending, as רְאוֹת or רְאֹת.

From ע״ו: קוּם, intrans. בּוֹא or בֹּא, אוֹר 2 Sam. 23, 4, also מוֹט *to shake*, נוּעַ, רוּם (beside יָרוּם, יְנוּעַ) Ez. 10, 17 acc. to §. 269 f.; concerning רִיב, שִׂים see §. 245. — From ע״ע in the same way: סֹב, intrans. שֹׁךְ Jer. 5, 26, and with *a* on account of the gutt. בַּר *to make clean* Koh. 3, 18. רֹד *to throw down* Js. 45, 1; sometimes too with resolution, as סְבֹב Num. 21, 4. The feminine formation never occurs here on account of the firm syllable at the beginning, and only rarely has the stronger ending *-ôt* from the ל״ה attached itself to the short סַב, as זַמּוֹת Ps. 17, 3. חַנּוֹת 77, 10. שַׁמּוֹת Ez. 36, 3.

The fem. formation is very regularly found, on the other hand, in the roots which loose their first rad.: the פ״י of the form יֵרֵד in which the sign of the person of the imperf. and the first rad. at the same time are lost as in §. 291: רֵד, but it always receives the ending of the *fem.* as it is so short a word, רְדָה Gen. 46, 3, more usually with a retention of the vowel before the ending 2), לֵדָה, דֵּעָה Ex. 2, 4. Js. 11, 9, and still more frequently accord. to §. 384 לֶדֶת, דַּעַת, שֶׁבֶת, רֶדֶת; in the same way לֶכֶת from הָלַךְ §. 228. From the *imperf.* יִירַשׁ §. 271, on the other hand, the first rad. remains, but yet the stronger *ô* has intruded at the end here also: יְשׁוֹן, יְבֹשׁ, יְצֹק Ez. 24, 3, יְרֹא Jos. 22, 25 3). — From פ״נ in the same way, §. 173; גֶּשֶׁת, תֵּת from the *imperf.* יִגַּשׁ, יִתֵּן, before gutt. פַּחַת, גַּעַת, שְׂאֵת accord. to §. 318, קַחַת from לקח acc. to §. 273; but if the imperf. has *ô*, the full form remains here, as נְגֹף, נְקֹם, נְקֹב, נְדֹר, and the more original forms of others also are still found especially in earlier books: נְתֹן only in the Pentateuch, נְשֹׂא Js. 1, 14. נְשֹׁק 2 Sam. 20, 9. נְטֹעַ and only in Koh. 3, 2 טַעַת.

2) Accordingly also as abstract substantives: דֵּעַ *knowledge* Iob 32, 6, more frequently as *fem.* שֵׁנָה, עֵצָה, עֵדָה, although in the imperf. there is יִירַשׁ. The first rad. is omitted in the same way in some new abstract formations: בּוּל *produce* from יבל; and שׂוֹא Ps. 89, 10 and שִׂיא Iob 20, 6 a new substantive, *exaltation* from נשׂא, inf. שְׂאֵת also as subst. *greatneſs.* Otherwise in Am. 8, 8 where we should probably read כַּאֹר.

3) Nevertheless לִירֹא 1 Sam. 18, 29, where ל is pronounced with a vowel which appears to be a relick of that of the first rad.

More definite abstract formations are found in the signification of infinitives, but they are still very rare and isolated. They are 1) accord. to the form. §. 329: יְכֹלֶת *to be able*, יְבֹשֶׁת *to dry* Gen. 8, 7. — 2) with מ accord. to §. 338: מִקְרָא and מַסַּע from קרא and נסע Num. 10, 2; with the feminine ending and a long vowel: מַהְפֵּכָה v. §. 338; with the ending *-ôt* at the same time, as from ל״ה accord. to what is stated above: מַשּׂאוֹת from נשׂא Ez. 17, as the לא go over into the formation of the ל״ה very much §. 280. —

3) a simple substantive of the first formation is also, though as a rare and poetical licence, used instead of the infinit., as לְיֵשַׁע = *to help* Hab. 3, 13. שְׁמַע and שְׁמוֹעַ *to hear* Ps. 18, 45. cf. 2 Sam. 22, 45.

2) The other verbal stems: *Pi.* כַּתֵּב; also דַּבֵּר without its tone as word Jer. 9, 4, צַחֵק Gen. 39, 14. 17, which short vowel is also found in לְחֶם Jdgs. 5, 8 and in close construction. *Pu.* כֻּתַּב, *Paalal* שַׁאֲנַן Js. 37, 29 [1]). *Hif.* הַכְתִּיב, *Hof.* הָכְתַּב, *Nif.* הִכָּתֵב. The feminine ending is very rare here, as *Pi.* יַסְּרָה Lev. 26, 18, צַדֶּקֶת Ez. 16, 52. בַּקָּרַת *Pi.* accord. to §. 331 is rare, and formations like הֲנָפָה *Hif.* from נוּף Js. 30, 28 and some others accord. to §. 331, as also still stronger ones in *ût* §. 344 are only rare and poetical. The formations from the weak roots are easily intelligible from what is above said, as מַלֵּאת Ex. 31, 5 or later מַלְאוֹת according to the way in which the ל״א assume the formations of the ל״ה.

1) How some can read שַׁאֲנַנְךָ here, and others — בְּךָ — is plain from §. 308.

The infinitive is used without this close construction, in fact as independent, for the most part in passionate diction, in cases in which the *mere action* is to be rendered emphatically prominent and represented by itself, either quite alone, as הָלוֹךְ *to go!* or, as is very common, explained by its own finite verb immediately following it, as הָלֹךְ תֵּלֵךְ *go shalt thou!* or also because it is *sufficient* according to the sense of the proposition to name the mere action; from these sources there arises a number of particular cases, as is more fully explained in the Syntax [1]). The infinitive is thus placed by itself, as *infinit. absolut.*, and without any possibility of being treated in the proposition as a noun, but on the contrary always with the full power and independent construction of the verb, of which it is only a more abrupt, but so much the more unusual and powerful expression, so that it might be also called *inf. verbalis.* Its form proceeds therefore from the same source as the inf. constr. above explained, but is distinguished from it, in all cases where it is possible, by a longer pronunciation and a newer flexion, by which a greater external regularity is also produced, and that diversity of the inf. constr which approaches the variety of the nominal formation, ceases. 355

1) This infinitive is nevertheless remotely dependent, as *object*, in a very few instances, although even then always without preposition or any other nominal construction, Js. 7, 15 f. 42, 24. Prov. 25, 27.

Particulars are: 1) inf. absol. *Qal* כָּתוֹב or כָּתֹב with fore- 356

tone vowel and long *ó*, which is also found in the intrans. verb, as גָּדוֹל (*being great!*) Est. 9, 4 cf. Lev. 15, 24. Ez. 18, 23; from ל״ה, רָאֹה Ex. 3, 7 or more commonly written רָאוֹ, rarely after the formation §. 354 שְׁתוֹת beside שָׁתוֹ Js. 22, 13. 42, 20. Hab. 3, 13. The ע״ו always קוֹם as a distinction from קוּם as inf. constr., and the ע״ע seldom preserve the short סֹב Nu. 23, 25. Ru. 2, 16, but more frequently סָבֹב with resolution. Those which are very much shortened at the beginning §. 354 almost regularly regain their first rad. here, as from פ״י, יָלוֹד, יָדוֹעַ, הָלוֹךְ; though we still find שׁוֹב Jer. 42, 10; from פ״נ, נָתוֹן, נָשׂא; לָקוֹחַ.

2) This *ó* endeavours to intrude into the other verbal stems also, as *Pi.* יַסֹּר Ps. 118, 18. Jos. 24, 10. *Pu.* גֻּנֹּב Gen. 40, 15. *Po-el* Js. 59, 13. *Nif.* הִנָּתֹן Jer. 32, 4, although the usual stemvowels are also often found in the last syllable. From ל״ה the *é* generally remains in the last syllable accord. to §. 354, as *Pi.* כַּלֵּה 1 Sam. 3, 12. Jer. 14, 19, but *ó* can also intrude. — Only in *Hif.* has this *ó* never intruded instead of *í* which is too far removed from it in sound; *í* is nevertheless affected by a similar change, so that *é* is usually (Jos. 7, 7) found for it [1]), as הַשְׁמֵם, הַכְתֵּב Mich. 6, 13, from ל״ה הַפְדֵּה, הַכֵּה, הַרְבֵּה [2]), which is followed by its pass. *Hof-al*, as הֻגֵּד, root נגד Jos. 9, 24.

1) For this new strong *é* is considered as being just as much stronger than *í* as *ó* = *au* is than *u*, from which reason we even find הִדּוֹשׁ Js. 25, 10 as *inf. constr.* Nif. root ע״ו in distinction to הִדּוֹשׁ as *inf. absolut.*

2) As this word, however, has become a perfect adverb (*multo*), the real inf. abs. is distinguished by the pronunciation הַרְבֵּה.

In *Nif.* there may be also formed נִגְלֹה, נִכְתֹּב from the shorter form in the *perf.* §. 276 f., if the inf. abs. is placed before the *perf.* of the same stem, even for assonance, as 1 Sam. 2, 27. 2 Sam. 1, 6, Gen. 31, 30; besides these only in the later writers Js. 59, 13. Est. 3, 13. 8, 8. 9, 1. Also *Piel* נָאֵץ for assonance immediately followed by its *perf.* 2 Sam. 12, 14. The most remarkable is כְּהִנְדֹּף תִּנְדֹּף Ps. 68, 3: here namely the exceedingly rare case occurs, that the proposition, in which the inf. abs. is thus placed before its verb. finit. for greater emphasis, is also at the the same time more closely attached in the sentence by *as* (כְּ); the usual *inf. constr.* נְדֹף, which ought to follow after the preposition, is avoided, nor is even the usual from of the *abs.* נָדֹף used, but a form between both, which at the same time much better accords with the sound of the following verb finit. — Moreover הֱיוֹת אֶהְיֶה Ps. 50, 21 where we have the *infin. constr.* before the finite verb.

Feminine formation, as being too nominal, does not suit this *inf.*; instances like שְׁתוֹת, נַשֵּׂאת 2 Sam. 19, 43 are quite isolated.

357 III. The infinitive, as being nearest to the verb, must also always conform to the verbal stem. On the other hand, the participle, because it already has more the nature of the

noun, may assume a more simple form (especially in cases in which it is used less as a verb), and often goes from *Piel* into *Qal*, as דֹּבֵר *speaking*, כֹּזֵב lying Ps. 116, 11 from דִּבֵּר, כִּזֵּב; קֹוֶה, חֹרֶף, כֹּסֶה, also the *pass.* כָּסוּי, בָּרוּךְ.

If a participle of a derived verbal stem is very frequently used as noun, and especially as substantive, it may simplify its form by the loss of its מְ־, as from *Pi.* מָאֵן *nolens* Ex. 9, 2; *Pu.* אָמָּן *artificer* Cant. 7, 2; many from the longer intensive forms, as הוֹלֵל *mad*, לוֹצֵץ *mocker*, עוֹלֵל *child* cf. מְעוֹלֵל Js. 3, 12, שׁוֹבֵב *apostate*, also עוֹלָל, שׁוֹבָב with the lengthening described §. 327; תְּקוֹמֵם *adversary* Ps. 139, 21 from *Hitp.* A new abstract thence formed accord. to §. 345 הוֹלֵלָה *madness.*

II. NOMINAL FLEXION

1. BY MEANS OF NUMBER AND GENDER.

I. *Signification of number and gender*, cf. §. 207-209.

A. *Number.* 358

1. We have merely to observe of the singular, that some substantives denote the subject to which they belong as a mere *mass*, and continue in this inanimate state without the power of distinguishing the individuals in the mass, or of forming the plural, cf. §. 368. Thus בָּקָר (prop. having divided hoofs) *neat-cattle* in general, צֹאן *small cattle*, אֳנִי *ship* in general = *fleet*, concerning which, however, see §. 368; in the same way לֶחֶם *bread*, זָהָב *gold*, and many of that sort. Others on the other hand, whose idea in the same way admits no plural in our languages, have the power of distinguishing many single things in the *pl.*, as עֵץ *wood* pl. עֵצִים *pieces of wood*, כֶּסֶף *silver* pl. כְּסָפִים *pieces of silver* of several persons Gen. 42, 25. 35, דָּם *blood* pl. דָּמִים drops of blood = *blood which is shed.*

2. The nearest ending of the *pl.* is ־ִים, for which the somewhat softer ־ִין is also used, which Aramaic pronunciation is even at an early period not rare in the poets, but is rather confined to the later writers in prose, 1 Kgs. 11, 33. 2 Kgs. 11, 13. (2 Sam. 21, 20 *K'tîb*). If we regard the earliest origin, this *-îm* has undoubtedly only arisen from *-âm* (*ôm*) or *-ûm* accord. to §. 208; which also accounts for the ending of the *fem. pl.* ־וֹת, v. §. 371. There are traces of *-ûm* in the pronoun אַתֶּם, הֵם from *attûm, hûm;* moreover in the usual ending of the *stat. constr. pl. ae* §. 414. In Aethiopic the plural ending is *-ân;* v. Ludolfi *Gram. Aeth.* p. 104. 359

It is exceedingly rare for that *-îm* to be still further shortened to *-î*, as in the Dual ־ַי for ־ַיִם Ez. 13, 18. The only indubitable instances

of this are עַמִּי *nations* 2 Sam. 22, 44 repeated Ps. 144, 2 (it is altered in Ps. 18, 44) Lam. 3, 14; הַחִצִּי *the arrows* 1 Sam. 20, 38 *K'tib*, corrected by the *Q'ri*; הַשָּׁלִשִׁי 2 Sam. 23, 8, concern. which cf. §. 386; and perhaps מִנִּי *strings* Ps. 45, 9. Great care must be taken not to extend this possibility too far, as it is erroneously assumed e. g. in כָּאֲרִי Ps. 22, 17, הַכָּרִי, כְּרֵתִי וּפְלֵתִי 2 Kgs. 11, 4. 19 all of which, with the exception of the first, are adjective formations in -*î*. — Still less can ־ִי occur as shortened ending of the *pl.*: חַלּוֹנַי Jer. 22, 14 is probably a *dual* like *valva*, so that the ordinary windows are not meant, but more artificial double ones; גּוֹבַי *locust* and חוֹרִי *white linen* are *sing.* formed accord. to §. 327: אֲדֹנָי *God* is properly *my Lord*, cf. especially Ps. 16, 2 and אֲדֹנַי in a profane sense Gen. 23, 6; concerning שָׂדַי and שַׁדַּי see §. 324. 330, and concern. the ־ֵי Jdgs. 5, 15 and Js. 20, 4 see below on the *stat. constr.* §. 414.

360 The signification of the plural is still very wide and free in Heb., so that later languages often use the singular for this plural; a plural is, however, never formed in violation of the strict notion:

1) it is used to *comprehend isolated particulars under a higher idea*, so that it approaches very near to the idea of the *abstract*, and this pl. sometimes coincides with the *fem. sg.* §. 313 which is more definitely used in that sense, as חֲשֵׁכִים *tenebrae* Js. 50, 10 and חֲשֵׁכָה, הַדְרֵי קֹדֶשׁ Ps. 110, 3 and הַדְרַת ק׳ 29, 2. 96, 9 *sacred ornaments*; yet the *fem. sg.* has become much more frequent for the abstract, and the pl. is rather antiquated and often merely poetic. Thus 1) rarely from adjectives, חַיִּים *life* in prose also, from חַי *living*, נַעֲמָנִים *loveliness* Js. 17, 10. — 2) from substantives of the first formation: אֲהָבִים and דֹּדִים *love*, עֲדָנִים *deliciae* 2 Sam. 1, 24, מוֹתִים *death* Ez. 28, 10 cf. v. 8. Js. 53, 9; and from substantives with prefixed מ or ת: מַעֲדַנִּים *delight*, תַּעֲנֻגִים *tenderness* Mich. 1, 16. — 3) most frequently of all in the new abstract derivations from substantives or verbs, as עֲלוּמִים *juventus* Iob 20, 11, זְקֻנִים *senectus* §. 328, עֲשׁוּקִים *oppression* Am. 3, 9. Iob 35, 9. Koh. 4, 1. פְּדוּיִם *ransom* Num. 3, 46-51, תַּעְתֻּעִים *deceit* Jer. 10, 15 accord. to §. 334. The use of the *fem. pl.* is very rare here, as עוֹלֵלֹת *gleaning* [1]).

1) Cf. Cirbied's *Gram. Armen.* p. 41.

It is an entirely different case when a singular of abstract signification is changed into the plural for the reason that the abstract is not conceived in its strict signification, but rather as made up of many individual acts and instances, as צְדָקוֹת *righteousnesses* i. e. *righteous deeds*, instances of divine protection Jdgs. 5, 11, or because the term is equally applied to more than one, as that כְּסָפִים §. 358 *monies* i. e. the money of many together. In this respect too has Heb. still great freedom.

2) Many names for not desert regions prefer the plural, in as much as such a region may be conceived as, in fact, consisting of a number of single things there assembled, as אֲחוֹרִים *the hinder part*, פָּנִים *the anterior part*, and then the face, on account of its shortness always in the *pl.*, the primitive שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, properly *superiora*, always in the *pl.* and תַּחְתִּיּוֹת *inferiora* a poetic innovation. — In the same way greater coherent things which are infinitely divisible, as מַיִם *water* always in the *pl.* like *ápas* in Sanscrit, חֹמוֹת often in the *pl.* like *maenia*, for *town-wall*; articles of commerce which are sent in small pieces, as אֲהָלִים *aloes*, נְכֹאת *θυμιάματα* etc. 361

3) Some vestiges of plurals for the ideas of *Lord, Master*, have been preserved from the ancient period before Moses [1]), and the pl. must accordingly in that earliest time have also easily denoted extent, dignity, majesty: but this feeling of the language is utterly lost in the Hebrew language as we find it, so that only small and scattered traces of that idiom are still discoverable [2]). The word אֱלֹהִים *God*, however, appears to have remained always in the *pl.* in prose, from that time, not so much on account of its resemblance to the idea of *Lord*, as because they conceived the Deity in ancient times as infinitely numerous and divisible and yet as conjoined; for תְּרָפִים in the same manner is always used in the *pl.* as *penates*, even in cases where it can only mean *one* image Gen. 31, 34. 1 Sam. 19, 13. 16. The poets however, have already formed the *sg.* אֱלוֹהַּ again, and with exactly the same signification [3]). It is a great error to suppose that the Heb. language, as we find it, has any feeling for a so called *plur. majestaticus*.

1) The אָדוֹן *lord*, when with suff. is still always in the *pl.* (except אֲדֹנִי *my lord*, as a greater distinction from אֲדֹנָי = *God*), in *stat. constr.* rarely אֲדֹנֵי still Gen. 39, 20. 42, 13. in *stat. absol.* very seldom אֲדֹנִים; the other word בַּעַל *lord* is only retained in the *pl.* with the short suff. of the 3 ps. sg., as בְּעָלָיו *his lord*, בְּעָלֶיהָ. — In a similar manner צַוָּאר *neck* (probably *tendines* properly) in *stat. constr.* and before suff. is often צַוְּארֵי. — What is much more important, however, the signification of the *plural* seems to be devoid of all influence in the Syntax, see below.

2) This idiom is still more lost in Arabic and Aramaic; yet cf. a vestige Sura 2, 101 and Beidhavi on the passage in DE SACY *Gram. Arabe* I. p. 237.

3) On the other hand, there is a poetical *pl.* of the same sense formed after אֱלֹהִים though very seldom, as קְדֹשִׁים *the holy one*, Hos. 12, 1. cf. Js. 54, 5. Koh. 12, 1.

No new plural can be formed from such words which

have been petrified, as it were, in the pl. form, so that פָּנִים is also used for *faces* Ez. 1, 6, and אֱלֹהִים for *gods*.

362 3. The *dual* [1]), a still rare formation of the plural and variety of it, has also formed its ending ַיִם from the general ending of the *pl.* by an easy modification (§. 208). As only this single ending has been formed, without any further distinction of gender, it is therefore attached to the ending of the *fem. sg.* if the sg. has it already, as נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם *double fetters* Jer. 39, 7; and generally the dual, as a new formation, is founded on the form of the *sg.*, as יוֹם *day* (*pl.* יָמִים §. 382) יוֹמַיִם *biduum;* yet we find חֹמוֹתַיִם *double wall* from the *pl.* חֹמוֹת, because it is used as *maenia* for *wall of a town* Js. 22, 11.

1) Cf. VON HUMBOLDT *über den Dualis.* Berlin 1828.

The dual is confined, as to its use in Hebrew, to the nearest and most necessary cases of its idea. It properly represents a whole divided in two halves, and expresses the idea of a thing which is double or in pairs. Two things or persons which come together casually can never be combined by the dual; the dual is not a mere variation of the number *two* [1]). It is, therefore, only found in some substantives, and has so little influence on the construction, that adjective, verb, and pronoun can only be connected with it in the *pl.*, as עֵינַיִם רָמוֹת *lofty eyes* Prov. 6, 17. It is thus found in the numerals שְׁנַיִם *two*, מָאתַיִם 200, אַלְפַּיִם 2000 — 2) but especially of objects which are usually conceived together as a *whole consisting of two parts*, most frequently of double members, as יָדַיִם *the hands*, אַפַּיִם *nostrils*, יְרֵכַיִם *loins*, מָתְנַיִם *hips*, שִׁנַּיִם *teeth* (the two rows), כְּנָפַיִם *wings;* moreover of utensils, as מֹאזְנַיִם *bilances*, רֵחַיִם *mill* (two stones). In such words, the dual, as a modification of the plural, is so alone in use that the plural form does not return again after כֹּל *all* or numerals above *two*, as שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes* Zach. 3, 9 [2]). — 3) of other objects only when they are both closely connected in idea, as נַהֲרַיִם *the two rivers* (Euphrates and Tigris), or as יוֹמַיִם *biduum*, שְׁנָתַיִם *biennium*, שְׁבֻעַיִם *two weeks*, אַמָּתַיִם *two ells*, פַּעֲמַיִם *twice.* In the same way also עַרְבַּיִם *evening* (the time before and after sunset), צָהֳרַיִם *noon* (before and after the greatest height of the sun). Only poetical and very rare are רַחֲמָתַיִם *two women* Jdgs. 5, 30. דְּרָכַיִם *double way* Prov. 28, 18. The dual, however, can never loose its signification: עֲצַלְתַּיִם Koh. 10, 18 is from עָצֵל (עֲצֵל) *lazy*, *the lazy* two (hands).

1) Hence too the numeral must be also added where the number two is to rendered very emphatic, as שְׁתֵּי כְרָעַיִם *two* (and not more) *legs* Am. 3, 12.

2) If we consider such words, we come to the conclusion, that the language had a much more extended use of the dual in its earlier periods, and that words like שְׁנַיִם, עֵינַיִם have remained fixed in the dual form while the dual otherwise became extinct.

B. *Gender* may indeed be *externally* distinguished by 363
endings: nevertheless the *sense* of the gender is always more primitive and powerful than the external characteristics, so that it is not enough to be acquainted with the mere endings. For it was only possible for the youthful imagination of the remotest antiquity, which beheld all nature with the most vivid perception, to conceive, not only objects whose gender is externally visible, but all others also with distinction of gender according to their resemblance to those, and thus to attribute to all things visible or conceivable either a higher, more original, independent life and energy, or a lower, more dependent, weaker one, and thus to comprehend all nature in the cooperation and relation of its parts. The distinction of gender is in Hebrew also already a tradition of an earlier, unknown time, and is no longer in its original power; much remains fixed and, as it were, petrified from the earliest time, although the language on the whole still retains the feeling by which the *ideal* gender is determined, together with the physical one, and always propagates it. Yet Hebrew is in this respect also very far from being so inanimate and poor as later languages; the *ideal* gender is still much more plastic and changeable, and is still in perpetual increase and development, many nouns going over from the nearest, most general gender into the *fem.* or inclining to it, and others again leaving the *fem.* as the feeling of the *fem.* becomes weaker. *Idea* and *form* of the gender must, therefore, be attentively observed and distinguished.

As accord. to §. 209 there are only the two nearest anti- 364
theses in Heb., the *msc.*, as the nearest form, and the *fem.*, and the *neuter* is still wanting, they have, therefore, a much wider signification than in our languages. There is no feeling in Heb. for our *neuter*; if the *neuter*, however, expresses what is inanimate or what is conceived abstractedly or too indefinitely, the *fem.* must correspond to it in Hebrew, in the strictest sense, as it expresses what is weaker, less animate: only that the nearer form, the *msc.*, is often sufficient in cases where there is no liability to obscurity. For instance, if a thing is to be spoken of *indefinitely*, where we use the *neuter*, then the *fem.* is most distinct in the pronoun, as זאת *this* Ex. 9, 16, in the *pl.* הֵנָּה like *ea*, *ταῦτα*; but the lighter *msc.* זֶה *this* and הוּא *that* is also not rare, and as suffix, as Am. 1, 3; in the adjective, on the other hand, the *msc.* is only rarely and poetically used

as *neuter* on account of the greater obscurity, especially in the pl., as נְכֹחָה *aequum*, *uprightness* Js. 57, 2. in the *pl.* נְגִידִים *nobilia* Prov. 8, 6. נְעִימִים *amoena* Ps. 16, 6, on the contrary *fem.* נְכֹחָה Am. 3, 10. אַחַת *unum* Iob 9, 20, in the *pl.* גְּדֹלוֹת *magna*. Concerning the verb see the Syntax.

365 1. The ending of the *fem.* is *â*, ־ָה accord. to §. 209, as טוֹב *bonus* טוֹבָה *bona*; in later writers it is sometimes written ־א accord. to §. 153, as חָגָּא Js. 19, 17; Ez. 19, 2. 27, 31. Lam. 3, 12. Ps. 127, 2.

The harder *-ăt* (§. 209) endeavours indeed to fix itself in the noun frequently, but must nevertheless be dependent on certain conditions and occasions. Viz. it is only found properly in cases where the ending of the *fem.* may be attached *without tone* and even without vowel. This is most easy if the word ends, or may end, in a vowel hostile to *a*, as *î*, *û*, *ô* then displace the short *ă* of *at*, as יְדוּדִית from יְדוּדִי, cf. §. 344. The ת is moreover attached to a consonant-ending, if its accented vowel can support the ת also; for it is on account of the progressive shortening of this ending that it tries to give up the tone when it strikes against a consonant, and, therefore, to attach itself *hard* i. e. as a mere consonant *t* to the consonant, without a firm vowel. In this manner last syllables with two consonants must arise, as חֹתֶמְתְּ, גְּדֶרְתְּ (and instead of this, regularly גְּדֶרֶת like the first accord. to §. 46. 287) יְכֹלְתְּ from חוֹתָם, גָּדֵר, יְכֹל: the accented stem vowel must therefore contract itself and accommodate itself to its new posture, although these forms always assume the auxiliary *ĕ* in Heb. accord. to §. 29 f. 317, as יְכֹלֶת, גְּדֶרֶת. From this it is also clear that the shorter the accented last vowel is, the more easy is this connexion with ת, but the longer and more immoveable it is, the more difficult and rare; this may be traced by steps, see below §. 385 ff. This formation with two final consonants is absolutely impossible in nouns such as those in the first formation; for מַלְכְּתְּ, מַלְכֶּת is an intolerable pronunciation in Heb. The same thing would occur by reduplication of the last consonant, as קְטַנָּה cannot be changed into קְטַנְּתְּ; nevertheless the shortened toneless pronunciation is sometimes produced by the disappearance of the reduplication, as אֵשֶׁת for אִשָּׁה, in which, however, *e* (*i*) always remains. This harder, coarser ending, however, always appears to proceed from the original accented vocalic ending. And this ending always only accompanies the original one as a new one which occasionally intrudes and fixes itself. Lastly, it is easy to conceive why this coarser pronunciation only intrudes into the *substantive*

and words of obscure derivation, while the participle and adjective retain the lighter, more primitive one.

It is only very seldom, and rather in poetry and at a late period, that ת is found even where it cannot attach itself without the tone; and indeed with *ă*, as חַיָּת Ps. 74, 19, or rather with *â* (as a distinction from — *ăt* as the usual formation of the *stat. constr.* from ָה §. 414), as עֶזְרָת Ps. 60, 13. 16, 6. Concerning the use in adverbs see below among the particles.

Very rarely does such a *fem.* in ת become so uncertain as to form that it goes over into the *msc.*, as דַּעַת knowledge (§. 384) is construed as *msc.* Prov. 2, 10. 14, 6; נְחֹשֶׁת *brass* as *msc.* improperly Ez. 1, 7; cf. חֲנִיתִים *pl.* from חֲנִית §. 381.

A great number of substantives, however, are only feminine as to idea without any termination or external sign. To these belong 366

1) the few which may be called *physical fem.* constantly, as אֵם *mother*, פִּלֶגֶשׁ *pellex*, רָחֵל *ewe*, cf. §. 371.

2) The *ideal fem.* are much more numerous and fluctuate much more in use, some being constantly *fem.* according to primitive perception, many going over sometimes into the *msc.*, and lastly, others only just leaning to the *fem.* but being more usually masculine. Most of them may be brought under distinct classes:

a) As the *earth*, *native country*, *town* were conceived as the sustaining mother of the inhabitants (children), אֶרֶץ *earth*, *land*, תֵּבֵל poet. the same, עִיר *town* have very regularly become feminine. Hence all names of particular countries and towns are fem.; nay even the names of *nations* and *tribes* may be construed as fem., inasmuch as *land* and *people* are very near and cognate ideas; according to this, even עַם *people* is sometimes *fem.* Ex. 5, 16 cf. 12, 33. Jer. 8, 5. Many names of *places*, following these, gradually become fem.: שְׁאוֹל *orcus* Js. 5, 14; גַּיְא *valley* Zach. 14, 4. 5. כִּכָּר *district round about* Gen. 13, 10. מִבְצָר *fortress* Hab. 1, 10. שַׁעַר *gate* Js. 14, 31. תְּהוֹם *flood*, *sea*, Gen. 7, 11. Jon. 2, 6.

b) As names of mysterious, invisible agencies; נֶפֶשׁ *soul* always; רוּחַ *wind*, *spirit* (very seldom still *msc.* Ps. 51, 12. Koh. 1, 6. Ex. 10, 13); כָּבוֹד *honour*, *most precious part* = *soul* Gen. 49, 6, may follow the former, and all names of particular *winds* and points of the compass, the latter. — In the same way אֵשׁ *fire* is almost always *fem.* (Ps. 104, 4); hence נֹגַהּ *brightness of fire* Hab. 3, 4. and שֶׁמֶשׁ *the sun* (except a few places Gen. 19, 23. Ps. 113, 3), whereas יָרֵחַ

the moon remains *msc.*, both in a mythological sense also, as in German. — עָב *cloud msc.* and *fem.* 1 Kgs. 18, 44.

c) The idea of the feminine, as the weaker and more dependent, is extended with great latitude to all things which serve man, which he uses as possessor of them; thus the *fem.* is transferred *α*) to very many names of the *members* of man and beasts, especially of those which man most frequently uses as instruments: יָד and כַּף *hand* (very seldom not *fem.* Ex. 17, 12) which are very often followed by יָמִין *right hand*; רֶגֶל *foot* (very seldom not fem. Jer. 13, 16) which is followed by פַּעַם *step*, *vicis* (seldom not fem. Jdgs. 16, 28) and אֲשׁוּר *step*; אֶצְבַּע *finger*, בֹּהֶן *thumb*, (seldom not fem. Js. 17, 5) זְרוֹעַ *arm*, עַיִן *eye* (very seldom not fem. Cant. 4, 9), אֹזֶן *ear*, לָשׁוֹן *tongue* (not fem. Ps. 22, 16), שֵׁן *tooth* (fluctuating), זָקָן *beard* (fluctuating), בֶּטֶן *belly*, which is followed by רֶחֶם *womb* Jer. 20, 17; בֶּרֶךְ *knee*, עֶצֶם *bone* (also not fem. Ez. 24, 10) צֵלָע *rib*; קֶרֶן *horn*, כָּנָף *wing*. — *β*) to names of *garments*: נַעַל *shoe*; and once Lev. 6, 20 בֶּגֶד *garment*; to names of *utensils* and *instruments*: חֶרֶב *sword*, תַּעַר *razor* Js. 7, 20, עֶשֶׁת *work of art* Cant. 5, 14. צֹהַר *window* Gen. 6, 16 (?) כּוֹס *cup*, אָח *fire-pan*, יָתֵד *peg*; these still fluctuate, סִיר *pot*, כַּד *pail*, אָרוֹן *coffer*, מַטֶּה and שֵׁבֶט *staff*. In the same way לֶחֶם *bread* is sometimes *fem.* Lev. 23, 17, which is followed by פַּת *piece of bread* Prov. 17, 1, and once by מַאֲכָל *food* Hab. 1, 16. — *γ*) to inanimate objects in space, in which man moves or which he uses: חָצֵר *atrium* Ez. 10, 4. 5. 47, 16. מַחֲנֶה *camp* Gen. 32, 9. קִיר *wall*, גָּדֵר *id.* (fluctuating), עֶרֶשׂ *bed*, אֳנִי *ship* (fluctuating) 1 Kgs. 10, 11. 12), בְּאֵר *well*, גֹּרֶן *threshing-floor*, דֶּרֶךְ and אֹרַח *way*, רְחוֹב *street* Dan. 9, 25 cf. Zach. 8, 5. very seldom בַּיִת *house*, אֹהֶל *tent*, מָקוֹם *place* Prov. 2, 18. Iob 18, 14. 20, 9. גַּן *garden* Gen. 2, 15 cf. Cant. 4, 11. כֶּרֶם *vineyard* Js. 27, 2 f. אֶבֶן *stone*, and names of stones and plants in general, as גֶּפֶן *vine* (fluctuating Gen. 40, 12. 41. Hos. 10, 1). — In the same way, names of the *time* in which man moves: עֵת *time* (fluctuating), which some others may follow: עֶרֶב *evening*, שַׁבָּת *sabbath*, יוֹבֵל *year of jubilee*.

Sometimes too the *fem.* is found developed as to the form: גְּדֶרֶת and גָּדֵר *wall*, גִּנָּה and גַּן *garden*.

Quite unusually עָמָל *trouble* is *fem.* in Koh. 10, 15.

Because נָהָר *river* and הַר *mountain*, on the other hand, are concieved as *msc.*, the whole class of *rivers* and mountains, therefore, (even with the ending of the *fem.* 2 Kgs. 5, 12) follows this analogy.

The necessity of the external feminine formation is, on 367
the other hand,

1) most urgent, when the *same noun* is applied to different genders, therefore always in the *predicable* or adjective [1]), which does not, in itself, contain the notion of a gender, but is only formed according to the gender of the subject at the time, whether it be desirable only to signify the gender, as אַלְמָן *viduus*, אַלְמָנָה *vidua*, or whether it is construed with a substantive of a definite gender, as עִיר גְּדֹלָה *urbs magna*.

[1]) And *verb*, for it always contains a predicate.

The physical gender is also thus distinguished in many substantives, as אִישׁ *man*, אִשָּׁה *woman*, עֶלֶם *juvencus*, עַלְמָה *juvenca*, עֵגֶל *vitulus*, עֶגְלָה *vitula*. We may nevertheless distinctly trace how the distinction of gender is not yet to strictly prominent in many, neither in the construction nor in the ending: *α*) in many classes of animals the distinction of whose gender is less important, the gender is neither distinguished in the signification nor in the form, whether the usage of the language has called the whole class after the *fem.*, as יוֹנָה *dove*, דְּבוֹרָה *bee*, and without ending צְפַרְדֵּעַ *frog* Ex. 8, 2, or after the *msc.* as דֹּב *bear*; even the *predicate* does not yet adapt itself to the sense of the gender, as דֹּב שַׁכּוּל *ursa orba* Hos. 13, 8. אַלּוּפִים מְסֻבָּלִים Ps. 144, 14 where the part. also is in the nearest form. These are *Nomina ἐπίκοινα*. — *β*) In other names there is indeed no *ending*, but the gender is nevertheless distinguished in the construction as to the *sense*; e. g. בָּקָר *neat cattle* as *msc.* or *fem.*, שׁוֹר *bullock msc.* Iob 21, 10 גְּמַלִּים *camels* in general as *msc.* Gen. 24, 63, but also rendered definite with the *fem.* גְּמַלִּים מֵינִיקוֹת *milch camels* 32, 16; in the same way צִפּוֹר *little bird* Ps. 102, 8, cf. 84, 4; צֹאן *small cattle* in general *fem.*, when referred to a male as *msc.* 30, 39; these might be called *Nomina communia*, different from the fluctuating ideal feminines §. 362. Moreover, an *epicene* noun often begins to distinguish the gender more definitely in this manner 2 Kgs. 2, 24. — *γ*) The more frequent such nouns of common gender are, the more definitely is the *fem.* expressed in the external form, and some nouns of that kind are in progress to doing so: אַיָּל still *doe* Ps. 42, 2, but more definitely אַיֶּלֶת; תַּנּוֹת *she wolves* Mal. 1, 3 else always תַּנִּים; נַעַר is a *young person*, *boy* and *girl* in the Pentateuch, but נַעֲרָה is afterwards appropriated to the latter.

2) If the substantive when in the nearest form i. e. 368
without feminine ending accord. to §. 358, still signifies the mere *mass*, a fem. may then be so formed from it that the *fem.*, as denoting what is weaker, derived, in general, may here, therefore, express a *single one* of the mass; this formation is frequent in Arabic (nomen *unitatis*), but is very rare in Heb., as אֳנִי *ship* in general as mass = *fleet*, אֳנִיָּה *a single ship*. Cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 174 f. The *pl.* is then most naturally formed from this *fem.*, as

אֲנִיּוֹת. We may judge how little this formation is extended, by the fact, that we generally find perfectly different words for the individuals beside the words for the species, as שֶׂה *one of the small cattle* beside צֹאן, שׁוֹר *taurus* and other words beside בָּקָר, צִפּוֹר *little bird* and other words beside עוֹף.

3) Inasmuch as the *fem.* expresses what is less animated and independent, what is rather lifeless and immoveable, it also denotes the idea of the *abstract*, and is very often used for such formations for abstracts, as has been already more particularly stated §. 313 ff. — From this, lastly, is developed the idea of the *collective*, inasmuch as it (in direct opposition to No. 2) is only derived from a word signifying an individual, see §. 346.

369 Instead of *-á*, *é* §. 45 is sometimes found as ending of the *fem.*, yet very rarely and isolatedly in common substantives: עֻלְפֶּה *languishing* Ez. 31, 15. זוּרֶה *fem.* from the part pass. זוּר Js. 59, 5 [1]), more constantly in some substantives only in which the *fem.* is weak and suppressed as to the cause also, as אִשֶּׁה *offering with fire* (in the *pl.* it is also *msc.* as to the construction), and in many names of plants and animals: לִבְנֶה *storax*, פִּשְׁתֶּה beside פִּשְׁתָּה *flax*, for whose *pl.* see §. 374. This *é* is then further changed to *ê* in אַרְיֵה *lion* (pl. still אֲרָיוֹת, but construed as *msc.* 1 Kgs. 10, 19) and in the numeral עֶשְׂרֵה.

1) As also in the verb once Zach. 5, 4.

370 Toneless *a* is also sometimes found, as of less power, in some words which border on the *fem.*, as לַיְלָה *night* cf. the *pl.* לֵילוֹת §. 373., which is always *msc.* as to construction, חַרְסָה *the sun* (cf. שֶׁמֶשׁ in prose §. 366) Jdgs. 14, 18. Or by poetical innovation and sonorousness in words which may either be *fem.* as to the sense, as אַרְצָה *earth* Iob. 34, 13, or already actually have the ending of the *fem.*, so that the ending itself is repeated [1]), as יְשׁוּעָתָה from יְשׁוּעָה *deliverance* Ps. 3, 3. 80, 3, to which some later writers are especially partial; in such we find even מָוְתָה *death* Ps. 116, 15, although ת is radical, and נַחְלָה *brook* 124, 4. In the same way תָּפְתֶּה Js. 30, 33 by a new formation from תֹּפֶת, in which ת is really produced by the *fem.* [2]).

1) Cf. גָּלְתָה §. 286, and in the pronoun זֹאתָה for זֹאת Jer. 26, 6 *K'tîb.*

2) The Masoretes pointed words so even on other occasions, if the ending of the fem. appeared to them superfluous in comparison with other passages or on account of some other difficulty, as הַגָּלִילָה (usually הַגָּלִיל) 2 Kgs. 15, 29; v. Ez. 8, 2, cf. 1, 4. — Dt. 14, 17 cf. Lev. 11, 18; — Num. 21, 20 cf. 23, 28; — Ez. 21, 31; Hos. 7, 4; Jer. 48, 19.

2. In the *plural*, the ending of the *fem.* is ־וֹת. 371

The connexion of this *ôt* with the *sg.* -*â*, which is rather difficult to recognise, is according to all traces, the following. If the original and, therefore, common ending if the *pl.* was *ân* accord. to §. 359, we should expects the *fem.* of it to be *ânâ*, of which longer ending they are actually some remains in the pronoun still. In Aramaic, *ân*, shortened out of *ana* or *ânet* accord. to §. 365, is thus found as the nearest ending of the fem. sg., which becomes -*ât* in the stat. constr. where *n* falls away, the fem. ת from the *sg.* §. 414 being introduced. In Heb. however, this *ât* (*ôt*), only has come into use, written ־ת or ־וֹת; את in Ez. 31, 8. 47, 11 is, according to the meaning of the writer, to be read *ât* after Chaldaic manner.

The ending ־ִים is related to it not only as *msc.* to *fem.*, but also as the originally more general one (corresponding to the *sg.* without ending) to the particular. Both are therefore directly opposed to each other as *msc.* and *fem.* in *adjectives*, as in the *sg.* (§. 367): טוֹבִים *boni*, טוֹבוֹת *bonae;* and names of physical objects in the same stem: מְלָכִים *reges*, מְלָכוֹת *reginae;* the abstract forms which have the ending of the *fem.* in the *sg.*, retain it in the *pl.*, as שְׁמָמָה *solitudo*, שְׁמָמוֹת. In the other substantives, however, there is a more manifold relation:

1) *Physical fem.* which are still without ending in the *sg.* have also for the most part preserved the nearest ending ־ִים in the *pl.*, although they must always be conceived and construed as *fem.*, as פִּלַגְשִׁים *concubines*, רְחֵלִים *ewes*, עִזִּים *she-goats*, cf. also נָשִׁים *women* §. 382; others have already always assumed the ending of the *fem.*, as אֵם *mother:* אִמּוֹת, אָתוֹן *she-ass:* אֲתֹנוֹת.

2) *Ideal fem.* which are still without ending in the *sg.* may *a*) remain in the nearest ending in the *pl.*, as עָרִים *cities*, אֲבָנִים *stones* (always *fem.*) דְּרָכִים *ways* (fluctuating); but the greater number have already taken the ending of the *fem.* as אֲרָצוֹת, בְּהֹנוֹת *fingers*, נְפָשׁוֹת (except Ez. 13, 20), רֻחוֹת, אֶצְבָּעוֹת, לְשֹׁנוֹת, חֲרָבוֹת, כּוֹסוֹת, יְתֵדוֹת, עֲרָשׂוֹת, קִירוֹת, בְּאֵרוֹת, רְחֹבוֹת, חֻצוֹת (*streets*), גְּרָנוֹת (גֹּרֶן), שַׁבָּתוֹת. — *b*) in others, especially in those which are just going over into the *fem.*, the use of the endings is fluctuating, as the more definite ending ־וֹת gradually intrudes, as נְעָלוֹת only once Jos. 9, 5 construed with the adjective; מִבְצָרוֹת only Dan. 11, 15. עִתִּים *times*, עִתּוֹת only thrice, poetical; עָב *cloud*, עָבִים seldom עָבוֹת; בֶּגֶד, בְּגָדִים, (בְּגָדוֹת only Ps. 45, 9); חַלּוֹן *window* (fluctuating), חַלֹּנִים and חַלֹּנוֹת; חָצֵר, חֲצֵרִים and חֲצֵרוֹת; מַטִּים only Hab. 3, 14, everywhere else מַטּוֹת from מַטֶּה.

3) Many substantives whose idea approaches that of the substantives which are generally used as *fem.*, have cons- 373

tantly taken, or, are only beginning to take the ending ־וֹת in the *pl.*, whereas in the *sg.* they are almost always without ending and construction of the *fem.*, and are not even construed as *fem.* with that plural ending [1]). Thus *a*) from substantives which approach the ideal *fem.*, *constantly*: לֵב *heart* (except Nah. 2, 8), זָנָב *tail*, עוֹר *skin*, חָזֶה *breast*, טֶפַח *hand-breadth*; מַקֵּל *staff*, אוֹצָר *treasure*, כִּסֵּא *throne*, מָקוֹם *place*, לוּחַ *tablet*, אֹב and נֹאד *leathern bottle*, נֵר and מָאוֹר *candlestick*, שֻׁלְחָן *table*, מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, אַרְמוֹן *palace*, שָׂדֶה *field*, שׁוֹפָר *trumpet*; names of *plants*: אֶשְׁכֹּל *cluster of grapes*, עֵשֶׂב *herb*; גּוֹרָל *lapillus*, *lot*; לַיִל or לַיְלָה §. 370 *night*, שָׁבוּעַ *week* (שָׁבֻעִים in Dan. only); less constantly, with both endings: קֶבֶר *grave*, מַעְיָן *fountain*, נָהָר *river*, מִגְדָּל *tower*, מִזְרָק *cup*, אֲלֻמָּה and עֲרֵמָה *bundle*, מִשְׁכָּב *bed*, מַסְמֵר *nail*, דּוֹר *generation f.* except in the expression דּוֹר דּוֹרִים; it is only *rarely* that ־וֹת is found in הֵיכָל *palace*, אוּלָם *portico*, יַעַר *a wood*, מִגְרָשׁ *pasture*, גַּב *felloe of a wheel*, עֲבֹת *string*; only in poetry in צַוָּאר *neck*, יוֹם *day*, *pl.* יְמוֹת; the ending ־ִים is only preserved before *suffixes*, in כִּנּוֹר *harp*, מוֹשָׁב *seat*, מוֹסֵר *fetter*. — *b*) A few words which have the sense of abstracts, and especially with the ending ־וֹן, which is hardly ever found in the form of the *fem.* in the *sg.* §. 342: עֲוֹנוֹת *iniquities*, חֶזְיוֹנוֹת *visions*, עֶשְׁתֹּנוֹת *thoughts* from עָוֹן etc., the *pl.* of חֲלוֹם *dream*, קוֹל *voice* has always *-ôt*, the *pl.* of זִכָּרוֹן *memorial* and מַכְאֹב *pain* has both endings.

1) Even when the *sg.* has become entirely *fem.* and both endings are found in the *pl.*, the ending *-ôt* is sometimes not construed as *fem.* Ps. 102, 28. Iob 16, 22.

It is from an entirely different cause that אָב *father*, שֵׁם *name* always form אָבוֹת, שֵׁמוֹת, which always remain *msc.* as to the sense. The *ô* or *â*, namely, which was properly the third rad. here §. 324 accorded with this ending most easily; these are, however, the only examples of the kind [1]). The *pl.* from אָח *brother* is formed אַחִים, because אָחוֹת is *sister* §. 386.

1) More frequently in Aethiopic, Ludolfi *Gram. Aeth.* p. 105.

374 Much fewer substantives have, on the contrary, the ending of the *fem.* in the *sg.*, and the ancient more general ־ִים in the *pl.*, partly because the *fem.* became more indistinct, and partly because the ending of the *fem.* had only intruded into the *sg.* Thus many names of plants and animals: תְּאֵנָה *fig*: תְּאֵנִים, פִּשְׁתָּה (or פֵּשֶׁת §. 369): פִּשְׁתִּים; in the same way from חִטָּה *wheat*, שְׂעֹרָה *barley*, שִׁבֹּלֶת *ear of corn*; from names of animals: נְמָלָה *ant*, יוֹנָה *dove*, דְּבוֹרָה *bee*; בֵּיצָה *egg*; לְבֵנָה *brick*; moreover, שָׁנָה *year*, *pl.* שָׁנִים, though in poetry also שָׁנוֹת; as an *abstract* מִלָּה

word pl. מִלִּים. Such substantives, as they are *fem.* as to form in the *sg.*, are almost always construed as *fem.* even when with this ending ־ִים (not so, for instance, Prov. 30, 25. Iob. 4, 4. 19, 23).

In many of the ideal *fem.*, especially the names of *members*, the 375
language has distinguished the two endings of the pl. in such a manner, that the *fem.* signifies rather what is *inanimate* or imitated by *art*, as פְּעָמִים *steps*, *feet of man* Ps. 58, 11, פַּעֲמוֹת *feet of the ark* Ex. 25, 12; עֲצָמוֹת rather *bones of the dead*, though not always, cf. §. 376. This distinction is not so often found in the *sg.*, as יָרֵךְ *side*, *hip*: יַרְכָה *side* of a building. Rarely was the *fem.* appropriated to what was animate, so that the *msc.* remained for the inanimate, as צְלָעוֹת *ribs*, צְלָעִים *leaves of a door* 1 Kgs. 6, 34.

3. The *gender* of the *dual* is plain from what is above said. A *du.* 376
derived from a *sg.* with the ending of the *fem.* must be *fem.*, as נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם. But most duals, the names of members and instruments, are ideal *fem.* accord. to §. 363, and are, for the most part, construed as *fem.*; although not always, e. g. שָׁדַיִם *breasts* as *msc.* Hos. 9, 14. Some as fem. gradually assume the *fem.* ending ־וֹת instead of the dual ending, as שְׂפָתוֹת *lips* poet. for שְׂפָתַיִם; generally, however, the fem. with *-ôt* is applied to inanimate and artificial objects accord. to §. 375, as כַּפּוֹת *handles*, כַּפַּיִם *hands*; and even with the dual ending to the *fem. sg.*, in which case the dual belongs to the word from its origin and the *fem.* is for the distinction of the inanimate object: יַרְכָתַיִם *the back parts* from יְרֵכַיִם *hips*.

II. *Form of nouns in consequence of the attachment of these endings for number and gender.* 377

These four endings have all one character, inasmuch as they begin with vowels and have the tone (§. 60); the ending of the *fem. sg.* ־ָה is nevertheless the lightest, that of the *pl.* ־ִים and ־וֹת, especially the latter, attract the tone still more, as also that of the *dual* ־ַיִם properly. The last endings of the stems, *-ôn*, *-î*, *-ût* §. 341 ff. generally produce precisely the same changes.

Nominal stems, whose vowel-sounds do not admit any 378
further change or shortening before these accented endings, require no further consideration here nor in any further flexion: it is evident from the rules on the formation of stems what vowels are either in themselves immutable, as *û* in גְּבוּל §. 328. 331, כָּתוּב §. 323, *â* in קָם §. 324 etc., or are supported by the syllable, as the *ĭ* in שִׁלֻּם §. 331, or where there is already in the stem a sound not admitting further shortening, as the sound of the first rad. in גְּבוּל §. 328. The other stems are divided here, with regard to the position and nature of their vocalization, into three classes; 1) the

simple stems of the first formation §. 317 ff. and some others which stand nearest to them externally; 2) the simple stems of the second formation in which the first rad. has a vowel which does not remain, and similar stems; 3) the stems whose first syllable supports the vowel immutably. There then only remain the nouns with the accented vowel-endings which require to be especially considered on that account.

Here and in the following kinds of flexion, the cases in which the heaviness of the vowels produced by reduplication of the following consonant mentioned in §. 316, and those in which the ת– of the *fem.* is used §. 365, must be minutely observed even in particulars; the general rules for this have been given above.

379 1. *The simple nouns of the first formation* have the fuller pronunciations מֶלֶךְ, סֵתֶר, כֹּפֶר only in case they stand alone, accord. to §. 317:

1) but before the accented *á* of the *fem. sg.*, the original and shorter pronunciation returns again; thus with *o* עָצְמָה, חָזְקָה; with *ĭ* (*e*) סִתְרָה; with *a* מַלְכָּה, yet *i* intrudes into many instead of *a* accord. to §. 45, as כֶּבֶשׂ *lamb* כַּבְשָׂה and כִּבְשָׂה, from גֶּבַע *hill* גִּבְעָה. Moreover, the first syllable is always a close compound one accord. to §. 173. except יְרֵכָה §. 375 accord. to §. 173, and the proper name פִּטְדָה = τοπάζιον Ex. 28, 17; for עֲגָבָתָהּ Ez. 23, 11 is more properly to be derived from עֲגָבָה.

380 *From weak roots:*

a) From first rad. gutt. 1) עַלְמָה; 2) עֶמְדָּה, עֶדְנָה, חֶמְדָּה, and even אִמְרָה with *ĭ* cf. §. 79; 3) חָזְקָה, עָצְמָה. — From second rad. gutt. מַעֲלָה, נַעֲרָה, נַחֲלָה, לַעֲנָה, טַחֲנָה, yet also רַעְמָה; from בְּאשׁ §. 318 still בָּאְשָׁה. — חֶמְאָה *milk* contracted חֵמָה Iob 29, 6 accord. to §. 82, so that the vowel remains as foretone at the same time.

b) The ל״ה, as ending in vowels, have peculiar formations here, the variety of which is so much the greater on account of the ל״ה frequently assuming the fem. ending to form abstracts (accord. to §. 206, 345); the order is this: *α*) few retain the sound of the 3rd rad. pure, as רַעְיָה *amica* in Cant. 1, 9 and often, שְׁבִיָּה, עֶרְוָה, חֶדְוָה, גֵּוָה *pride* for גַּאֲוָה, גַּאֲוָה acc. to §. 75, 82; some, which are formed as physical *fem.* from a *msc.* in *ī*, also leave the form of the *msc.* unchanged, the *á* being attached to the ī in such a manner that the *ī* remains a vowel at the same time, therefore צְבִיָּה גְּדִיָּה from the names of animals גְּדִי, צְבִי; in the same way שְׁתִיָּה. — *β*) The very weak sound of the 3rd rad. is more frequently altogether elided in these roots by the *-á*, so that the first rad., now standing by itself, takes a foretone-vowel, yet not so often *a*, as שָׁנָה *year*, שָׂפָה *lip*, as *e* accord. to

§. 275 *nt.:* חֵמָה, גְּדָה, גֵּדָה, פֵּאָה 1); these last, however, may then be easily changed into קֶרֶת (*town*, poet. = קִרְיָה) דֶּלֶת *door*, כֶּסֶת *cushion*, אוֹת *sign* for אֶוֶת, root אוה. — *γ*) nevertheless the ה §. 365 can also easily attach itself to the original vowel-ending *î*, *û:* שְׁבִית, בְּכִית Gen. 50, 4, חֲנִית *spear*, which become שְׁבוּת, רְאוּת Koh. 5, 10 acc. to §. 345; with a primitive *û*, רְעוּת *amica*, the *msc.* of which, however, is already shortened to רֵעַ §. 318, 2. — From the very much shortened בֵּן §. 318, 2 fem. בַּת (for בַּת accord. to §. 46) *daughter* with resolution of the ן ino ת, for בִּנְתְּ.

1) Cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 281.

c) From ע״ו cf. §. 318, 3: *α*) צֵידָה from צַיִד; — *β*) 381
from a form מָוֶת is formed מוֹתָה, לִוְיָה *garland* לוֹי = לוֹה, הוָֹה Js. 47, 11; yet from עָוֶל, in which the second rad. is firmer as consonant, עַוְלָה, and only when before the new addition of the toneless *a* §. 370, עֹלָתָה Iob 5, 16. — The short pronunciation with ת §. 365 established itself in some substantives with shortening of the stem-vowel, which now only remains accented: בֹּשֶׁת *shame* from בּוֹשׁ, לֹפֶת, קֶשֶׁת *bow* in which *a* appears to be even shortened out of *ô* (*au*) (cf. قوس) which might be still easier in נַחַת *rest*, שַׁחַת *pit* on account of the gutt.; cf. בְּשְׁנָה §. 342.

From ע״ע 1) גִּנָּה; 2) מִדָּה; 3) עֻמָּה. The first form also goes gradually over into גַּנָּה accord. to §. 45. In the same way abstract substantives with מְ־ often have this *i* here: מְזִמָּה, מְחִתָּה. — From הוה = הוּר, הַוָּה.

חִטָּה *wheat* for חִנְטָה cf. §. 113; אִישׁ *man* §. 318 *fem.* אִשָּׁה *woman*, only very seldom אֵשֶׁת accord. to §. 365 Ps. 58, 9. Dt. 21, 11; but always זֶפֶת *pitch* from זִפָּה, סֹלֶת.

Some of the shortened fem. in ת־ forgetful of their origin begin to go over into the *msc.* as if they were simple substantives of the first formation, as קֶשֶׁת *msç.* Ez. 1, 28. אוֹת *msc.* Ex. 4, 8. Js. 55, 13. cf. §. 365; hence from חֲנִית *pl.* חֲנִיתוֹת acc. to §. 382 Js. 2, 4 and even חֲנִיתִים 2 Chro. 23, 9.

2) Before the endings of the *pl.* ־ִים, ־וֹת as compound 382
syllables of heavy tone, the properly vowelless rad. is always pronounced with the *a* of the foretone accord. to §. 40, so that the originally short vowel of the first rad., which now stands by itself, cannot remain: מְלָכִים, סְתָרוֹת, גְּרָנוֹת (from גֹּרֶן). Only *o* accord. to §. 58 is not so easily lost entirely, so that it sometimes maintains its sound as a short *ŏ* (Qameß-chatuf): thus always in שֳׁרָשִׁים *shŏrāshim* from שֹׁרֶשׁ; the *pl.* of קֹדֶשׁ in the same way קֳדָשִׁים in which, however, only the most fleeting *ŏ* (Chatef-Qameß) remains, if it has an affix at the beginning (the article) or at the end (suffixes):

הַקֳּדָשִׁים Lev. 22, 4. Num. 5, 10. Ez. 22, 8. 2 Kgs. 12, 19. A retraction of the *o* to the gutt. §. 75 is found in בְּהֹנוֹת from בֹּהֶן *thumb*.

a) From first rad. gutt. 1) and 2) חֲסָדִים, עֲמָקִים from חֶסֶד, עֵמֶק; 3) עֲפָרִים, אֳרָחוֹת from אֹרַח עֹפֶר with *o* always remaining, אֹהָלִים §. 70. — With א as second rad. the vowel which was retracted in the *sg.* generally remains unaltered: פְּאָרִים, בְּאֵרוֹת, תְּאֵנִים, תְּאֹמִים; nevertheless רָאשִׁים from ראשׁ *head* has been preserved accord. to the original formation (for רְאָשִׁים §. 82). — From חֵטְא: חֲטָאִים.

b) From ל״ה: *α*) from אֲרִי, *fem.* אַרְיֵה *pl.* אֲרָיִים, אֲרָיוֹת or instead צְבָאִים, טְלָאִים accord. to §. 97; from קָצוּ, *fem.* קְצָוָה *pl.* קְצָוִים, קְצוֹת Ex. 38, 5; from גְּדִיָּה also גְּדִיּוֹת. — *β*) from שָׁנָה *pl.* שָׁנִים acc. to §. 374, from חֵמָה, פֵּאָה: חֵמוֹת, פֵּאוֹת, as there is no longer a full sound of the third rad. in the *sg.*; in the same way רֵעוֹת *amicae* whose *sg. fem.* has the fuller form רְעוּת, but the *msc.* is the short רֵעַ. The ת־ of the fem. is often retained in these short words before the ending of the *pl.* as if it belonged necessarily to the word, as דְּלָתוֹת, כְּסָתוֹת Ez. 13, 18. אוֹתוֹת *signs*, שְׁפָתוֹת §. 376, even חֲנִיתוֹת §. 381, שְׁחִיתוֹת *pits* Ps. 107, 20. — *γ*) from those *sg.* whose third rad. is entirely lost: זֵנִים, מְתִים (*men*, only preserved in this *pl.*) from the *sg.* with the shortest pronunciation זַן for זֵן acc. to §. 46, מַת (root מתה to stretch, extend = *full grown, man*); with foretone vowel on the other hand, שֵׁמוֹת, עֵצִים, מֵעִים (*viscera*, only in the *pl.*) from *sg.* which already have *é*, according to which also כֵּלִים *vasa*, although the *sg.* is כְּלִי; lastly, even with *a* as a new foretone בָּנִים *sons*, בָּנוֹת *daughters* from בֵּן, בַּת §. 380.

c) The middle sound of the ע״ו may even become a semivowel by this formation: תְּיָשִׁים, עֲיָנוֹת from תַּיִשׁ, עַיִן; שְׁוָקִים and שְׁוָרִים from שׁוּק, שׁוֹר; yet the second rad. has become too heavy for this in many, especially in those with *û*, זֵיתִים, לֵילוֹת, עוֹלוֹת, רֻחוֹת from זַיִת, לַיְלָה, עַוְלָה, רוּחַ; fluctuating חֲוָחִים and חוֹחִים. — בַּיִת *house* takes the sound *ô* in the *pl.*, only that בּוֹתִים is always shortened into בָּתִּים *bŏttim* accord. to §. 51. In the same way for עִיר *city* (shortened from עָיִר §. 318, 3) there must have been an older form עוֹר from which the *pl.* עָרִים is derived, *ô* having been changed into an immutable *â*. On the other hand, יוֹם *day* has drawn the tone entirely to the end in the *pl.* יָמִים, so that *a* has only remained as foretone.

Sometimes a stem from the ע״ע is resolved by intrusion of the plural vowel, as צְלָלִים *shadows*, עֲמָמִים *nations* poet. Jdgs. 5, 14 from צֵל, עַם.

From אִישׁ *man* the original *pl.* אֲנָשִׁים is preserved; only late and in poetry אִישִׁים; נָשִׁים shortened at the beginning is always used as *fem.* for *women*, and only rarely אִשּׁוֹת a new formation from the *sg.* אִשָּׁה Ez. 23, 44.

The exceptions which have the vowel with the first rad. instead of this longer pronunciation, depend on other causes: *a*) if the word only occurs in the *pl.* so that the derivation is lost, as רַחֲמִים *pity* prop. *viscera*. The numerals עֶשְׂרִים 20, שִׁבְעִים 70, תִּשְׁעִים 90, are similar isolated plurals which have departed more from the *sg.* — *b*) Words which have *always* assumed ה in the *sg.* (§. 369) loose this vowel before the vowel-endings, like all others which end so §. 222 but remain in other respects unaltered in form, as the flexion does not in the least affect the first two letters: פִּשְׁתִּים, שִׁקְמִים *sycamores*, בָּטְנִים *pistachios*, from פִּשְׁתָּה. — In polysyllabic words, the reason for the assumption of this vowel ceases of itself, as the word has a firmer support at the beginning: פִּלֶגֶשׁ, צִפֹּרֶן *pl.* פִּלַגְשִׁים, צִפָּרְנִים Dt. 21, 12.

3) The ending of the *dual* is attached in the same way 383
as that of the *pl.*: דְּרָכַיִם Prov. 28, 6, לְחָיַיִם; from a fem. in ת: דְּלָתַיִם, שְׂפָתַיִם; the *a* of the foretone, however, may also be absent before this longer and, at the same time, newer ending, as בִּרְכַּיִם, מָתְנַיִם, קַרְנַיִם beside קְרָנַיִם Dan. 8, 3. 6. 10.

Words which throw back the vowel §. 319 retain that shorter pronunciation in the *pl.* also; the *a* of the foretone is not used therefore, but the vowel, which cannot remain short in a simple syllable before the vowel-endings of the *pl.*, is brought forward to the first rad. §. 66, as שְׂלָו (for שְׂלַו acc. to §. 54) *pl.* שַׂלְוִים Num. 11, 31. Nevertheless the vowel has often fixed itself so firmly with the second rad. that it supports itself by reduplication of the following rad. acc. to §. 61: הֲדַס *myrtle* הֲדַסִּים, מְעַט adverb *a little*, later as adject. *pl.* מְעַטִּים, — On the other hand from כּוֹבַע §. 320 *pl.* כּוֹבָעִים *a* remaining as foretone Jer. 46, 1.

The *infinitive Qal* §. 354 in going over into the fem. throws the 384
short vowel of the 2nd rad. to the first in the same way: קָרְבָה, שִׁמְעָה, רָחְקָה from שְׁמֹעַ without close attachment of syllables; the intransitive *a* is usually changed into *i* acc. to §. 45, as קִרְבָה, יִרְאָה from קְרַב, יְרָא; yet *a* is also preserved, as in אַשְׁמָה with a gutt. Lev. 5, 26, שַׁלְוָה.

The infinitives which loose the first rad. §. 354 generally take ת—, which is more suitable for the construction of the sentence, for ה—ָ, as לֶדֶת, רֶדֶת, דַּעַת, גֶּשֶׁת; תֵּת always for תֶּנֶת or הֶנֶת from נָתַן *to give* acc. to §. 287, also לַת once 1 Sam. 4, 19 for לֶדֶת from יָלַד acc. to §. 117, 46. On the other hand, the substantives which separate themselves from the infinitive, are distinguished by the retention of the longer and more independent pronunciation with ה—ָ and a foretone vowel: דֵּעָה *knowledge*, עֵדָה *assembly*.

385 2. *Nouns with an accented last syllable, whose preceding syllable has merely a foretone vowel*, to which class all *simple* nouns of the second formation §. 321–325 chiefly belong, although nouns from ע״ו and ע״ע with a prefixed מ (or ת) §. 339 also belong here. The foretone vowel indeed regularly falls away before the new accented endings accord. to §. 65, but the previously accented vowel remains, not only the immutable *û*, *î* and *ô*, *â* of ע״ו §. 339, but also every mutable vowel accord. to §. 39. Thus 1) יָשָׁר: יְשָׁרָה, יְשָׁרִים, יְשָׁרוֹת; כָּבֵד: כְּבֵדָה etc.; אָשָׁם *pl*, אֲשָׁמוֹת accord. to §. 373, כָּנָף *du.* כְּנָפַיִם, יָרֵךְ *du.* יְרֵכַיִם; in the same way from לֵבָב, צֵלָע §. 325; לְבָבִים, צְלָעוֹת [1]). 2) גָּדוֹל §. 322: גְּדוֹלָה, גְּדֹלִים, מָקוֹם §. 339 *pl.* מְקֹמוֹת; yet the *ô* sometimes descends to *û* before the new accented syllable accord. to §. 48, as מָתוֹק (*sweet*, §. 322): מְתוּקָה, מְתוּקִים; מָצוֹק (*straitness* §. 339) *fem.* מְצוּקָה; מָגוֹר *f. pl.* מְגוּרָה [2]). — 3) כָּתוּב: כְּתוּבָה, כְּתוּבִים; צָעִיר: צְעִירִים etc. Some with *î*, which is lengthened from *ê* accord. to §. 323, may restore the *ê* before the accented postfixes accord. to §. 48, as פָּלִיט: פְּלֵטָה, פְּלֵטִים.

1) Though שְׂעָרָה *hair* is not from the *msc.* שֵׂעָר but from a shorter noun שַׂעַר.

2) In the same way צוֹק, צוּקָה, but never in monosyllabic adjectives.

From ע״ע accord. to §. 339: מֵמַד *pl.* מְמַדִּים, מֵצַר *pl.* מְצָרִים, whereas from מֵסַב *fem.* מְסִבָּה מְסִבִּים.

From עֵגֶל §. 322 *c*: עֲגֻלָּה, עֲגַלִּים; from אָיֹם: אֲיֻמָּה etc. rarely is the vowel too much lengthened before the reduplication, as עָמֹק, עֲמֻקָּה or עֲמוּקָּה Prov. 22, 14. 23, 27. Concerning the abstracts גְּדֻלָּה, קְהִלָּה, also the *pl.* סְעִפִּים (*divisions*) חֲלַקּוֹת (*flatteries*) see §. 329. — Otherwise *a* often fixes itself by such a reduplication in certain substantives: זְמַנִּים, עֲצַבִּים, גְּמַלִּים from גָּמָל *Camel*, עָצָב *idol*, זְמָן *time*, much seldomer in the more moveable adjective, as קְטַנָּה, קְטַנִּים from קָטָן *little* [1]). The long *û*, on the other hand, very rarely, as חֲרֻלִּים from חָרוּל *nettle*.

1) It is very doubtful whether an adjective (or even participle in *e* can thus hold the vowel: נְחִתִּים 2 Kgs. 6. 9 might be part, Nif. from חת.

The *fem.* ת־ §. 365 is only seldom attached to consonant endings here, and only in substantives. From forms with accented *a*: עֲצֶרֶת beside עֲצָרָה; from forms with *e*: גְּדֶרֶת *wall* from גָּדֵר [1]), and even with shortened *î* (§. 63): גְּבֶרֶת *mistress* from גְּבִיר accord. to §. 328 at the end, מְלֶכֶת *queen* Jer. 7, 18, אֱמֶת *truth* for אֲמִינָה accord. to §. 329 (cf. אֱמוּנָה) which was first contracted into אֱמִנְתְּ and then נ always resolved, though the sound *ĭ* is preserved

quite short still, as *ĕ*, contrary to §. 46; lastly, from forms with *ó*: קְטֹרָה and קְטֹרֶת *incense*, יְכֹלֶת accord. to §. 329, only seldom with shortened *ŭ*: נְחֻשֶׁת from נְחוּשָׁה *brass*, the *dual*, however, from that *sg.* נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם, the *u* becoming audible again §. 64, and in תְּשׂוּמֶת *deposit* Lev. 5, 21 the *u* has still remained contrary to §. 63. — Some from ע״ע forgetful of their origin, loose the reduplication: מְצֶלֶת from מְצִלָּה, *pl.* still מְצִלּוֹת, but the *du.* is from that *sg.* מְצִלְתַּיִם *cymbals*; in the same way חֲמֶשֶׁת *five* and שְׁחֶלֶת or תְּכֵלֶת (a colour) Ex. 30, 34 with loss of the reduplication. — The ת is, however, most easily attached to vowel endings, concerning which see §. 386.

1) Such a formation shows that גְּדֶרֶת is formed from גְּדֵרָה, not *vice versâ*.

The foretone vowel is, however, nevertheless preserved 386
in some cases: 1) only very rarely in strong roots, for the purpose of distinguishing a remoter derivation and signification in particular cases: in שָׁבוּעַ *week pl.* שָׁבֻעוֹת the *a* has established itself in distinction to שְׁבֻעוֹת *oaths* from *sg.* שְׁבוּעָה, and in שָׁלִשִׁים *thirdmann*, LXX τριστάται, probably some remote derivation from the numeral שָׁלֹשׁ and as a distinction from שְׁלִישִׁי *third*.

2) In many derivations from weak roots, in which the form is too short by one sound which it thus regains (§. 206). Thus substantives with מ־ or ת־ from ע״ע, the weakest roots: מָגֵן, מָעוֹז, מָסָךְ *pl.* מָעֻזִּים, מָגִנִּים.

This is most remarkable in the substantives of the form כְּתָבָה §. 325 from ל״ה roots, in which there are two forms, one fuller and older, the other more Hebrew. The ו as third rad., namely, coalesces with the *a* of the second rad. in *ô* (*a-u*), the ת as ending of the *fem.* is then very easily attached to this vowel-ending; and the first rad. in this constant formation has *a* as foretone: חָצוֹת *middle* Ex. 11, 4, but with shorter, Aramaic pronunciation accord. to §. 50 מְנָת Ps. 16, 5, קְצָת, כְּנָת.

In the *pl.* the third rad. properly returns as semivowel before the ending *ôt*: מְנָוֹת (as from the *sg.* מְנָוָה Ezr. 4, 7 or מְנָיוֹת, ו being changed into the more common י, instead of which also מְנָאוֹת accord. to §. 97. More Hebrew, however, is the formation from a *msc.* ־ֶה, *sg.* מָנָה therefore, accord. to §. 397, אָלָה, *pl.* מָנוֹת, אָלוֹת; and as the third rad. is entirely lost in these, the *a* of the foretone remains before further accented postfixes, as if the power had been transferred thither from the end, as מְנוֹתָיו, אָלֹתוֹ with suffixes.

In the same way from the words of relationship: אָחוֹת *sister*, חָמוֹת *mother-in-law*, *pl.* אֲחָיוֹת (shortened to אָחוֹת

without a permanent *a* before suffixes Hos. 2, 1). — אָמָה *maid* forms its *pl.* אֲמָהוֹת, a gutt. from the sound *á* in the *sg.* establishing itself anew in the place of the third rad. — The other shortened nouns §. 325 form their *pl.* from the shortened forms: דָּמִים, יָדַיִם in which *a* remains as mere foretone.

387 3) The vowel easily maintains itself before gutt. acc. to §. 70 at the end, even if only by means of the weak reduplication of the gutt. §. 120; thus בָּחוּר *youth pl.* בַּחֻרִים, אַחֵר *another fem.* אַחֶרֶת, *pl.* however אֲחֵרִים, סָרִיס, בָּרִיחַ (*fugitive*), פָּרִיץ *pl.* סָרִיסִים etc.; see below §. 432 concerning some similar cases. In other cases the *a* also which is only one syllable removed from the tone, easily doubles a ח following it in the same way and fixes itself more firmly: מִבְטָח, אָח (*brother* §. 324) *pl.* אַחִים, מִבְטַחִים.

Those words of the form כָּתוּב which have assumed a firmer vowel on account of א as first rad., as אָמוּן etc. §. 328, do not retain this *é* before accented postfixes, but resolve it into the most fleeting *e*, אֱמֻנִים, or rather, as that *e* is only more usual toward the end acc. to §. 76, into the most fleeting *a*, as אֲבוּסִים, אֲסוּרִים Jdgs. 15, 14.

388 3. *The numerous stems which have a firm syllable at the beginning*, either a compound one, as מִכְתָּב, or pronounced with an immutably long vowel, as כּוֹתֵב §. 326 f. מוֹקֵד §. 339 [1]). On account of the delay of the voice on the immutable first syllable, the vowel of the last, although accented, is yet comparatively shorter, so that, being entirely dependent on the tone, it falls away before these accented postfixes §. 41: nevertheless, if the vowel is only somewhat strong by its own power or by the force of the form, it is frequently retained, at least as a kind of foretone vowel; immutable vowels remain of themselves. In treating, therefore, of the particular changes here, we shall speak only of the different vowels of the last syllable.

1) There is, therefore, no further change possible in the first syllable, than that *ĕ* is easily changed with a gutt. into *ă* acc. to §. 76, as מֶרְכָּב, מֶרְחָק, אֶשְׁכֹּל *pl.* מַרְכָּבוֹת, מַרְחַקִּים, אַשְׁכְּלוֹת.

389 1) *e* merely long by tone is the weakest, deepest vowel, and regularly disappears, therefore, before accented postfixes: thus 1) in כּוֹתֵב §. 326 and the other participles with *e* in the last syllable §. 351, as כֹּתְבָה, כֹּתְבִים; מִכְתֵּב: מִכְתְּבִים; מְבַקֵּשׁ: מְבַקְשִׁים (for the loss of the reduplication see §. 119); the *e* only remains as foretone in *fem.* which become substantives, as בֹּגֵדָה *faithless one* Jer. 3, 8. 11, נֹטֵרָה *keeper* Cant. 1, 6 יוֹלֵדָה *a woman in travail* Js. 21, 3, the abstract תּוֹעֵבָה §. 345; in the *pl.* שׁוֹמֵמוֹת *deserts* Dan. 9, 26, הוֹלֵלוֹת

or הוֹלֵלוֹת *folly* acc. to §. 360; moreover, sometimes before the lightest ending ־ָה in pause, as Js. 30, 30. 34, 9. Nah. 3, 2. 1 Kgs. 14, 5 f. — 2) in the intensive forms §. 330 *e:* אִלְּמִים, עִוְּרִים [1]), מֵאֲנִים from אִלֵּם, עִוֵּר, מֵאֵן; the forms derived from numerals only retain the vowel, as שִׁלֵּשִׁים *children of the third generation.* — 3) substantives with מ־ §. 339, as מַסְמֵר *pl.* מַסְמְרִים, מוֹקֵד *f.* מוֹקְדָה, מִזְבֵּחַ *pl.* מִזְבְּחוֹת, מֹאזֵן *du.* מֹאזְנַיִם; some however retain the vowel, as מְזַמֵּרָה, מְזַמְּרוֹת. In the same way צְפַרְדֵּעַ §. 347 *pl.* צְפַרְדְּעִים. — *e* is immutable in the new abstract formation מַהְפֵּכָה §. 339 cf. הֲרֵגָה §. 329.

1) The reduplication is lost accord. to §. 119. כִּסֵּא *throne*, which resembles them externally, but is of obscure derivation, has so completely lost the reduplication before all accented affixes, that it even forms כִּסְאֲךָ (*thy throne*) as if there was no vestige of it.

מוֹרַג §. 347, a word of not very clear derivation, *pl.* מוֹרִגִּים is an example of the vowel being retained by the reduplication of the last rad.; in the same way כַּרְמֶל §. 347 *pl.* כַּרְמִלִּים, גַּלְגַּל *pl.* גַּלְגִּלִּים, cf. סַנְסִנִּים, סַלְסִלּוֹת.

The ־ת of the *fem.* is very easily attached to these stems with such pliable vowels, so that we frequently find כֹּתֶבֶת [1]), מְכַתֶּבֶת, עִוֶּרֶת, שַׁלֶּכֶת also §. 345 (*the act of felling* from the *inf. Piel*) Js. 6, 12. מַצֶּבֶת (root נצב), but always rather for substantives than for pure participles.

1) The perfectly short pronunciation יֹלַדְתְּ acc. to §. 365 appears to occur in Gen. 16, 11. Jdgs. 13, 5. 7; but as this form is only found where the *second person* is spoken of (Js. 7, 14), the Masoretes pointed it in that manner probably merely on account of its resemblance to the 2nd pers. *fem. sg.* יָלַדְתְּ.

2) *a* long by tone, on the other hand, is a stronger more permanent sound which maintains itself in all formations that belong here, as עוֹלָם: עוֹלָמִים §. 327, נִכְבָּד: נִכְבָּדִים §. 351, and is only very seldom resolved before the strong ending ־וֹת, and indeed only the *a* used without power is so resolved, as מַעְבְּרוֹת Jos. 2, 7. 1 Sam. 14, 4 beside מַעְבָּרוֹת Js. 16, 2. Jer. 51, 32, מִגְרְשׁוֹת Ez. 27, 28 beside מִגְרָשִׁים. 390

So much the more frequently does this *a*, especially where it is somewhat shorter, maintain itself by reduplication of the last cons., as in the adjective §.332 שַׁאֲנַנִּים, רַעֲנַנִּים, and §. 333 יְרַקְרַקּוֹת, אֲדַמְדַּמּוֹת, in substantives §. 338 מַמְתַּקִּים, מֶרְחַקִּים, מַשְׁאַבִּים, in the same way אֲשְׁנַבִּים from אֶשְׁנָב §. 319; קַשְׂקַשִּׂים, חַתְחַתִּים §. 334, עֲקַרַבִּים, סַרְעַפּוֹת and others of that kind acc. to §, 347.

But the ־ת of the *fem.* is therefore, rarer here than in §. 389, although rather frequent nevertheless, as always אֲדַמְדֶּמֶת §. 333, in substantives as מִלְחֶמֶת once 1 Sam. 13, 22 for מִלְחָמָה *war*, חֹתֶמֶת *seal-*

ring acc. to §. 327, יַבֶּשֶׁת the *dry* land, seldomer in participles, as נִכְחֶדֶת *Nif.* Zach. 11, 9. מְבֹעֶרֶת *Pu.* Jer. 36, 22. מֻשְׁלֶכֶת *Hof.* 1 Kgs. 13, 24. From ל״א acc. to §. 318 מֹצֵאת *part. Qal* Cant. 8, 10, מַשְּׂאֵת substantive; or acc. to §. 82 חֹטֵאת *part. Qal* Ez. 18, 4. נִפְלֵאת *Nif.* — חַטָּאת acc. to §. 365 sometimes for חַטָּאָה §. 345. — מְלָאכָה *business* always so shortened from מַלְאָכָה §. 82.

391 3) *ô* long by tone, which is still more prone to lengthening according to its nature than *a*, is always necessarily maintained before accented postfixes; we even find אֶשְׁכְּלוֹת with a weak *o* from אֶשְׁכֹּל §. 319. If the *o*, however, is compressed and weakened by the fem ת־ §. 365, it may fall away before the strong ending of the *pl.*, as מַחְלְקוֹת from מַחְלֹקֶת, גֻּלְגְּלוֹת from גֻּלְגֹּלֶת §. 334; in which manner we are probably to understand the possibility of the form מִגְרְשׁוֹת §. 390 also. Yet *o* maintains itself acc. to §. 58 in the most fleeting *o* in שִׁבֳּלִים acc. to §. 85 from שִׁבֹּלֶת, צִפֳּרִים *birds* from צִפּוֹר or an earlier fem. צִפֹּרֶת; and כֻּתֳּנוֹת from כְּתֹנֶת §. 331. Reduplication of the last rad. in גַּבְנֻנִּים from גַּבְנֹן §. 332.

ô is lowered into *û* before the new accented postfix acc. to §. 48: נוֹגֶה part. Nif. *pl.* נוּגוֹת Lam. 1, 4 cf. §. 397.

u and *î*, as absolutely immutable vowels, do not belong here. Nevertheless, even they are compressed in some substantives by the attachment of the fem. ת־ accord. to §. 63, as אַדֶּרֶת *mantle* from אַדִּיר §. 330, שַׁלֶּטֶת *mistress*, מֵינֶקֶת *nurse* from the *part. Hif.*, אַשְׁמֹרֶת *watch of the night* from אַשְׁמוּרָה acc. to §. 329. 112, and some abstract substantives with מ־, as מַשְׂכֹּרֶת *payment* from מַשְׂכּוּרָה; very seldom in a common part. *Hif.*, as מַשֶּׂגֶת Lev. 14, 21. Est. 2, 20. Some of these in which the power of the long original vowel is still active, endeavour to maintain its sound before accented postfixes, as always in the *pl.* מֵינִיקוֹת *nurses.*

392 The nouns in *-ân* or *ôn* §. 341 f. follow the same rules with regard to their last vowel, as those with *a* or *o* before the last rad. §. 390 f.: *â* and *ô* remain; only in the *fem. pl.* אַרְמְנוֹת (*palaces*, the derivation is obscure) from אַרְמוֹן or rather from an older *fem.* אַרְמֹנֶת. The longer pronunciation with *â* as foretone, however, which was assumed acc. to §. 342, ceases in the syllable which is now the antepenult, and thereby the reduplication of the 2nd rad. depending on it, falls away also, as חֶזְיֹנוֹת, זִכְרֹנוֹת from *sg.* חִזָּיוֹן, זִכָּרוֹן; rarely does the reduplication remain, as חִשְּׁבֹנוֹת Koh. 7, 29 [1]).

In the same way as to the last respect צְלָצַל §. 334 *pl.* צִלְצְלִים, or somewhat longer before the soft cons. צֶלְצְלִים (cf. §. 139); the last

vowel, however, is much shorter and disappears. חַלָּמִישׁ §. 347, *pl.* חַלְמִישִׁים.

1) **In some words of obscure derivation, *a* from *-an* maintains itself with reduplication of the nasal: אֻלַמִּים from אוּלָם, שׁוֹשַׁנָּה and שׁוֹשַׁנִּים, and אֶתְנַנִּים, אוֹפַנִּים from שׁוֹשַׁן *lily*, אֶתְנַן *gift* (root תנה, properly תֶּנֶן from תַּנְיָן §. 312) אוֹפַן *wheel*, in which the *a* is shortened even without ending, from the influence of this formation.**

393 *Vowel-endings.* *a*) the sharp and heavy vowel-ending *-î* of the adjective derivation §. 343 maintains itself in the collision with the following vowel, being changed into the semivowel *j*, but remaining as a long vowel at the same time *îja* = *ijja* §. 55, so that from עִבְרִי is formed עִבְרִיָּה, עִבְרִיִּם (כֻּשִׁיִּים Am. 9. 7), עִבְרִיּוֹת [1]. The two *î* which come together in the *msc. pl.* may, however, also coalesce at once in a single *î* §. 53: עִבְרִים, חָפְשִׁים. In the *fem. sg.*, ־ת may be attached to the vowel-ending at once, as עִבְרִית, מִצְרִית; this is especially easy in substantives §. 344.

1) **It is only in the later period that the language begins to separate the two vowels that come together, by an aspirate, as עַרְבִיאִים or עַרְבָאִים 1 Chro. 5, 10. 19 f. 2 Chro. 17, 11.**

The still sharper ending *-âï* maintains the *a*, so that דּוּדָאִים, לֻלָאוֹת are formed acc. to §. 97, from דּוּדַי §. 343 at the end.

394 **The vowels at the end, which still remained as foretone before this *-î*, must disappear before the new accented syllable acc. to §. 65; thus especially *a*, as אַכְזָר, אַכְזָרִי §. 343 *fem.* אַכְזְרִיָּה (cf. אַכְזְרִיּוּת in the same way §. 344); מוֹאָב, מוֹאָבִי *Moabite fem. pl.* מוֹאֲבִיּוֹת yet the *fem. sg.* is מוֹאֲבִית beside מוֹאֲבִיָּה; simple *o* may be also resolved, as צִידוֹן *Sidon* צִדֹנִי, *pl. fem.* צֵדְנִיּוֹת 1 Kgs. 11, 1 [1]), although it much rather endeavours to maintain itself either quite long or in a most fleeting sound, as עַמֳּנִיָּה Neh. 13, 23 from עַמּוֹן, עַמֹּנִי. — From כְּנַעַן (shortened from כְּנַעַן acc. to §. 70) כְּנַעֲנִי *pl.* כְּנַעֲנִים, but also again כְּנַעֲנִים, which is shorter here, Js. 23, 8.**

1) **The original *ae* (ai) returns here at the beginning again (cf. in Arabic *Saida*) which is simplified into *î* in צִידֹן acc. to. §. 49. 213.**

395 The *fem.* abstract ending ־ִית §. 344 is always changed in the *pl.*, true to its origin, into ־ִיּוֹת. But a direct *msc.* to the ending ־וּת is wanting, so that the formation of the *pl.* fluctuates: we find מַלְכֻיּוֹת Dan. 8, 22 as *pl.* from מַלְכוּת, *u* merely intruding into that original ־ִיּוֹת instead of *i*; or the *pl.* is so formed from *-ut* itself, that *-ôt* is attached to *u* at once, and the *u* therefore becomes a semivowel, as עֵדוּת (עֵדוּ) עֵדְוֹת (acc. to §. 55 at the end), a later formation. — From רִבּוֹ §. 344 at the end *pl.* רִבֹּאוֹת acc. to §. 393, a late form.

In the same way the abstracts from ל״ה §. 345 which end in the same manner, but whose foretone *a* is regularly immutable acc. to §. 386, as זָוִיּוֹת, דָּלִיּוֹת from זָוִית, דָּלִית; חֲנֻיּוֹת from חָנוּת or חֲנוּת Jer. 37, 16,

396 The *î* of the ל״ה §. 324 in the same way: נָקִי, נְקִיָּה, נְקִיִּם, נְקִיּוֹת; and the *î* here is even more strongly maintained against the endings, as being from *îi* = *î*, so that contraction rarely takes place in the *pl. msc.*, as in the substantive שָׁנִים from שָׁנִי *thread.* — The ending in *-û* from ל״ה also in the same way, but very seldom: עֲשׂוּוֹת 1 Sam. 25, 18 *K'tîb* from עָשׂוּ §. 324, שִׁקּוּיִם Ps. 102, 10 from שִׁקּוּ *giving to drink* = *drink*, instead of which we usually have שִׁקּוּי §. 331.

י from ל״ה after an immutably long, discordant vowel always follows the formation of consonants, since it immediately becomes a semivowel before the vowel: גָּלוּי §. 324 גְּלוּיָה, גְּלוּיִם, גְּלוּיוֹת or גְּלֻיּוֹת; צִפּוּי §. 331 צִפּוּיִם; מַחֲלוּי acc. to §. 339 מַחֲלוּיִם; בְּלוֹי §. 328 בְּלוֹיִם (the *stat. constr.* of which is בְּלוֹיֵ *b'lôjê* Jer. 38, 11), גּוֹי §. 318 *pl.* גּוֹיִם *gojîm.* Once רָאֻיּוֹת with reduplication of the last rad. as adjective *regarded* from רָאוּי Est. 2, 9.

397 *b*) The ending ־ֶה in the many nouns from ל״ה disappears entirely before these vowels acc. to §. 222, as יָפֶה §. 324 *fem.* יָפָה, *pl.* יָפִים, יָפוֹת; גֹּלֶה §. 326 *fem.* גּוֹלָה [1]), *pl.* גֹּלִים, גֹּלוֹת; מַעֲלֶה §. 338 *fem.* מַעֲלָה, *pl.* מַעֲלוֹת. It is only seldom and in poetry that the sound *e* resists in such way, that it becomes *i* before *a* or *o* and is thus hardened into the semivowel at the same time, especially in adjectives, as פֹּרִיָּה *fruitful*, הָרִיּוֹת *gravidae* from *sg.* הָרֶה, *fem.* הָרָה, בּוֹכִיָּה *weeping* Lam. 1, 16. The hardening into a mere semivowel is rather Aramaic, as עֹטְיָה Cant. 1, 7 from עֹטֶה.

1) The form פֹּרָת Gen. 49, 22 is rare and poetical. §. 365.

Feminines which are formed as abstracts at once acc. to §. 339. 341, however, may always have the ending ־ִיָּה or ־ִית, as being founded on *i* as their radical sound, especially on account of the resemblance to §. 344, as תַּאֲנִיָּה, תּוּשִׁיָּה, (prop. *firmness*, root ישה), תַּבְנִית, תַּכְלִית, מַחֲצִית.

The *i* of the ending of the *pl. msc.* may, however, so mingle with the original sound *ai* (*ae*) for this *e*, that the *i* coalesces with the *i* of *ai* in *aï*, so that only the sound *i* is more strongly heard. This (in Aramaic prevailing) formation has only been preserved in two words in Heb., which also only occur in this *pl.* acc. to §. 361: שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, prop. from an adjective שָׁמַי *high*, and מַיִם *water* from מַי §. 318.

מְאַוַּיִּים *wishes* Ps. 140, 9 acc. to §. 390 is of a different kind, from the *sg.* מַאֲוַי as from an ע״י at the same time.

Some of the ל״א follow the model of the ל״ה here also: נִטְמָאִים, 398
נִמְצָאִים *pl. part. Nif.* almost as if it was נִטְמִים from נִטְמֶה; the full form נִטְמָאִים, however, is still often in pause [1]). — מִכְלָה *fold* as fem. from מִכְלֶה, the *pl.* however still מִכְלָאוֹת.

1) In the same way with Gutt. even before suffixes נִדְּחוֹ 2 Sam. 14, 13 from נִדָּח v. 14 *part. Nif.*

c). The *a* of the *fem. sg.* is hardened into *at* before the 399
vowel of the dual ending according to §. 209, its *a*, however is retained in a simple syllable as foretone, cf. §. 41, as אַמָּה *du.* אַמָּתַיִם.

2. BY THE STATUS CONSTRUCTUS.

As the Hebrew language has not advanced to the form- 400
ation of cases in the sense of the Indo-germanic languages, the *position* and *order* of words in the proposition is so much the more fixed and important. The principal peculiarity here is, that the noun whose idea only reaches its completion and end in the words next following it, is also more rapidly pronounced and more closely attached to the following one, which relation is known by the ancient terms *status constructus*; whereas the noun without such relation, used independently by itself, is said to be in *statu absoluto*.

The cases in which a noun can be thus drawn over to 401
the word immediately following, may indeed be various (see the Syntax); the principal case, however, is this, that the noun by this means defines and explains its idea by the different one of another independent noun, or, of a substantive; which is the closest and most immediate construction in which two nouns can be placed with regard to each other. The first is thus hurried on rapidly to the second, for the purpose of its necessary completion by means of that second one: this second one, however, which the speaker had already in his mind when be uttered the first, becomes thereby dependent on the first as the influencing and ruling one, and is subordined to it. The second, therefore, to speak with regard to our languages, is in the *genitive*, as לְבַב הַמֶּלֶךְ *the heart of the king*, although this relation of the second noun as genitive is produced in Hebr. purely by this power and arrangement of the two nouns, and would cease at once if the first member, or rather, the influencing (*regens*) or connecting (*jungens*) noun was wanting. It is only in this

close connexion that both form a higher whole as to the idea as well as the pronunciation.

402 The second noun may be either a common noun, as לְבַב הַמֶּלֶךְ, or a pronoun; and indeed a demonstrative pronoun, as לְבַב זֶה *the heart of this* (man), or a personal pronoun, as לְבָב־וֹ *the heart of him* or *his heart*, which last form, however, although belonging to the same kind as to the idea, must be specially considered on account of the suffix form §. 421 ff. For the personal pronoun is the only kind of noun which actually shows the subordination of the second noun in Heb. externally also, since it undergoes an important modification of form: all other nouns remain unaltered as second member [1]), and are only to be recognised as subordined by the connexion. So much the more characteristic and important, therefore, is the pronunciation of the *first* word, or the formation of the *status constructus*, which is regulated by the following rules:

1) It is different in Arabic, where the genitive has also a peculiar form.

403 1. The first word which requires and attracts the following one as its necessary complement, is pronounced more *rapidly*, *incompletely*, so that the voice only finds its perfect rest in the second. Many shortenings are produced by this, even in the consonants of the endings §. 414; but the vocalization is especially affected by this shortening, for all vowels which are either merely dependent on the tone or are lengthened by the tone, are here reduced to the greatest shortness; the most general consequences of which are the following: 1) the vowels of the *foretone* in the stems disappear entirely; a long vowel arising or maintaining itself, as in the foretone, before the endings of the gender and number, is lost in the same way, as the *e* in זְקֵנִים from *sg.* זָקֵן. — 2) The vowel in the compound last syllable of the noun which is merely lengthened by the tone of the word, is shortened, as *á* in לֵבָב, דָּבָר. — 3) Coarse, broad end-vowels are rather changed into sharp ones, as the *è* of the ל״ה §. 222 regularly into *é*, e. g. יְפֵה, קְצֵה, מִקְנֵה *stat. constr.* from יָפֶה, קָצֶה, מִקְנֶה. Immutable vowels can never be shortened: and even many of those which are originally mutable gradually resist shortening more, as particular examples must show §. 410 ff.

404 2. It is only seldom however, that the word in *stat. constr.* is carried over without any tone to the following one, so that the very shortest vowels may be sounded in the last syllable (with *Maqqef* §. 187); still more rarely does

the first word adhere altogether to the second, as in the proper name בִּנְיָמִין from בֵּן *son*. The last syllable usually still retains a weaker tone, for which reason the toneless vowels ĕ and ŏ cannot occur for é and ó, and the tonevowels remain very nearly as has been stated §. 46.

According to all this, an external distinction and shortening is nevertheless not possible in every word in *stat. constr.*, e. g. in short words with the shortest pronunciation, as רַב, פְּרִי; in words with a single immutably long vowel, as קוֹל, גְּבוּל, or of two syllables with immoveable vowels, as שָׁלוֹם §. 331. In such, therefore, the connexion of the sense and the living utterance can alone supply the imperfections of the form. Only those forms which admit really sensible shortenings must be particularly treated of below. 405

There are some very remarkable, although very isolated 406
and slight, traces of a *union-vowel* or *intermediate sound* (cf. §. 301), which must have originally belonged to the *stat. constr.* in more extended use. It is only found in prose in first four books of the Pentateuch, and is even there very rare; oftener in poets, although also more sparingly in the older ones, and only immoderately in some later ones again by innovation. Thus, by way of collecting all traces here together:

1) Most frequently *î* [1]), in prose Gen. 31, 39. Lev. 26, 42 (cf. Jer. 33, 20); in earlier poets Gen. 49, 11. 12. Ex. 15, 6. cf. v. 11; Dt. 33, 16. Js. 16, 21. 22, 16; very frequently Ps. 113, 5-9. 114, 8. 116, 1. Lam. 1, 1; this *î* as a sonorous affix is also not so strictly confined to the *stat. constr.* (v. especially Ps. 113, 8), although always in the middle of the sentence. In Jer. 22, 23. 51, 13. Ez. 27, 3 the Masoretes have not acknowledged it, and have remarked it in the *Q'rî* as superfluous. Besides these, however, it has been preserved from the earliest period in proper names, as עַמִּיאֵל (*people of God*) 2 Sam. 2, 1; Gen. 14, 18. Jdgs. 1, 6, and in many prepositions (see below).

1) As *ĭ* (اضافة) in Persian, which has a mode of construction, on the whole, very much like the Hebr. *stat. constr.*

2) Much seldomer *ó*, in prose only חַיְתוֹ from the *fem. sg.* חַיָּה 407 *animals* Gen. 1, 24, copied from thence in the same word in Ps. 50, 10. 104, 11. 20. Zef. 2, 14. Js. 56, 9; poet. בְּנוֹ *son* Num. 24, 3. 15, and later מַעְיְנוֹ *fountain* Ps. 114, 8.

3) *é* appears to occur in מִנֵּי Js. 30. 11 beside מִנִּי prep.; and the variety in this vowel is, on the whole, easily conceivable, if we consider that the original union-vowel was *a*, which afterwards split into more sounds.

All these words have the union-vowel in the *sg.* with or without feminine ending. And in fact for the most part with the great shortening of the vowels which generally distinguishes the *stat. constr.*, as is sufficiently proved by forms like גְּנֻבְתִי, מְלֵאֲתִי (from גְּנֻבַת), חַיְתוֹ, מַעְיְנוֹ. Yet the vowel is found to remain in the foretone in some 408

cases as דִּבְרָתִי Ps. 110, 4, בְּאַדְּרִי, רַבָּתִי, as is to be observed generally that this union-vowel finds a place, not only in the strict *stat. cstr.* as relation of the genitive, but also in any close connexion of nouns.

Such a vowel is never found with the ending of the pl. וֹת־. But this *i* is entirely joined to the nearest ending of the *pl.* of and always connected §. 414.

409 The particular formations of the *stat. constr.* are:

1. *Stat. constr. of nouns without ending of gender and number*, in which the following kinds are to be distinguished accord. to §. 379 ff.

1) The *simple nouns of the first, shortest formation* cannot well be much shortened: מֶלֶךְ, סֵתֶר, כֹּפֶר; only rarely is the chief vowel transferred to the second rad., by which the pronunciation is certainly shortened, with gutt. namely, acc. to §. 319, as נְטַע, סְתַר, חֲדַר, זְרַע [1]), from נֶטַע, סֵתֶר, חֶדֶר; besides הֲבֵל Koh. 1, 2. 12, 8 from הֶבֶל.

1) In the same way קַחַת־ 2 Kgs. 12, 9 for the usual *infin. constr.* קַחַת from לָקַח §. 354.

From מָוֶת the shortening may be מוֹת, from בַּיִת, צַיִד, גַּיְא: בֵּית, צֵיד, גֵּיא; only עָוֶל which maintains its ו always more as a consonant, is merely shortened into עֲוֶל Ez. 28, 18.

Those from ע״ע and similar ones admit no further shortening; yet before Maqqef we may have קַן־ Dt. 22, 6 accord. to §. 46 from קֵן *nest*, חָק־ *chŏq* from חֹק.

From דַּי §. 318, 4 דֵּי regular like בֵּית. From שֶׂה *st. c.* שֵׂה like the examples in §. 403, but פֶּה is at once changed to פִּי. — The shortened רֵעַ *friend* §. 318, 2 returns in *st. c.* to its vowel-ending again, which change is also found elsewhere, as the *stat. constr.* is partial to vowel-endings: רֵעֵה 1 Kgs. 4, 5. 2 Sam. 15, 37 or more accord. to §. 403 רֵעֶה 16, 16. — From שֵׁם *st. c.* שֵׁם or שֶׁם־; בֵּן, *st. c.* בֵּן or בֶּן־ sometimes.

From כּוֹבַע §. 320 *st. abs.* Ez. 27, 10, the *st. c.* shorter כֹּבַע 1 Sam. 17, 5. Js. 59, 17.

410 2) In all *simple nouns of the second formation* §. 321–25, the *a* of the foretone disappears, we even find שְׁבֻעַ from שָׁבוּעַ *week* §. 386 (cf. also the *du.* שְׁבֻעַיִם); the *a* of the accented last syllables, however, is *α*) still entirely subject to shortening, as דָּבָר, יָשָׁר: דְּבַר, יְשַׁר. As the whole tone of the *stat. constr.*, however, is rather drawn back into itself, the *ă* which is thus left by itself is transferred to the first rad., so that the very favourite form כְּתַב acc. to §. 29 f. arises, as עֶשַׁן and עֲשַׁן from עָשָׁן *smoke*. Very seldom

is there a more definite form with *e* in the *st. c.*, as חֲלֵב, לְבֶן־ from חָלָב *milk*, לָבָן *white*, or rather, from the new formations חָלֵב, לָבֵן.

The forms כָּתֵב §. 325 often retain their characteristic *e* in the same way, while the last syllable becomes toneless: נֵכַר Dt. 31; 16, צֶלַע or צֶלַע like עֵשֶׁן, from נֵכָר, צֵלָע; although they may also lose the *e* as foretone: לְבַב, שְׂעַר.

β) *e* is indeed first shortened to *ĕ*, but this can only remain so before Maqqef, as אֲבֶל־ from אָבֵל Ps. 35, 14, Gen. 49, 12, and is generally changed into *ă* acc. to §. 46, as זְקַן, שְׁכַן, קְצַר, עֲרַל, כְּבַד, or instead, with carrying forward of this accented vowel (which is much more frequent in this somewhat stronger form, than in the preceding) אֶרֶךְ, יֶרֶךְ, גֶּדֶר, עֶרֶל, כֶּבֶד. Much seldomer does the *e* maintain itself as long: חֲלֵב, עֲקֵב Gen. 25, 26, יְפֵחַ Ps. 27, 12; and from גָּזֵל with the same carrying forward of the vowel גֵּזֶל. On the other hand *é* in all ל״א accord. to §. 55: טְמֵא, יְרֵא.

γ) *ó* always maintains itself as a much longer vowel; nevertheless גְּדָל־ *g'dŏl* with Maqqef Nah. 1, 3 at least in the *Q'rî* and גְּבַהּ with gutt. from גָּבוֹהַּ.

From יָפֶה, קָצֶה (*end*) *st. cs.* יְפֵה, קְצֵה accord. to §. 403. From the ancient שָׂדַי (*field*) with shortening of the *ai* into *ae* (as in §. 409) שְׂדֵי Ru. 1, 1. 2. 6. 22. 2, 6. cf. 4, 3.

The short words of relationship §. 324 have still preserved *î* in *st. cs.* as a relic of a primitive vowel-ending, as the *st. cs.* is disposed to end in vowels: אֲבִי, אֲחִי, חֲמִי. On the other hand from יָד, דָּם *st. cs.* יַד, דַּם without any such relic.

The nouns with a prefixed מ־ or ת־ from ע״ו lose the 411
foretone vowel in the same way, but have always an immutable vowel in the last syllable, as מָקוֹם, מָבוֹא, מָצוֹר in *stat. cs.* מְקוֹם, מְבוֹא, מְצוֹר. Those from ע״ע have a mutable vowel in the last syllable, but the foretone vowel is often immutable acc. to §. 386, as מָעוֹז, מָסָךְ in *stat. cs.* מָעוֹז, מָסַךְ.

3) *Nouns with a firm syllable at the beginning* 412
§. 388-91 in which the end-vowels only are mutable: *α*) *é* would be obliged, in the cases in which it is mutable acc. to §. 389, to be changed into *ĕ*; but this *ĕ* becomes *ă* accord. to §. 46, or it remains as *é*, except with gutt. In the form כּוֹתֵב the *é* i. e. the very depressed sound here acc. to §. 326, remains; examples like אֹבַד Dt. 32, 28, and the proper name עֹבַדְיָה, are very rare. The *é* remains also in the other participles, as מְכַתֵּב acc. to §. 351, 2. 274. The substantives with מ־ however, have always the lighter *ă*, as מִסְפַּד from מִסְפֵּד, before which the *ă*, which is usually sounded in the

first syllable accord. to §. 339 is so much the rather changed to ĭ accord. to §. 214, as the sound *i* (ē) which is expelled from the end, thus becomes heard again, as מִרְבַּץ, מִשְׁעַן, מִשְׁבַּר, מִזְרַח from מַרְבֵּץ etc.; whereas מַלְאַךְ from מַלְאָךְ remains, and מַעְשַׂר before gutt., from מַעֲשֵׂר. The *é* remains only seldom: in מַפְתֵּחַ (*key*) Js. 22, 22 as a distinction from מִפְתַּח (stat. abs. מִפְתָּח) *what is opened* i. e. uttered Prov. 8, 6. — *β*) *á* always becomes *ă*, as נִכְתַּב from נִכְתָּב *part. Nif.*, עוֹלַם §. 327, דַּיַּן, שַׁבַּת §. 330, הֵיכַל §. 336, מִסְפַּר §. 339, also צַוַּאר Jer. 28, 10 from צַוָּאר acc, to §. 347; only very rarely does it maintain itself in a substantive, as מַתַּן (*gift*, root נתן) Prov. 18, 16. — *γ*) There is no trace of the shortening of *ó*; *ú* and *í* are immutable, as always. — From גּוֹלָה, מִקְנֶה etc. accord. to §. 403 גּוֹלַת, מִקְנֵה; קְרָא, מִקְרָא immutably accord. to §. 85.

413 The endings *-án* and *-ón* §. 341 f. are distinguished according to all this in such a way, that *a* is generally shortened, as קִנְיַן Lev. 22, 11, קָרְבַּן, שֻׁלְחַן, nevertheless אוּלָם (whose derivation is altogether more obscure) 1 Kgs. 7, 7. 12. Ez. 40, 7; but *ó* maintains itself unshortened, except once קִנְּמָן־ with Maq. Ex. 30, 23. A foretone vowel disappears, as רְעָבוֹן, *st. c.* רַעֲבוֹן, and the reduplication of the second rad. arising acc. to §. 342 commonly ceases at the same time, as זִכְרוֹן, שִׁבְרוֹן from זִכָּרוֹן. — In the same way הַלְּמִישׁ Dt. 32, 13 from חַלָּמִישׁ §. 347.

414 2. *Stat. constr. of nouns with the endings of number and gender.* These endings themselves for the most part undergo some changes:

a) The ending *-á* of the *fem. sg.* as the broad and soft pronunciation, is shortened to the sharper *ăt* acc. to §. 209, 403. Where this ת־ may be attached without the tone in the *stat. abs.* acc. to §. 365, it is also permitted under the same form in the *st. cs.*: nay this toneless and, for that reason, shorter ת־ is one degree more frequent in the *st. cs.* than in the *stat. abs.*, according as the toneless attachment is remoter and rarer or nearer and more regular in the individual forms; for the *stat. constr.* is partial to every shorter, more retracted tone. Hence toneless ת־ prevails almost universally in the *st. cs.* from *é* in the last syllable of the stem, as מְכַתֶּבֶת, כֹּתֶבֶת; *ăt* is only preserved more constantly in many substantives, as אֹרְחַת Gen. 37, 25, תּוֹעֲבַת, מַצְּבַת 2 Kgs 3, 2 beside מַצֶּבֶת. From *a* in the last syllable of the stem, the *st. ct.* has frequently the toneless ת־, where it is hardly beginning in the *stat. abs.*, as מִלְחֶמֶת, מַמְלֶכֶת, מֶמְשֶׁלֶת, although also the contrary, as עַצְּבַת (fem. subst. from the adject. עָצֵב *aeger*) Prov. 15, 13 beside עַצֶּבֶת even in the *stat. abs.* once 10,

10; מַשְׂאַת *stat. cs.* from מַשְׂאֵת or מַשְׂאָה; beside מַתְּנַת (from מַתָּנָה *gift* from נתן) we find in later writings מַתַּת for מַתְּנַת acc. to §. 287 at the end. Very rarely toneless ־ת from *i*, as in the *part. Hif.* מַזְכֶּרֶת Num. 5, 15. With the feminine formations in *-ít* or *út* §. 344 the *stat. cs.* is not to be distinguished from the *stat. abs.* in the last syllable [1]).

1) In Aramaic, and in some vestiges in later Hebr., however, the *-t* falls away from these abstracts in the *stat. abs.*, which must laways remain in the *st. cs.* see above §. 344 at the end.

b) The ending *-ím* of the *pl.* always loses its liquid *m* in this shortening; but does not sound *-í* as we would therefore expect, but *ae*, as גִּבּוֹרֵי from גִּבּוֹרִים. This *ae* [1]) is a contraction acc. to §. 408 of *a* (from *ám* §. 208) and *í*, and is in all probability the most original sound, just as many other older and more original peculiarities have been preserved in the *stat. constr.*

1) Instead of which the original *-aï* is found Jdgs. 5, 15. Js. 20, 4; the *stat. cs.* must, at any rate, be understood in these places, where the Masoretes have ־ֵי.

As *-áïm*, the ending of the *du.*, must lose its nasal in the same way, and as the *ai* which remains is contracted to *ae* acc. to §. 403, the ending of the *du.* in *stat. cons.* accordingly is no longer to be distinguished from that of the *pl.*

c) The ending ־וֹת of the *pl.* admits no shortening of its firm sounds, so that the *stat. cs.* cannot be externally distinguished in it; yet cf. below §. 430.

The shortening of the vocalization *before* these endings, 415
however, which, as far as it is possible, takes place uniformly before all, is as follows:

1) *Simple nouns of the first formation* §. 381 ff.: *a*) in the *fem. sg.* מַלְכָּה: מַלְכַּת there can be no shortening; but שָׁנָה, חֵמָה, פֵּאָה (from ל״ה v. §. 380) are very short in *st. cons.*: שְׁנַת, חֲמַת, פְּאַת.

b) The *pls.* מְלָכִים, סְתָרִים, כְּפָרִים; מְלָכוֹת, סְתָרוֹת, גְּרָנוֹת all lose the *á* of the foretone; and as a vowel must be assumed for the first of the two consonants which thus become vowelless, therefore acc. to §. 66 *a*) ĭ is most frequently assumed in the forms with an original *a* er *e*: קִבְרֵי, סִתְרֵי from קֶבֶר, סֵתֶר; only the forms with an original *a* often maintain that sound firmly: מַלְכֵי, קַרְנֵי, נַפְשׁוֹת, especially with gutt. as אַנְשֵׁי; also sometimes fluctuating: יִלְדֵי, יַלְדֵי Js. 57, 4. Hos. 1, 2. — *β*) but an original *o* must al-

ways return again: גַּרְנוֹת , שָׁרְשֵׁי , קָדְשֵׁי , כַּפְּרֵי. The compound syllable thus arising, however, is always a *loose* one (except a very few examples Cant. 8, 6. Dt. 3, 17 f.)

Where a medial א retains the stem-vowel in the *pl.* §. 382, it remains in part unmoved in *st. const.*, as זְאֵבֵי , תְּאֵנֵי, and in part the original lighter pronunciation returns again, as בֶּאֱרוֹת from בְּאֵרוֹת, פַּאֲרֵי from פְּאֵרִים , תְּאֹמֵי Cant. 4, 5 and תָּאֳמֵי 7, 4.

From תְּיָשִׁים , שְׁוָרִים , שְׁוָקִים (שׁוּק) the *stat. constr.* is always שׁוֹקֵי ,שׁוֹרֵי , תְּיָשֵׁי. In the same way from גַּיְא *stat. cs. pl.* גֵּיאוֹת Ez. 35, 8, but in the *stat. abs.* גֵּאָיוֹת , a new stronger formation for גֵּיָאוֹת which had fallen together in גֵּיאוֹת (Ez. 6, 3 *K'tib*) the *á* of the *pl.* again intruding and the Jod becoming mute.

From אֲרָיִים , קְצָוִים , קְצָווֹת *st. cs.* אַרְיֵי (?), כִּלְיוֹת , קַצְוֵי , קַצְוֹת, but frequently with elision of the semivowel לְחִי , קְצוֹת , קְשׂוֹת; yet the *a* of the *pl.* or *du.* also resists this loss in many instances, and maintains itself in *st. cs.*, as לְחָיֵי , גְּדָיֵי , cf. §, 286. Those which have already lost their last rad. in the *sg.* remain short in the *stat. cs.* also. as שְׁנֵי , פְּאוֹת from שְׁנַיִם , פֵּאוֹת ; פַּאֲתֵי from the *du.* פְּאָתַיִם ; בְּנֵי , בְּנוֹת , שְׁמוֹת , עֲצֵי , כְּלֵי , מְעֵי from בָּנִים , שֵׁמוֹת , כֵּלִים. From דְּלָתוֹת *stat. cs.* דַּלְתוֹת.

The *a* of the *stat. abs.* sometimes maintains itself before א acc. to §. 70, as חַטָּאֵי Ez. 23, 49.

Sometimes from ע״ע resolved: עַמְמֵי , הַקְקֵי poet.

416 2) In the *simple nouns of the second formation* the vowels lengthened by the tone should disappear, they however, partly maintain themselves against shortening: *a*) *á* as the lightest and nearest vowel here, is always resolved, as יְשָׁרִים , צְדָקָה , צְדָקוֹת in יִשְׁרֵי , צִדְקַת , צִדְקוֹת. — *b*) *é* is partly shortened: זְקֵנִים , זִקְנֵי ; נְבֵלָה , נִבְלַת ; יְתֵדוֹת , יִתְדוֹת; and partly maintains itself: אֲבֵדַת , שְׁכֵחֵי , חֲפֵצֵי ; בְּרֵכַת , בְּרֵכוֹת *pond* Neh. 2, 14, at the same time as a distinction from בִּרְכַת , בִּרְכוֹת *blessing*; שְׂמֵחֵי and שִׂמְחֵי Js. 24, 7. Ps. 35, 26. But in the abstract form שְׂרֵפָה *a burning*, גְּנֵבָה *theft* acc. to §. 329 the *é* is as to its origin immutable. If the first rad. must assume a vowel on account of the falling away of the *ā* or *ē*, *ĭ* is the nearest then; rarely does *a* return: כַּנְפֵי , זַנְבוֹת from כָּנָף , זָנָב ; yet *a* also appears as nearest vowel if *ĭ* is lost: צַלְעוֹת from צֵלָע , צְלָעוֹת ; שַׁדְמוֹת from שְׁדֵמוֹת. The compound syllable which thus arises is nowhere found as a *close* one; nay we even find עִנְּבֵי from עֵנָב, and others of that kind §. 172. — *c*) *ó* is not at all shortened.

פְּלִיטֵי which is constantly found from *stat. abs.* פְּלֵטִים or פְּלִיטִים cf. §. 323 only proves that the whole power of the word is more compressed into itself in the *stat. cs.* Yet פְּלֵיטָה always forms פְּלֵיטַת *remnant*.

From שְׁאָגָה *st. cs.* שַׁאֲגַת, but from בְּהֵמָה, שְׁאֵלָה *st. c.* בֶּהֱמַת, שְׁאֶלַת; *e*, as a rather longer sound here, endeavouring to distinguish itself in this way also from *a*. The *pl.* however is בַּהֲמוֹת from בְּהֵמוֹת, as the ending *-ôt* is stronger.

From ל״ה: יְפֵי, מְזֵי, יְפוֹת from *stat. abs.* יָפִים, מָזִים, יָפוֹת, *sg.* יָפָה. It has been already shown §. 386 that the *a* of the penult of abstract forms like מְנָיוֹת, מָנוֹת, אָלוֹת endeavours, on the contrary, to maintain itself immutable in the *pl.*; in the *sg.* however חֲצוֹת.

שָׁמַיִם *heaven st. c.* שְׁמֵי. In the same way accord. to §. 397 מַיִם *water st. c.* מֵי, or מֵימֵי, with repetition of the whole of this word which had become almost too small. §. 206.

3) *Stat. constr. of nouns which have a firm syllable at the beginning*, cf. §. 388 ff.: *α*) *é* disappears in the few nouns which have it in *stat. abs.*, as תּוֹעֲבַת, מַזְמְרוֹת from תּוֹעֵבָה, מַזְמֵרוֹת [1]). Many feminine formations with prefixed מ־ however, maintain the *é* immutable as abstracts §. 339, as מַהְפֵּכַת, מַסֵּבַת (*cast*, root נסך) מַגֵּפַת (*blow*, *defeat*, root נגף) Zach. 14, 15. — *β*) *a* is shortened in all participles, frequently in other forms also, as עַלְמֵי, הֵיכְלֵי §. 327. 336, מִשְׁכְּבֵי, מוֹשְׁבֵי, מוֹשְׁבוֹת §. 339, but it also resists being lost entirely in many words, even in cases in which it always suffers itself to be shortened in a compound syllable (acc. to §. 57), especially frequently in the intensive forms §. 330, in which *á* strongly denotes the agent, as דַּיָּנֵי, חָרָשֵׁי Js. 45, 16 [2]), and also in many substantives with מ־ or ת־ from weak stems (acc. to §. 206), as מַכָּרֵי 2 Kgs. 12, 8, מַטָּעֵי, מוֹרָשֵׁי, תּוֹשָׁבֵי and מַעֲבָדֵי, in which the *a* comes from the abstract §. 339. *a* is most easily retained before א acc. to §. 70, as always in the substantives מִקְרָאֵי, מוֹצָאֵי, צֶאֱצָאֵי from צֶאֱצָאִים (*offspring*, formed acc. to §. 334 from צוא = יצא *to sprout*). — *γ*) *o* is not shortened, except in אַשְׁכְּלוֹת from אֶשְׁכֹּל, in which, however, there is only a weak *o* acc. to §. 319; and כֻּתֹּנֶת §. 331, *pl.* כֻּתֳּנוֹת is shortened into כְּתֹנֶת, כָּתְנוֹת, the short primitive form returning again, Gen. 37, 3. 23–33. 3, 21. Ex. 39, 27. Ezr. 2, 68. Yet *ô* is sometimes lowered here to *û* acc. to §. 48, as מַטְמֻנֵי Js. 45, 3 from מַטְמוֹן, מַטְמֹנִים, רְחוֹקוֹת from רָחוֹק.

1) In the same way עֲדַת from עֵדָה, root יעד §. 354.

2) שַׁבְּתוֹת cf. §. 342 *nt.*, צַוְּארֵי acc. to §. 347 for צַוָּארֵי, both of quite different derivation, form exceptions of themselves.

From חַטָּאָה or more commonly חַטָּאת acc. to §. 390, *st. constr.* חַטַּאת for חַטָּאַת acc. to §. 82, *pl.* in the same way חַטֹּאות. From מְלָאכָה §. 390 *st. cs.* מְלֶאכֶת for מַלְאֲכַת, in

the *pl.*, however, מַלְאֲכוֹת remains unshortened, because א is without a full vowel.

From ל״ה: נִגְלֵי from נִגְלִים, *sg.* נִגְלֶה etc.

418 The *a* of the stem-ending *-ân* may moreover be shortened, as אַלְמְנוֹת Js. 9, 16, שֻׁלְחֲנוֹת 1 Chro. 28, 16; but is also maintained, as קָרְבְּנוֹת Lev. 7, 38 in some editt.

From עֵדוּת §. 395 *stat. cs.* עֵדְוֹת, the *a* being treated as mere foretone. — On the other hand, the *a* remains in the fem. abstracts in *-it*, *-ut* from ל״ה acc. to §. 345 as immutable in *stat. cs.* also, as חָזוּת, חָנוּת Ps. 49, 4 and in the *pl.* דָּלִיּוֹת, זָוִיּוֹת.

419 Where the *stat. abs.* assumes reduplication of the last consonant of the stem §. 383 ff., it regularly remains in the *st. cs.* also; nevertheless, from אֲגַם *marsh pl.* אֲגַמִּים acc. to §. 383, but in *st. cs.* still shorter אַגְמֵי: Sometimes too the reduplication establishes itself only in the *stat. cs.*, as נִכְבָּדִים, *st. cs.* נִכְבַּדֵּי as substantive *honourable ones* = *nobles*, not as participle.

3. BY THE ה ָ OF MOTION.

420 The only and very insignificant rudiment of the formation of cases consists in the attachment of an *-â* as a demonstrative particle, to denote the effort to attain an object, the direction or motion towards a place. This formation is used quite sensuously in Hebr. and as a very weak and soft one, only to express the direction towards inanimate objects, as הַבַּיְתָה *towards the house, οἶκόνδε*; it cannot be used of persons at all. Moreover, this formation is only added to all the preceding ones as the last, and, in itself, is capable of being affixed to every gender and number, as well in *statu absolut.* as in *stat. constr.*

This last vowel-ending is very loosely and weakly attached, which is much more sensibly observed after the long vowels in the noun than in the verb §. 293. This *ă* is, therefore, generally quite toneless in the noun, and every long vowel remains unaltered in the last syllable, as שֹׁמְרֹנָה *towards Samaria*, הָהָרָה *towards the mountain.* A short accented vowel is, indeed, carried forward, if it can be easily done, as שְׁכֶמָה from שְׁכֶם §. 319 cf. §. 131; but continues unchanged, if it cannot be carried forward, as גַּתָּה 1 Kgs. 2, 40, הָרָה from הַר (root הרר) with weak reduplication acc. to §. 124, and hardly disappears if a firm syllable goes before, so that, after so firm beginning, the tone may fall

upon the *á* at the end; hence this fluctuation, מִדְבָּרָה or מִדְבָּרָה from the *stat. cs.* מִדְבַּר, פַּדֶּנָה אֲרָם Gen. 28, 2. 5. 6, in which both tones even come together, the *ĕ* of the *st. cs.* also being maintained in its original shortness; in others like כַּרְמֶלָה the tone remains forwards. This vowel-ending, indeed, absorbs short toneless vowels acc. to §. 60, the preceding vowel remaining accented, so that the form כֶּתֶב in the loss of its last *e* loses the first also acc. to §. 127 and receives *a* again, but in other respects the connexion of the syllable continues quite loose, as אַרְצָה, קֵדְמָה, בַּיְתָה, הַשָּׁמַיְמָה (*toward heaven*), מָוְתָה, from אֶרֶץ, קֶדֶם, בַּיִת, מָוֶת; צוֹעֲרָה and אֹהֱלָה have the tone at the end, as the *o* and gutt. resist, except in *stat. cs.* Gen. 18, 6. 19, 23. 24, 67; only in נֶגְבָּה *southwards* has the connexion of the syllables become close. — The ending *á* of the *fem. sg.* is changed before this vowel into *at* acc. to §. 209, as מָרָתָה from מָרָה. This weak *a*, however, is not often attached to other endings; hence also it is not attached to the *st. c. pl.*, nor between noun and suffix §. 421 ff. Nevertheless, we find מַטָּה as particle *downwards*, from מַטֶּה *inclination*, root נטה [1]) and מַעְלָה *upwards* from מַעֲלֶה *ascent*, root עלה; cf. also §. 74.

1) Because it could also be shortened to מַט in case of need, cf. §. 290, *c;* and מֹעַל *a lifting up* Neh. 8, 6 for מַעֲלָה, the *i* and *u* which disappear at the end, becoming audible at the beginning, cf. §. 275. nt. 1.

View of the nouns.

I. *View of the nominal stems* and especially of the participles and infinitives as a supplement to the verbal pardigms.

II. *View of the nominal flexion.* Those vowels which are marked with * here are only formed after infallible analogy.

View of the in-

	Qal transit.	Qal intransit.	Piel	Pual
Inf. cstr. a	כְּתֹב 1)	גְּדַל 1)	כַּתֵּב	כֻּתַּב 3)
— abs. b	כָּתֹב	גָּדֹל	כַּתֹּב	כֻּתֹּב, —
Part. act. c	כֹּתֵב 3)	גָּדֵל 2)	מְכַתֵּב 3)	
— pass. d	כָּתוּב 2)			מְכֻתָּב 3,)
				Weak
1. פ״י *a*	A. יְצֹר B. לֶדֶת, לֵדָה			
b	יָצֹר יָלוֹד			
2. ע״ו *a*	קוּם	אוֹר	קוֹמֵם	קוֹמַם
b	קוֹם			
c	קָם	מֵת	מְקוֹמֵם	
d	סוּר			מְקוֹמָם
			or	or
3. ע״ע *a*	סְבֹב, סֹב	קַל	קַלְקֵל	קָלְקַל
b	סֹב, סָבוֹב			
c	סֹבֵב		מְקַלְקֵל	
d	סָבוּב			מְקֻלְקָל
4. ל״ה *a*	גְּלוֹת, גְּלֹה		גַּלּוֹת	גֻּלּוֹת
b	גָּלוֹת, גָּלוֹ, גָּלֹה		גַּלֵּה	גֻּלֵּה
c	גֹּלֶה		מְגַלֶּה	
d	גָּלוּי			מְגֻלֶּה
5. Gutt. pr. rad. *a*	אֱמֹר, עֲמֹר	חֲזַק	*c* ***)	
tert. rad. *a*	שְׁלֹחַ		שַׁלַּח, שַׁלֵּחַ	
b	שָׁלוֹחַ		שַׁלֵּחַ	
c	שׁוֹלֵחַ		מְשַׁלֵּחַ	
6. פ״א *a*	פְּלֹא etc.		פַּלֵּא	etc.
7. פ״נ *a*	תֵּת, גֶּשֶׁת, נְפֹל, נְצֹר			
b	נָתוֹן, נָגוֹשׁ, נָצוֹר			

***) מַלֵּף as substantive *teacher* Iob 35, 11 for מְאַלֵּף §. 82

finitives and participles.*

Hitpael.	Hif-îl	Hof-al	Nif-al
3) הִתְכַּתֵּב ־תֵּב , — 3) מִתְכַּתֵּב	הַכְתִּיב הַכְתֵּב מַכְתִּיב	3) הָכְתַּב הָכְתֵּב 3,) מֻ— , מָכְתָּב	3) הִכָּתֵב כָּתֹב , — תֹּב , — 3,) נִכְתָּב
roots	*a* B. הוֹלִיד A. הֵיטִיב *c* B. מוֹלִיד A. מֵיטִיב	הוּלַד *d* מוּלָד	הִוָּלֵד נוֹלָד
הִתְקוֹמֵם מִתְקוֹמֵם	2) הָקִים הָקֵם 2) מֵקִים	3) הוּקַם 3,) מוּקָם	הִקּוֹם — 2) נָקוֹם
or הִתְקַלְקֵל מִתְקַלְקֵל	**) 2) הָסֵב — 2) מֵסֵב	הָשַׁמָּה , הוּסַב מוּסָב	הִסַּב הִסֹּב , הִסֵּב 2) נָסֵב , נָסָב
הִתְגַּלּוֹת הִתְגַּלֵּה מִתְגַּלֶּה	הַגְלוֹת הַגְלֵה מַגְלֶה	הָגְלוֹת הָגְלֵה מָגְלֶה	־וֹת , הִגָּלֹה הִגָּלֵה נִגְלֶה
			הֵעָמֵד, *c* נֶעֱמַד
as Piel	הַשְׁלִיחַ הַשְׁלֵחַ	 הָשְׁלַח	־מַח , הִשָּׁלֵחַ
etc.			
		הַפִּיל	הִנָּתֵן *c* נִתָּן

*) Acc. to page 166-169 and §. 349-356. — 1) denotes the flexion according to the *first formation*, — 2) that according to the *second*, 3) that according to the *third* of the *first* kind, — and 3,) that according to the *third* of the *second* kind.

**) Also הֵרֵק 2 Chro. 34, 7 accord. §. 217, cf. §. 351.

I. Nouns of the first formation.

I. From strong nouns.

	1.	2.	3.
sg.	יֶלֶד	סֵתֶר	כֹּפֶר
- st. c.	-	-	-
pl.	יְלָדִים	סְתָרִים	כְּפָרִים (כֻּ־)
- st. c.	יַלְדֵי (יַ־)	סִתְרֵי	כָּפְרֵי
du.	*יַלְדַּיִם (יַ־)	סִתְרַיִם	מָתְנַיִם
st. c.	*יַלְדֵי (יַ־)	סִתְרֵי	מָתְנֵי
sg. f.	יַלְדָּה (יִ־)	סִתְרָה	*גָּרְנָה
- - st. c.	יַלְדַּת (יִ־)	סִתְרַת	*גָּרְנַת
pl. f.	יְלָדוֹת	סְתָרוֹת	גְּרָנוֹת (גֳּ־)
- - st. c.	יַלְדוֹת (יַ־)	סִתְרוֹת	גָּרְנוֹת
du. f.	*יַלְדָּתַיִם (יִ־)	*סִתְרָתַיִם	גָּרְנָתַיִם
- - st. c.	*יַלְדְּתֵי (יִ־)	סִתְרְתֵי	גָּרְנְתֵי

II. From weak nouns.

1. From gutt. 1. rad. 1.	2.	3.	2. rad. 1.	2.	3.	2. From ע״ע. 1.	2.	3.
חֶסֶד	עֵמֶק	עֹפֶר	נַעַר		פֹּעַל	גַּל	מַד אֵם	חֹק
-	-	-	-	קַחַת	-	-	- -	-
חֲסָדִים	עֲמָקִים	עֲפָרִים	נְעָרִים		פְּעָלִים	גַּלִּים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
חַסְדֵי	עִמְקֵי	עָפְרֵי	נַעֲרֵי		פָּעֳלֵי	גַּלֵּי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקֵּי
עַלְמָה		עָצְמָה	פַּחְדָּה ,	אַהֲבָה	רָחֳקָה	גַּלָּה	חִתָּה	חֻקָּה
אֶמְרָה								
חֶמְדָּה etc.								

2. rad.: נֹכַח , נֵצַח , פֶּתַח gutt. as 3 rad. in other respects regular. Concern. 2 rad. א : בְּאֵר , בְּאשׁ and 3 rad. א : פֶּלֶא , דֶּבֶא , גַּיְא , חֵטְא see §. 382 ff.

3. From ע״ו. 1,				3.	4. From ל״ה. 1.	3.
מָוֶת	שׁוֹר ,	לַיִל	נֵה	שׁוּק	שָׁחוּ שְׁבִי	בֹּהוּ יֳפִי יְפִי
מוֹת		לֵיל		-	-	-
שְׁוָרִים	מוֹתִים	תְּיָשִׁים	לֵילוֹת	שׁוּקוֹת שְׁוָקִים	קָצְוִים שְׁבָיִם	יְפָיִים יְפֵי־
שׁוֹרֵי	מוֹתֵי	תֵּישֵׁי	לֵילוֹת	שׁוּקֵי	קַצְוֵי שְׁבָיֵי (שְׁבֵי)	(יְפָיֵי)
		עֵינַיִם		*שׁוּקַיִם	לְחָיַיִם	
		עֵינֵי		שׁוּקֵי	לְחָיֵי	
מוֹתָה		צֵידָה		*שׁוּקָה	שָׁנָה (שְׁבִיָּה) שִׁבְיָה	
מוֹתַת		צֵידַת			שְׁנַת שִׁבְיַת	* יְפִיָּה
		עֲיָנוֹת			אֲרָיוֹת	
		עֵינוֹת			קְצוֹת, קַצְווֹת כְּלָיוֹת	

II. Nouns of the second formation,

and those that resemble them, as מָקוֹם, root קוּם, §. 385 ff.

I. From strong nouns.

	1.	2.			3.	4.	5.	1b)
sg.	יָשָׁר	כָּבֵד	זָקֵן	שָׂמֵחַ	גָּדוֹל	כָּתוּב	תָּמִים	לֵבָב נֵכָר
- st. c.	יְשַׁר	כְּבַד	זְקַן	שְׂמַח	גְּדוֹל	כְּתוּב	תְּמִים	לְבַב נְכַר
pl. m.	יְשָׁרִים		זְקֵנִים	שְׂמֵחִים	גְּדֹלִים	כְּתֻבִים	תְּמִימִים	לְבָבִים
- - st. c.	יִשְׁרֵי, יַשְׁרֵי		זִקְנֵי	שִׂמְחֵי		etc.		לִבְבֵי
du.	כְּנָפַיִם		יְרֵכַיִם					
- st. c.	כַּנְפֵי		יַרְכֵי		with shortening of the foretone *á*.			
sg. f.	יְשָׁרָה		זְקֵנָה					
- - st. c.	יִשְׁרַת, יַשְׁ		זִקְנַת	בִּרְכַּת				לְבָבוֹת
pl. f.	יְשָׁרוֹת		זְקֵנוֹת			or		לִבְבוֹת
- - st. c.	יִשְׁרוֹת, יַשְׁ		זִקְנוֹת	בִּרְכוֹת	עָמֹק f. עֲמוּקָה, עֲמֻקָּה,			
du. f.	יְשָׁרְתַיִם		יַרְכָתַיִם		pl. עֲמֻקִּים, עִמְקֵי etc.			
- - st. c.	יִשְׁרְתֵי		יַרְכְתֵי					

II. From weak nouns.

1. with gutturals.

1.		2.	4.	1b)
חָכָם	צָמֵא	יָרֵא	שָׁמוּעַ קָרוּא	שַׂעַר
חֲכַם	צְמֵא	יְרֵא	שְׁמוּעַ קְרוּא	שַׂעַר, שְׂעַר
חֲכָמִים	צְמֵאִים	יְרֵאִים	שְׁמֻעִים,	שְׂעָרִים
חַכְמֵי	צִמְאֵי	יִרְאֵי	etc.	שַׂעֲרֵי
אֲדָמָה		בְּהֵמָה		שַׂעֲרָה
אַדְמַת		בֶּהֱמַת		שַׂעֲרַת
אֲדָמוֹת	צְבָאוֹת	בְּהֵמוֹת		שְׂעָרוֹת
אַדְמוֹת	צִבְאוֹת	בַּהֲמוֹת		שַׂעֲרוֹת

2. From ל״ה.			3. From ע״ע.	4. From ע״ו.
1. 2. 3.	4.	5.	1.	
יָפֶה	גָּלוּי	נָקִי	קַל or תָּם	קָם 1 B.
יְפֵה	גְּלוּי	נְקִי	קַל תַּם	קָם 2 -
יָפִים	גְּלוּיִם	נְקִיִּים		קוֹם 3 -
יְפֵי	etc.	נְקִיֵּי	תַּמִּים	קוּם 4 -
יָפַיִם	as		תַּמֵּי	קִים 5 -
יְפֵי	כָּתוּב			all with
יָפָה		נְקִיָּה		immutably
יְפַת			תַּמָּה	long vowels.
יָפוֹת		נְקִיּוֹת	etc. as	
יְפוֹת		נְקִיּוֹת	גַּל	
יְפָתַיִם				
יְפָתֵי				

III. Nouns with a permanent first syllable, cf. § 388 ff.

1. with é in the last.

sg. m. 1)	כֹּתֵב	זֹעֵם	שֹׁמֵעַ	קֹרֵא	מְסַפֵּד	מִזְבֵּחַ	מַרְבֵּעַ
- - st. c.	-	זֹעֵם	שֹׁמַע	קֹרֵא	מְסַפֵּד	מִזְבַּח	מַרְבַּע
pl. m.	כֹּתְבִים	זֹעֲמִים			מְסַמְּרִים		
- - st. c.	כֹּתְבֵי	זֹעֲמֵי			מְסַמְּרֵי		
1. sg. f.	תּוֹעֵבָה 1)				מוֹקְדָה	מַהְפֵּכָה	
- - st. c.	תּוֹעֲבַת				מוֹקְדַת	מַהְפֵּכַת	
2. - - u. st. c.	כֹּתֶבֶת	זֹעֶמֶת	שֹׁמַעַת		מַצֶּבֶת		
1. pl. f.	תּוֹעֵבֹת				מַצְּבוֹת		
- - st. c.	תּוֹעֲבֹת				-		
2. - - u. st. c.	כֹּתְבוֹת	זֹעֲמוֹת					
	-	-					

In the same way עִוֵּר and all participles in *e*.

1) שֵׁם §. 318, שֵׁנָה, עֵדָה §. 384 follow the formation of the last syllable.

2. with ā in the last.

עוֹלָם 1)	נִכְתָּב	מִסְפָּר	דַּיָּן
עוֹלַם	נִכְתַּב	מִסְפַּר	דַּיַּן
עֹלָמִים	נִכְתָּבִים		דַּיָּנִים
עֹלְמֵי	נִכְתְּבֵי		דַּיָּנֵי, דַּיְּנֵי
	נִכְתָּבָה		
	נִכְתֶּבֶת		
חוֹתֶמֶת	נִכְתֶּבֶת	מִשְׁפַּחַת	דַּיֶּנֶת
הֵיכָלוֹת	נִכְתָּבוֹת		
הֵיכְלוֹת	נִכְתְּבוֹת		

In the same way all participles in *a*.

1) יָד §. 324 follows the formation of the last syllable.

From ל״ה: גּוֹלֶה, מִקְנֶה, מַדְוֶה, whose last syllable is like יָפֶה No. II.

Nouns in ָן, וֹן.

אַלְמָן	זִכָּרוֹן
אַלְמַן	זִכְרוֹן
אַלְמָנִים	זִכְרֹנִים
אַלְמְנֵי	זִכְרֹנֵי
אַלְמָנָה	
אַלְמָנוֹת	זִכְרֹנוֹת
אַלְמְנוֹת	זִכְרֹנוֹת

IV. Adj. in ִי.

נָכְרִי		
-		
נָכְרִיִּים	or	נָכְרִים
נָכְרִיֵּי		נָכְרֵי
נָכְרִיָּה	or	נָכְרִית
נָכְרִיַּת		-
נָכְרִיּוֹת		
נָכְרִיּוֹת		

III. NOUN WITH SUFFIXES.

I. This is, according to §. 402, a peculiar kind of the connexion of a noun in *stat. constr.* with a following one, in which the personal pronoun, as a dependent little word, is always closely attached in an abridged form and coheres with the *stat. constr.* as a single word. The shortening and attachment of these *suffixes* is, on the whole, the same as in the verb §. 300 ff., only with this difference, that the suffixes are much more extensively, and, therefore, also much more uniformly shortened here, and are more firmly and closely attached [1]). The intermediate or union-vowel, where there is a full vowel, is *e;* the several suffixes accordingly are: 421

1) Hence, in contradistinction to the verb, the intermediate nasal sound -*n* §. 306 is also wanting here, except perhaps Js. 23, 11 cf. v. 14.

1. In the *third person:* 1) *sg. msc.* usually ֹו, or sometimes written ֹה Gen. 49, 11. Nah. 2, 1; rarely fuller ֵהוּ Gen. 1, 12. — 2) *fem. sg.* ָהּ, sometimes written ָה i. e. with loss of the guttural pronunciation of the *h*, it is then to be read *á* only Lev. 13, 4. Nu. 15, 28. 31; without Rafe Js. 23, 17 f. Nah. 3, 9; hence in late writers even written ָא Ez. 36, 5. — 3) *pl.* ֵהֶם only antique, and in pause כֻּלָּהֵם 2 Sam. 23, 6, otherwise always ָם, in poetry also ֵמוֹ [1]). The *fem.* only rarely ָהֶן with a consonant at the beginning and with the tone Gen. 21, 28. Js. 3, 17. Ez. 16, 53; ֵהֶנָּה antique, in pause 1 Kgs. 7, 37. Ez. 16, 53; ֵנָה Gen. 42, 36. Ru. 1, 19, or with the short vowel of more common suffixes ֶנָה Gen. 41, 21; most frequently the perfectly short ָן.

1) It is hardly to be denied that this ֵמוֹ is sometimes equivalent to the *sg. msc.* (Iob 22, 2. Ps. 11, 7. Js. 44, 15. 53, 8); the longer and rarer form was also gradually so attrited, especially as the ֹו of the *sg.* appeared to exist in it. This is also only found with very little words, as with the preposition לָמוֹ for לוֹ.

2. *Second person.* 1) *sg. msc.* ְךָ, rarely, and chiefly with short words, written ְכָה Ex. 13, 16. — 2) *fem. sg.* usually ֵךְ (concerning ֵכִי see §. 302), only in pause sometimes ָךְ as longer Ez. 23, 28, and ֵכָה Nah. 2, 14. — 3) *pl.* ְכֶם, *fem.* ְכֶן, rarely ְכֶנָה in pause Ez. 23, 48.

3. *First person.* 1) *sg.* always shortened to ִי with expulsion of the *n*. — 2) *pl.* ֵנוּ, in pause also longer ֵנוּ Iob 22, 20. Ru. 3, 2.

II. The pronunciation of the suffixes must, indeed, also adapt itself to the endings of the nominal forms, and therefore varies especially according to the vowel-endings of the nouns: nevertheless, the endings of the nominal forms are not so various and different as those of the verbal persons, so that only a less important variation of the suffixes is produced 422

here by their mixture with the vowel-endings. The general laws that regulate it are the same as in the verb §. 304 f.

423 III. In this union of the two words, the noun is always in the *stat. constr.* before the suffix, and we should have to repeat here all that has been said §. 400 ff. on the pronunciation of the noun when in *st. cs.*: a certain difference may nevertheless exist, inasmuch as the suffix has less influence and weight than an entire, more independent word, and is inseparable, as to tone, from the word with which it is united. For that reason, therefore, some stress and delay of the tone may fall back from the suffix upon the *stat. const.* and the vocalization of a noun before the suffix in general become, where it is suitable, fuller and less hurried than in the strict *stat. constr.* i. e. before a new, perfectly independent word. Particulars of this variation are as follows:

424 1. *Noun without ending of gender and number with suffixes*, and first, the noun ending in a *consonant* as the most frequent ending. The principal thing to be considered here is, what sort of vowel there is in the last syllable of the noun, cf. §. 60 ff.:

1) An immutably long vowel remains unchanged, and suffers the appoggiatural sound to be distinctly heard with the last consonant, as קָמִי, קָמְךָ, קָמְכֶם from קָם (*enemy*) §. 324, לְבוּשְׁךָ, לְבוּשְׁכֶם from לְבוּשׁ *garment* §. 328. — In the same manner the vowel remains firm before the properly double consonant at the end (cf. §. 308), as from עַם, מַד (for מִד), אֵם, כֹּל, are formed עַמּוֹ, מִדּוֹ, אִמּוֹ, כֻּלּוֹ, all acc. to §. 46 f., beside עֻזִּי also עָזִּי *my pride*; the appoggiatural vowel, however, is only audible after *a*, as עַמְּךָ, אַפְּכֶם, but becomes mute after *e* and *o*, which do not then change their radical sound, as אֶשְׁכֶם *your fire* Js. 50, 11, חָקְךָ *thy law* from אֵשׁ, חֹק; yet they can also suffer the reduplication to be audible, as אִמְּךָ, אִמְּכֶם always, from אֵם *mother*, כֻּלְּכֶם.

425 2) An unaccented or auxiliary vowel disappears, the last consonant before the accented endings being carried over to the following syllable; by which also the appoggiatural vowel always becomes distinctly audible, as from מֶלֶךְ: מַלְכּוֹ, מַלְכְּכֶם, מַלְכְּךָ, מַלְכָּם, from סֵתֶר: סִתְרוֹ, from כֹּפֶר: כָּפְרוֹ. The pronunciation of such nouns of the first formation before the suffixes, therefore, is precisely the same as before the ending of the *fem.* ־ָה §. 380 f. Nevertheless, the broader ĕ is somewhat more frequent here for ĭ, especially in roots ל״ה acc. to §. 275 *not.* 1, as שֶׁבְיְךָ, פֶּרְיְכֶם; in these, and sometimes in others also, for the most part before the appoggia-

tural vowel, as יֶשְׁעֲךָ, קֶצְפְּךָ Ps. 85, 8. 38, 2; but very seldom besides, as Gen. 21, 23 and in נֶגְדּוֹ; נֶגְדְּךָ from נֶגֶד *before*, which has worn down to a preposition. It is very seldom that the first syllable also is not closely compound; as in בִּגְדוֹ from בֶּגֶד *garment*.

From צַיִד, מָוֶת: מוֹתוֹ, מוֹתְךָ, צֵידוֹ, but עַוְלוֹ from עָוֶל. The *ae* is reduced with particular ease to *î* here, as עִירֹה (*his colt*) Gen. 49, 11, שִׁיתוֹ Js. 10, 17, דִּישׁוֹ Dt. 25, 4 from עַיִת, שַׁיִת, דַּיִשׁ; yet, on the contrary, the original sound is also once preserved in the *st. cs.*, as רֵישׁוֹ from רִישׁ.

From gutt. 3rd. rad. שִׁמְעֲךָ, שִׁמְעֲכֶם, פָּלְאֲךָ, as every gutt., not excepting א, always receives the shortest *ă* as the nearest and easiest distinct vowel instead of the indistinct appoggiatural vowel.

Particular instances of the resolution of the ע״ע before suffixes, where the vowels are prone to be broader than usual: צִלְלוֹ, גְּלָלוֹ from צֵל, גֵּל; with ר, שָׁרְרֵךְ Cant. 7, 3. הֲרָרָם Gen. 14, 6 from הַר, שֹׁר.

426 3) Those vowels of the last syllable which are only *long by tone*, are shortened, or maintain themselves as foretone in the same manner, on the whole, as before the endings of gender and number §. 384 ff.: the consequences, however, may be different here according to the nature of the nouns themselves:

a) The vowel is, for the most part, so fixed in its place that it cannot go forward: thus in all nouns of the second formation [1]); moreover, in those which have a firm, unchangeable vowel in the first syllable §. 388 ff., and, on the contrary, in those which have no syllable whatever before the tone vowel, בֵּן, שֵׁם. Their vowel disappears, or remains as foretone before suffixes which begin with a full vowel, as דְּבָרוֹ, מִסְפָּרוֹ, מִזְבְּחוֹ, כְּתָבוֹ, זְקָנוֹ from דָּבָר, זָקֵן, כְּתָב, מִזְבֵּחַ, מִסְפָּר, precisely in the same way as the plurals דְּבָרִים etc. §. 385 ff., but also בְּנוֹ, שְׁמוֹ from בֵּן, שֵׁם, although their plural is בָּנִים, שֵׁמוֹת. The vowel thus remaining as foretone also maintains itself before the appoggiatural vowel of the lighter suffix ךָ in a simple syllable acc. to §. 62, as דְּבָרְךָ, מִסְפָּרְךָ, זְקָנְךָ, but must be reduced to the short sound before the heavy כֶם, as in the *stat. constr. sg.* §. 410-413: דְּבַרְכֶם, מִסְפַּרְכֶם, קָרְבַּנְכֶם, שַׁבַּתְכֶם, and from *é* there remains *a* in the *stat. cs.* זְקַנְכֶם, הַזְכַּרְכֶם from the *inf. Hif.* with shorter pronunciation Ez. 21, 29. The *é*, which falls away before a full vowel, must remain before the mere appoggiatural vowel, but very seldom as *a* acc. to §. 45, as בּוֹשַׁסְכֶם Am. 5, 11 from the *inf. Palel* acc. to §. 234 and 107, and with second rad. gutt. אֹהַבְךָ from the *part. act.* §. 326. Js. 43, 14. 2 Chro. 20, 7, it usually remains as the soft *ĕ*, as מַקֶּלְךָ from מַקֵּל,

root נקל §. 339, הִזָּכֶרְכֶם from the *inf. Nif.* Ez. 21, 29; or lastly still weaker as *i*, especially before the heavy ־ְכֶם, as גָּדְלְךָ, גַּדֶּלְכֶם from the *inf. Pi.* Jos. 3, 7. Js. 1, 15; כֹּתֶבְךָ, כֹּתֶבְכֶם from the *part. act. Qal;* יֶשְׁךָ, בִּנְךָ, בִּנְכֶם from יֵשׁ, בֵּן. From יָד, דָּם §. 324 יָדוֹ, יָדְךָ, דָּמוֹ, but יֶדְכֶם, דִּמְכֶם, as *i* or *e* intrude instead of *a* as vestige of the lost third rad. With gutt. acc. to §. 308 שַׁלְחֲךָ, שִׁלְחֲכֶם, מִזְבַּחֲךָ, הִבָּרַאֲךָ (from the *inf. Nif.* Ez. 28, 13) in which *e* exists originally; on the contrary מוֹצָאֲךָ 2 Sam. 3, 25, מוֹרַאֲכֶם Gen. 9, 2 = מִסְפָּרְךָ, מִסְפַּרְכֶם.

1) Some of those excepted which carry the vowel forward in *stat. cs.* acc. to §. 410, for, in that case, they may acc. to §. 425 form צַלְעוֹ from צֶלַע *stat. cs.* of צֵלָע, עַנְפְּכֶם Ez. 36, 8 from עֶנֶף *st. cs.* of עָנָף *branch.* On the contrary לְבָבוֹ from לֵבָב, *st. cs.* לְבַב.

b) The more moveable vowel, not firmly fixed in its place, *may be carried forward* to the consonant *at the beginning which is without a firm vowel*, so that this form becomes like the one described §. 425, except that closely shut syllables cannot arise here, because the vowel hardly moves forward. Thus *α*) in the few substantives §. 319, as שִׁכְמוֹ, שִׁכְמְכֶם, דִּבְשׁוֹ, דְּבַשׁ; the vowel is firmly fixed in כְּרֵשׁוֹ Jer. 51, 34. Substantives with *o* have this heavy sound double also, acc. to §. 58: קָטָבְךָ *qó-tob'ká* from קֹטֶב *blow* Hos. 13, 14; קָטָנִּי *qó-toni* (*my little finger*) 1 Kgs. 12, 10; קָבָלוֹ Ez. 26, 9, (*before him*) from קֹבֶל Aramaic = קֳבֵל; some read קָטַנִּי, קָבָלוֹ, סֻבֳּלוֹ with reduplicat. of the 2nd or 3rd rad. by way of supporting the short *o* more easily. — *β*) In the *inf. Qal*, as שְׁכַב : שִׁכְבָהּ Gen. 19, 33. §. 66, from חֲנֹן : חֶנְנָהּ, yet also חֲנַנְכֶם before the heavy suffix Js. 30, 18. The *o* is much heavier: it is carried forward, as כָּתְבוֹ, כָּתְבְךָ, rarely כְּתָבְךָ, with gutt. 2nd rad. גָּאָלְךָ, מָאָסְכֶם §. 162. שָׁמְעֲךָ, and so with א as 3rd rad. מָצָאֲכֶם acc. to §. 73; but it also remains in its place before a mere appoggiatural vowel, especially before ־ְכֶם, as כְּתָבְךָ, מְשָׁחֲךָ 1 Sam. 15, 1, כְּתָבְכֶם, and hence even maintains itself twice in both places acc. to §. 58 קָרָבְכֶם Dt. 20, 2. — *γ*) very rarely in another *infinitive*, as הֲפֵרְכֶם Lev. 26, 15 from הָפֵר, הֲפַרְכֶם *inf. Hif.* root פרר, as the reduplicat. may cease acc. to §. 424.

426 *Vowel-endings:* *a*) a few words in *-i*, viz. פִּי *stat.*
b *cs.* from פֶּה §. 409, and the words of relationship אֲבִי §. 410. This *î* unites with the *î* of the suffix of the first pers. sg., פִּי, it absorbs the union-vowel so that the simple syllables of the suffixes become toneless, as פִּיךָ, פִּינוּ, and the *e* of ־ֵךְ in the same way, as פִּיךְ, and is attached to those suffixes which have a consonant at the beginning by means of that consonant, as פִּיהָ, פִּיהֶם, although we also often find פִּיו for פִּיהוּ,

the vowel *û* coming in contact with the *î* and becoming thereby a semivowel; still more regularly the longer אֲבִיו. If the tone remains on this *î*, then the *a* of the first rad. also remains in the words of relationship as foretone, as אָבִי *my father*, אָבִיךָ, אֲבִיהֶם.

The nouns of the first formation שְׁבִי, כְּלִי, פְּרִי §. 318 follow the consonant formation acc. to §. 425, as the stem-vowel, according to the general formation of these nouns, appears again with the first rad., and the third, therefore, becomes a semivowel before every vowel or appoggiatural vowel i. e. before all suffixes, as שִׁבְיִי, שִׁבְיָהּ, שִׁבְיוֹ, שִׁבְיָם, שֶׁבְיְךָ, כֶּלְיְךָ, פֶּרְיְכֶם; yet sometimes before the heavy suffixes שְׁבִיכֶם, פְּרִיהֶם according to the vowel formation.

b) The ending ֶה from ל״ה is treated much in the same way as in the verb §. 310. It may indeed be lost before any suffix, as גָּלִי, גָּלְךָ from גָּלֶה; but very often, and still oftener in the noun, according to its nature, than in the verb, is *é* preserved as a vestige of the original sound. And because this *é* (prop. *ae*) agrees with the ending of the *stat. cs. pl.* accordingly, these words have not unfrequently, and especially where no obscurity can arise from it, precisely the same suffixes as the *pl.* §. 428. Most frequently *e* remains before the longer suff., as מַרְאֵיהֶם *their appearance* Gen. 41, 21, מִקְנֵכֶם, מִקְנֵיהֶם *your, their herd* Dt. 3, 19, קְצֵיהֶם *their end* Ez. 33, 2. נוֹטֵיהֶם from *part. Qal* Js. 42, 5; very often also ֵהוּ, ֶהָ, as מַחֲנֵהוּ, קָצֵהוּ [1]), even מַעֲשָׂיו *his work* precisely as in §. 428, 1 Sam. 19, 4, מְפַתֶּיהָ from the *part. Pi.* Hos. 2, 16. Js. 22, 11; lastly, sometimes with the suffixes of the second pers. *sg.*, as מִקְנֶיךָ *thy herd*, רֵעֶיךָ *thy friend*, 2 Sam. 12, 11, *fem.* מַרְאַיִךְ *thy face* Cant. 2, 14.

1) In the same way רֵעֵהוּ *his friend*, although it is usually shortened רֵעַ acc. to §. 318, מֵרֵעֵהוּ *his acquaintance* from מֵרֵעַ, shortened from מֵרֵעָה prop. *friendship*.

The short שֶׂה §. 318, *st. c.* שֵׂה, resolves the last sound *e* into the corresponding semivowel *j* before suffixes, so that שֵׂיֵהוּ or שֵׂיוֹ is formed [2]). On the other hand דַּיּוֹ from דַּי.

2) Just as פִּיוֹת may be also formed as *pl.* from פֶּה, although we more usually find פִּיּוֹת, פִּים from the pronunciation פִּי.

2. *Noun in the ending of the fem. sg. with suffixes.* 427
The suffixes are so attached to the *stat. const.* ַת §. 411, that the *a* always remains, partly as foretone, partly and more especially to preserve the *a* as the sound peculiar to the *fem.* §. 304. Hence, before full vowels, from מַלְכָּה, מַלְכַּת: מַלְכָּתוֹ, מַלְכָּתָם, מַלְכָּתִי etc., before an appoggiatural vowel acc. to §. 426: מַלְכַּתְכֶם, מַלְכָּתְךָ. Those however, which have the toneless ending ֶת in the *stat. cs.* §. 414 attach the suffixes in the same way precisely as the *simple noun of the first* formation §. 425, e. g. מַמְלֶכֶת forms like מֶלֶךְ:

מַמְלַכְתְּךָ, מַמְלַכְתּוֹ etc. It is only in the accented and, as to its origin, very important vowel of the penult, that we find some peculiarities:

1) If *è–ĕ* is frequently and in *stat. abst.* almost always found, it is treated exactly as in the forms מֶלֶךְ §. 379 i. e. sometimes *a* and sometimes *i* may intrude, as יִבְמְתּוֹ, אַיַבְתּוֹ, מַצַּבְתּוֹ from יָבָם, אֹיֵב, מַצָּב, *fem.* יְבֶמֶת, אֹיֶבֶת, מַצֶּבֶת for יְבַמְתְּ, אֹיַבְתְּ etc. But if the *stat. abs.* has more usually ה ָ and at the same time retains the original vowel of the stem; or if this end-vowel is very long in itself (without ending), then it endeavours *to remain in its proper sound*; hence *a*) *a* always remains before suff. in the forms מַמְלָכָה, מִלְחָמָה, מֶמְשָׁלָה which are very common in the *stat. abs.* acc. to §. 390: מַמְלַכְתּוֹ, מֶמְשַׁלְתּוֹ; seldom is *è-ĕ* already prevalent in the *stat. abs.* as תִּפְאַרְתּוֹ, מִשְׁמַרְתּוֹ from תִּפְאֶרֶת rarely תִּפְאָרָה, מִשְׁמֶרֶת. — *b*) the *fem.* of the form כָּתֵב §. 385 always preserve the E-sound, which is comparatively very strong in this form, in *ĕ*, as שְׁכֶנְתּוֹ, חֲבֶרְתְּךָ; even בְּהֶמְתּוֹ from בְּהֵמָה *st. cs.* בֶּהֱמַת. In the same way in the *inf. Piel* which very seldom has the *fem.* ending: מַדְּקָתֵךְ Ez. 16, 52 — *c*) the rare *fem.* on the other hand, which have a msc. with *î*, retain that sound, as גְּבִרְתּוֹ from גְּבִיר, גְּבֶרֶת.

2) The very few *fem.* with *é–e* always suffer the *i* or *e* to be heard, as from אֵשֶׁת, the *stat. const.* from אִשָּׁה: אִשְׁתּוֹ, אִשְׁתִּי, אִשְׁתְּךָ; only once Ps. 128, 3 אֶשְׁתְּךָ acc. to §. 79.

3) The words with *ó–ĕ* in which the o is primitive, retain it, as קְטֹרֶת: קְטָרְתּוֹ; but those in which the *o* has arisen from *u* acc. to §. 63, endeavour to retain their original vowel: מַשְׁכֻּרְתּוֹ, נְחֻשְׁתִּי; although the *o* also occasionally remains: נְחָשְׁתִּי Lam. 3, 7.

Where נ is resolved into a succeeding ת, the ת remains with audible reduplication before all suffixes (contrary to §. 424), as from תֵּת §. 384. תִּתּוֹ, תִּתְּךָ, from בַּת §. 380 בִּתּוֹ, בִּתְּכֶם, from אָמֶת §. 385 אֲמָתוֹ, as the most fleeting *e*, because its most natural place is only at the end of a word, is changed before accented postfixes (as often at other times) into the most fleeting *a*. In the same way מְבַעִתֶךָ 1 Sam. 16, 15 from מְבַעַת part. Pi. fem. for מְבַעֶתֶת, as מְשָׁרֵת 1 Kgs. 1, 15 for מְשָׁרֶתֶת.

The foreign word פֶּחָה (for פַּחָה §. 121) *governor*, *stat. cs.* פַּחַת as if it was *fem.*, פֶּחָתְךָ with suff., nevertheless forms with one suffix, as it is not fem. as to its origin, פֶּחָם like כְּתַבְהֶם §. 305, 3; *pl.* פַּחֲוֹות as from מָנָה §. 386, or, with expulsion of the ו, פַּחוֹת.

3. The vowel-ending *ae* of the *stat. cs. pl.* and *du.* 428
unites with the suffixes in such a way, that 1) the -*î* of the first ps. sg. forms *ăi* with the *ae* acc. to §. 54, in the same way the *e* (*i*) of ךְ־ of the second ps. fem. sg. forms ־ַיִךְ 1), לְבוּשַׁי, לְבוּשַׁיִךְ; — 2) every appoggiatural and union-vowel disappears, so that the suffixes with simple syllables become toneless, as לְבוּשֵׁינוּ, but לְבוּשֵׁיכֶם; and 3) the suffixes beginning with the ה of the third ps. are attached in this full consonant form, as לְבוּשֵׁיהֶם, לְבוּשֵׁיהוּ Nah. 2, 4. Hab. 3, 10. Iob 24, 23. Yet the very common suffix of the third *sg.* msc. usually loses its ה here also, so that *u* becomes a semivowel, but is pronounced *áv*, for *aev* or *aiv* acc. to §. 54. 96. Before the toneless ךָ־ and הָ־, the *é* (*ae*) between is reduced to *è* in the tone acc. to §. 51, as ־ֶיךָ, ־ֶיהָ 2). The י however, as sign of the pl., is very regularly written even in the middle of the word, and instances like חֶלְבֵהֶן Gen. 4, 4. רַגְלֶךָ Jer. 38, 22 are very rare; it is for this reason that it is so firmly retained in ־ָיו *áv*, although no longer heard; very seldom ־ָו as Ex. 32, 19.

1) Aramaic ־ָיְכִי Ps. 103, 3. 5. 116, 7 acc. to §. 302. — Still more Aramaic is ־וֹהִי Ps. 116, 12 for ־ָיו; in Aramaic, namely, the very attrited *hu* acts so powerfully upon the preceding accented syllable that the sound *u* intrudes into it: *áuhi* (*óhi*) for *aihú*.

2) Instead of ־ֶהָ, we find ־ֶהָא according to later orthography Ez. 41, 15; in Ezech. also the longer suffixes ־ֵיהֵמָה 40, 16 ־ֵיהֶנָה 1, 11. ־ֵיכֶמָה 13, 20.

The ending *áv* is in other cases also often written so after this common suffix ־ָיו, as in the adjective עָנָיו, דָּוָיו, also שָׁלֵיו, which is, however, rather a late abuse of the mode of writing, Jer. 49, 31. Prov. 26, 28. and in some editt. Iob 21, 23; only in the *Q'rî* Num. 12, 3. Cant. 2, 11. Ps. 105, 40.

These suffixes, thus formed, are of themselves distinguished, as to their tone and influence on the pronunciation of the *pl.*, into two classes: 1) the *greater* number are attached without tone to the *stat. cs*, ־ֵי or have united with it in *one* syllable: ־ֶיהָ, ־ֶיךָ, ־ֵינוּ; ־ָיו, ־ַיִךְ, ־ַי these are the *short plural suffixes*. Because all these endings are only equivalent, *as to tone*, to *one accented* or *compound syllable* at the end of a word (§. 34), accordingly, their influence on the pronunciation of the noun, is only equal to that of the ־ִים of the *pl. msc.*; the nominal forms, therefore, have precisely the same pronunciation before them as before that ending (§. 382 ff.); e. g. מְלָכִים, זְקֵנִים, in the same way מְלָכַי, זְקֵנֵינוּ. — 2) On the other hand, the suff. ־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶן, ־ֵיכֶם, ־ֵיכֶן (the *long plural suff.*) consist of two syllables, the latter of which is necessarily accented, 429

and are, therefore, one syllable longer as to tone; and as the tone thus remains exclusively on the suff., entirely removed from the *pl.*, the forms of the *stat. cs.* §. 415 ff. always remain. e. g. מַלְכֵי, in the same way מַלְכֵיהֶם. — Only when a word is preserved in the *pl.* only, and, within still narrower limits, only in the *stat. cs.*, does the form of the *stat. cs.* remain before the short suff. also, as אַשְׁרֵי *happiness* (§. 360) which becomes an interjection *blessing!* אַשְׁרֶיךָ *thy happiness! blessing on thee!* and *prepositions* §. 459.

430 The *suff.* are not usually attached in the simple form §. 421 to the ending of the *fem. pl.* ־וֹת, but in the form which is united or mixed with the plural ending ־ֵי acc. to §. 428, e. g. מִזְבְּחֹתָיו *his altars.* For as the *stat. cs.* is prone to end in vowels, it can here assume the vowel-ending of the *pl.* which is moreover most easily united with the suffixes. But as this is not absolutely necessary, vestiges of the *simple* form have been preserved: 1) ־ָם, ־ָךְ, which are most removed from ־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶן, are almost more common and older than they, as חַטֹּאתָם, חַרְבֹתָם. — 2) we moreover find מַכּוֹתְךָ *thy afflictions* Dt. 28, 59. 2 Kgs. 6, 8.

We should accordingly expect that this vowel-ending would also intrude iuto the pure *stat. cs.*; and thus we find בָּמֳתֵי *bâ-mŏte* as *stat. cs.* from בָּמוֹת *heights* (whose derivation, however, is obscure) with a shortening of the *ô* now acc. to §. 51 before the second plural ending; with suff. בָּמוֹתָיו without this shortening, the *st. cs.* is sometimes still בָּמוֹת, the *sg.* בָּמָה is very rare. Besides this, מְרַאֲשֹׁתֵי (§. 338) 1 Sam. 26, 12 more as a preposition.

That union of the suff. with *ae* is afterwards transferred even to the *stat. cs. sg. fem.* ־ַת preceded by כֹּל *all*, which renders the transition to the *pl.* easier, Js. 47, 13. Ps. 9, 15; this is extended by Ezech. to the ־וֹת of the infinitives ל״ה §. 354 where there is no actual *pl.* 6, 8. 16, 31, and hence also to the intrans. infinit. שִׂנְאָה *to hate* 35, 11. Much more easily with the ending ־וּת of the *fem. sg.* which as to its sound and signification (as abstract §. 360) resembles the *pl.* ־וֹת, as זְנוּתֵיכֶם even in Num. 14, 33. כְּרִיתוּתֶיהָ Jer. 3, 8. Js. 53, 4. Ez. 16, 15. 20. 23, 7.

431 As there is at least *one* accented syllable added by means of the suffixes to the ending of *stat. cs.* of the *fem. sg.* and *pl.*, the form of the *st. cs.* §. 415 ff. remains before the suff., as before ־ֵיהֶם of the *msc. pl.* §. 429. Nevertheless, because noun and suff. only form *one* word with *one* tone, the noun is sometimes not so much shortened before the suff. as in *stat. cs.* Traces of this are found 1) in the simple nouns of the second formation which generally retain the vowel of the second rad. acc. to §. 416; rarely with *a*, as קְעָרָה, *st. cs.* קַעֲרַת, קְעָרוֹת, with suff. קַעֲרֹתָיו (but before

ר as gutt. cf. §. 70); more frequently with *e*, as יְתֵלֹתָיו, גְּדֵרֹתָיו; also fluctuating, as נִבְלָתִי once Js. 26, 19 beside נִבְלָתוֹ, נִבְלָתָם; most rarely before the *long pl. suff.* — 2) In the same way שָׁבֻעוֹת *weeks* §. 386. *st. cs.* שְׁבֻעוֹת, with suff. שָׁבֻעוֹת; — and 3) כֻּתָּנְתּוֹ *pl.* כָּתְנוֹתָם, although the *st. cs.* is כְּתֹנֶת, כָּתְנוֹת acc. to §. 417. Especially before gutt. as רֵעוּתָהּ §. 382 *b*; cf. מֵרֵעֵהוּ §. 326 *b*; and with loss of the third rad. יָפָתִי *my beautiful one* Cant. 2, 10. 13 from the *fem.* of יָפֶה §. 206.

The same may be sometimes observed before the light ending *ae* of the *pl.* especially before gutt., as מְעֵי *stat. cs.* from מֵעִים §. 382, before suff. מֵעֵיהֶם Ez. 7, 19. סְרִיסֵי Gen. 40 (but in Est. סָרִיסֵי) like the *stat. cs. sg.* סְרִיס, but with suff. סָרִיסָיו §. 387; אֹרְחֹתָיו acc. to §. 70 for אָרְחֹ. 432

The reduplication of the last rad. §. 419 not only remains before suff. but may even establish itself particularly firmly here, as from שַׁבָּת (*sabbath*) with suff. שַׁבַּתּוֹ, in the *pl.* שַׁבָּתוֹת, *st. cs.* שַׁבְּתוֹת. On the other hand, נִכְבַּדֵּי loses the reduplication before heavy suff. Ps. 149, 8.

The participle and infinitive, when they follow the verb in sense and construction, may assume the suff. which are proper to the verb §. 300 ff., as רֹאֵנִי *videns me*, לַהֲמִיתֵנִי *to kill me*, with the prepos. ל, לְיַחֲמֵנָּה from the *infin. Piel*, root יחם cf. §. 122. The *infin.* however, has always the primitive forms ◌ָם ◌ָךְ, and not ◌ֵם, ◌ֵךְ, and more frequently the short nominal suff. ◌וֹ and ◌ָהּ, as Ex. 2, 3. 433

View of the Nominalsuffixes.

Persons.	To the sing.		to the sg. fem.	to the plur.	to the plur. fem.
	לְבוּשׁ	פִּי	מַלְכַּת	לְבוּשֵׁי	מַלְכוּת
sg. 3 m.	לְבוּשׁוֹ [1])	פִּיו, פִּיהוּ	מַלְכָּתוֹ	לְבוּשָׁיו [1])	מַלְכוּתָיו
	his garment		his queen	his garments	
- f.	לְבוּשָׁהּ [1])	פִּיהָ	מַלְכָּתָהּ	לְבוּשֶׁיהָ [1])	מַלְכֻתֶיהָ
	her garment			her garments	
2 m.	לְבוּשְׁךָ [1])	פִּיךָ	מַלְכָּתְךָ	לְבוּשֶׁיךָ [1])	מַלְכוּתֶיךָ
	thy garment			thy garments	
- f.	לְבוּשֵׁךְ [1])	פִּיךְ	מַלְכָּתֵךְ	לְבוּשַׁיִךְ [1])	מַלְכוּתַיִךְ
1.	לְבוּשִׁי [1])	פִּי	מַלְכָּתִי	לְבוּשַׁי [1])	מַלְכוּתַי
	my garment			my garments	
pl. 3 m.	לְבוּשָׁם [1])	פִּיהֶם	מַלְכָּתָם	לְבוּשֵׁיהֶם [2])	מַלְכֻתֵיהֶם
	their garment			their garments	
- f.	לְבוּשָׁן [1])	פִּיהֶן	מַלְכָּתָן	לְבוּשֵׁיהֶן [2])	מַלְכֻתֵיהֶן
2 m.	לְבוּשְׁכֶם [3])	פִּיכֶם	מַלְכַּתְכֶם	לְבוּשֵׁיכֶם [2])	מַלְכוּתֵיכֶם
	your garment			your garments	
- f.	לְבוּשְׁכֶן [3])	פִּיכֶן	מַלְכַּתְכֶן	לְבוּשֵׁיכֶן [2])	מַלְכוּתֵיכֶן
1.	לְבוּשֵׁנוּ [1])	פִּינוּ	מַלְכָּתֵנוּ	לְבוּשֵׁינוּ [1])	מַלְכוּתֵינוּ
	our garment			our garments	

View of the flexion of nouns with suffixes.

Cf. page 266-268, and concerning the numerals p. 277.

I. Nouns of the first formation.

I.

sg. 1.	יִלְדּוֹ , יַלְדּוֹ	סִתְרוֹ	כָּפְרוֹ
2.	יִלְדְּךָ , יַלְדְּךָ	סָתְרְךָ	כָּפְרְךָ
pl. 1.	יְלָדָיו	סְתָרָיו	כְּפָרָיו
2.	(ַ־) יַלְדֵיהֶם	סִתְרֵיהֶם	כָּפְרֵיהֶם

II. 1. — 2.

נַעֲרוֹ	פַּחְדּוֹ	פָּעֳלוֹ	חֶטְאוֹ	גַּלּוֹ	אִמּוֹ	חֻקּוֹ
נַעַרְךָ	פַּחְדְּךָ	פָּעָלְךָ	חֶטְאֲךָ	גַּלְּךָ	אִמְּךָ	חָקְךָ
נְעָרָיו	פְּחָדָיו	פְּעָלָיו	חֲטָאָיו		(אֶשְׁכֶם)	חֻקָּיו
נַעֲרֵיהֶם	פַּחֲדֵיהֶם	פָּעֳלֵיהֶם	חֲטָאֵיהֶם			

3. — 4.

מוֹתוֹ	לֵילוֹ	שִׁבְיוֹ	יָפְיוֹ
מוֹתְךָ	לֵילְךָ	שֶׁבְיְךָ	יָפְיְךָ
שְׁוָרָיו	תְּיָשָׁיו	לְחָיָו	
מוֹתֵיהֶם	תַּיָשֵׁיהֶם	לְחָיֵיהֶם	

II. Nouns of the second formation.

	I.		II 1.				2.
sg. 1.	יָשְׁרוֹ	גְּדֹלוֹ זְקֵנוֹ	שְׂעָרוֹ		שְׁמוּעוֹ	קְרָאוֹ	יָפוֹ , יָפֵהוּ
2.	יָשְׁרְךָ	זְקֵנְךָ etc.	שְׂעָרְךָ	יְרֵאֲךָ	שְׁמוּעֲךָ	קְרוּאֲךָ	יָפְךָ , יָפֵיךָ
3.	יָשְׁרְכֶם	זְקַנְכֶם	שְׂעַרְכֶם	יְרַאֲכֶם			יְפִיכֶם , יָפְכֶם
pl. 1.	יְשָׁרָיו	זְקֵנָיו	שְׂעָרָיו	יְרֵאָיו			יָפָיו
2.	יִשְׁרֵיהֶם	(ִ־) זִקְנֵיהֶם	שַׂעֲרֵיהֶם	יִרְאֵיהֶם			יְפֵיהֶם

III. Nouns with a permanent first syllable.

1.

sg. 1.	כְּתָבוֹ	שִׁמְעוֹ		
2.	כּוֹתְבְךָ			מִזְבַּחֲךָ
	(כּוֹתֶבְךָ)	שִׁמְעֲךָ	קְרָאֲךָ	מִזְבַּחֲכֶם
3.	כָּתְבְכֶם	שִׁמְעֲכֶם	קְרַאֲכֶם	
pl. 1.	כְּתָבָיו			
2.	כְּתָבֵיהֶם			

(בֵּן) בְּנוֹ , בִּנְךָ , בִּנְכֶם (בָּנָיו) בְּנֵיהֶם

2.

מִסְפָּרוֹ		זִכְרוֹנוֹ
מִסְפָּרְךָ	מוֹצָאֲךָ	זִכְרוֹנְךָ
מִסְפַּרְכֶם	מוֹצָאֲכֶם	זִכְרוֹנְכֶם
מִסְפָּרָיו		זִכְרֹנָיו
מִסְפְּרֵיהֶם		זִכְרֹנֵיהֶם

(יָד) יָדוֹ , יָדְךָ , יֶדְכֶם , יָדָיו , יְדֵיהֶם

NUMERALS.

These few nouns form a perfectly peculiar class, so that they are most suitably described here at the end. They are like proper names which have received a more definite signification from the usage of the language: but even in the earliest time have they become so firmly fixed, that their connexion with the other living roots of the language is hard to be recognised. On the other hand, an important regularity of new formations is developed in them according to their peculiar classes and orders, which is much more faithfully preserved in Semitic than in our languages, in which the numerals become more and more mere adverbs. 434

We may form some estimate how old the numerals are, by the very important fact, that the numerals from 1 to 7 agree as to their roots in Semitic and Indo-Germanic, but not the farther ones. 1) Sanscrit *éka*, still in Greek in ἑκάτερος, ἕκαστος; 2) Semitic *tne* or *tre*, Malay *toru*, Indo-Germ. *dva* (cf. the Sanscr. *çvas*, Lat. *cras*, αὔριον) by means of the Sem. *tom* = twin; 3) Indo-Germ. *tra*, Sem. *slo* or, with repetition, *s'los*, with the usual changes; 4) the Indo-Germ. *quatuor* appears to be only a repetition of the short root, for *kakvar*, and the simple *kvar* accords with the Sem. רבע only that the order of the sounds is reversed, ע which answers to *k* being placed last, the ב retaining the same place as the *v*, and the ר being put first, 5) Sem. *khamsh*, Indo-Germ. *khank* or *khantsh*, as the Lat. *quinque* appears to be older than the Sanscr. *pantsh*, Gr. πέντε; 6) *shesh* Sem. and Sanscr.; 7) *sab'* Sem. and *sapt* Indo-Germ. — Among the others, the utmost would be to bring *alf* and the *Lat. mille* together, root *mal* or *lam*: but this is not so near and certain as the affinity of the numerals 1-7.

1. *Original* numerals (cardinals):

1) אֶחָד, *one:* the shortest form is אֶחַד (afterwards shortened to חַד Ez. 33, 30) for which we find אַחַד with weak reduplication of the ח acc. to §. 70, with the lengthening of the *ă* of the last syllable into *á* אֶחָד §. 121, the usual form; *stat. cs.* אַחַד; nevertheless, אַחַד is also found in the flow of the sentence, as *stat. abs.* Gen. 48, 22. Zach. 11, 7. Js. 27, 12; *fem.* אַחַת for אַחַדְתְּ acc. to §. 117; *pl.* אֲחָדִים *the same* Gen. 11, 1 or *some* 27, 44. 29, 20. The word has an adjective formation therefore, §. 322, only in a peculiar manner. — 435
שְׁנַיִם *two* in the *du.*, *fem.* שְׁתַּיִם contracted from שְׁנְתַּיִם §. 175; hence this *Dag. lene* remains after the prefixes §. 464. and in מַה־שְּׁתֵּי Zach. 4, 12 as a compound syllable is thus formed before ח; but it disappears in מִשְׁתֵּי *for two* Jdgs. 16, 28, although this too may become מִשְּׁתֵּי acc. to §. 461. Jon. 4, 11. *Stat. cs.* שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי. The word is properly a substantive dual like *a pair*, formed accord. to §. 382, but already approaches very near to an *adjective*, hence the distinction of gender.

436 2) The numerals from 3 to 10 are properly *abstract substantives*, to denote a mass, a multitude. In the same way therefore as the numerals from 5 to 10 are originally *neuter* substantives in Indo-Germ., as *daçan*, *navan*, Lat. *decem*, *novem*, so have those from 3 to 10, in Semitic, the formation of the *fem. sg.* as that of the *neuter* or abstract collective §. 368, 3. If they stand quite alone without reference to a noun, this *fem.* is always used, as שְׁלֹשָׁה *three* (*trias*). When connected with substantives, they should properly as substantives be placed in the *st. cs.*, as שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים *trias filiorum*; but they have already lost much of this substantive signification, as they seem, beside the more important noun, only to have the sense of an adjective; they are therefore also put before the noun without *stat. cs.* like adverbs, as שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים, or even placed after in the sense of an adjective בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה, which last, however, is late and rare. As they then thus become less and less independent in the construction with a noun, and follow the sense of adjectives proportionably more, accordingly, they also accommodate themselves to the *gender* of the substantives: their *nearest* form (with the ending of the *fem.*) remained for the construction with the *nearest gender* i. e. the *masc.*; whereas they are connected with a *fem. noun*, as a distinction, *without ending* (that is to say, in the *masc.*, if the usual rule was in force here); for inasmuch as the feminine form is the first in them, they form the direct opposite of all other nouns, in their endeavour to distinguish the gender. Nevertheless, the ending of the *fem.* is only weakened in שְׁמֹנֶה §. 369; and sometimes too the original feminine forms are found construed with feminine substantives, e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנוֹת *three daughters* instead of שָׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת Gen. 7, 13. Ez. 7, 2. Zach. 3, 9. They are as follows:

	stat. abs.	stat. c. [1]	stat. abs.	stat. c.
3	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשֶׁת	שָׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4	אַרְבָּעָה [2]	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	-
5	חֲמִשָּׁה [3]	חֲמֵשֶׁת	חָמֵשׁ	חֲמֵשׁ [4]
6	שִׁשָּׁה [3]	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	-
7	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שֶׁבַע	שְׁבַע [5]
8	שְׁמֹנָה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמֹנֶה	-
9	תִּשְׁעָה	תִּשְׁעַת	תֵּשַׁע	תְּשַׁע [6]
10	עֲשָׂרָה [6]	עֲשֶׂרֶת	עֶשֶׂר	-

1) The *stat. cs.* has toneless ת– in all cases in which it is possible, acc. to §. 365. — 2) *a* is prefixed acc. to §. 112; but it is not essential, hence it is wanting in רְבִיעִי S. 439 and in other derivations. — 3) Reduplication acc. to §. 316. — 4) Rare form of the *stat. cs.* acc. to §. 410. — 5) see §. 409. — 6) lengthened form acc. to §. 325.

The *tens* are expressed by the *pl.* of these numerals, without distinction of gender: שְׁלֹשִׁים 30, אַרְבָּעִים 40, חֲמִשִּׁים 50, שִׁשִּׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70 s. §. 382, שְׁמֹנִים 80, תִּשְׁעִים 90; עֶשְׂרִים the *pl.* of עֶשֶׂר is not used for 100, for which a particular word was early formed §. 437, but for 20.

3) Moreover, as single words: מֵאָה 100 a *fem.* acc. to 437
§. 380. from the root מאה, *st. cs.* מְאַת, *du.* מָאתַיִם 200 (for מְאָתַיִם §. 82); *pl. st. abs.* and *cs.* (§. 431) מֵאוֹת, in 2 Kgs. 11, 4. 9 מֵאיוֹת in the *K'tîb*, as מֵאָה is shortened from מֵאָיָה §. 380. — אֶלֶף *msc.* 1000, *du.* אַלְפַּיִם 2000, *pl.* אֲלָפִים. — רְבָבָה (afterwards רִבּוֹ §. 344) prop. *multitude*, to denote an indefinite number above 1000, and then a definite number for 10,000 Jdgs. 20, 10; it was only after the exile that it was united with smaller numbers.

There is not one fixed order used in the position of 438
these numerals where many are to be named together. The first and simplest order is, to begin with the *smaller* number and to couple the following greater ones by וְ *and*. 1) This order has been established in the connexion of a *unit with the number* 10, but both words are always very closely united in a compound and inseparable word, and therefore without וְ, almost as *sedecim*, *quindecim* etc. The first word is, therefore, the ruling one according to the force of the combination, and may stand in *st. cs.* although nt. necessarily. The gender of the compound word is also regulated according to this closest connexion: because there is no separation between unit and ten, accordingly, the subordined word i. e. the ten, accommodates itself to the gender of the unit, and the *fem.* עֲשָׂרָה is not attached to the unit, which is *masc.* as to the sense, but the *msc.* עָשָׂר, so that the nearest form is אַחַד עָשָׂר, שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר etc. But as the first and ruling word of this combination may at the same time adapt itself to the gender of any given substantive acc. to §. 435 f.; accordingly, the ten also is pronounced with a weak feminine ending (§. 369) in case the unit denotes a *fem.* as to the sense, as עֶשְׂרֵה (and thus עָשָׂר and עֶשְׂרֵה are at the same time sufficiently distinguished in pronunciation from the numeral when standing by itself §. 436), e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר בָּנִים 13 *sous*; שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה בָּנוֹת 13 *daughters*. The *stat. cs.* is constantly pointed so in the first word, if the numeral has no ending, as אַחַד עָשָׂר 11 *msc.*, חֲמֵשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה 15 *fem.*; the *Q'ri* has also always pointed שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר 12 *msc.* and שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה as if the *stat. cs.* שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי, was there. We also find עַשְׁתֵּי, a word which only occurs in this combination, instead of the first numeral in אַחַד עָשָׂר 11 *msc.* and אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה *fem.* — 2) In the combination of the *units*

and tens 20–90, the smaller number may be placed first, but it may also be placed after, which last is more frequent in the later books; the copula וְ is, however, always placed between, as שֵׁשׁ וְשִׁשִּׁים or שִׁשִּׁים וָשֵׁשׁ 66. — 3) *Hundreds* are combined with lower numbers in the same way, either from the smallest number progressively, as 5 *and* 80 *and* 100 Gen. 5, 25, or *vice versá*; the copula is gradually omitted in later writers. In the combination with *thousands*, however, the number thousand is almost always placed first, Num. 3, 50. — The number defining many hundreds or thousands is necessarily placed before them, and the unit is then acc. to §. 435 f. dependent on the gender of מֵאָה as *fem.* and אֶלֶף as *msc.* e. g. שְׁבַע מֵאוֹת 700, שִׁבְעַת אֲלָפִים 7000, עֲשָׂרָה אֲלָפִים 10,000 2 Sam. 18, 3. or עֲשָׂרָה אֶלֶף (v. Syntax) Ez. 45, 1. מֵאָה אֶלֶף 100,000.

439 2. There are only very few derived numerals in Hebr.: 1) the ordinals, or rather *numeral adjectives*, are formed by the ending of the adjectives §. 343, and are formed in such a manner from the numbers 3-9, which have a great resemblance on the whole, that the *î* of the adjective is uniformly inserted in the preceding syllable also, as שְׁלִישִׁי *third*, רְבִיעִי *fourth*, חֲמִשִׁי or חֲמִישִׁי acc. to §. 125, *fifth*, שִׁשִּׁי *sixth*, שְׁבִיעִי *seventh*, שְׁמִינִי *eighth*, תְּשִׁעִי *ninth*, עֲשִׂרִי *tenth*. שְׁנַיִם 2 is formed שֵׁנִי (acc. to §. 275 *nt.*) *pl.* שֵׁנִים. No such form is derived from אֶחָד *one* which is itself originally a numeral adjective and can be construed as such; *one*, *the one* may be as the same time *first*, *the first* in a successive enumeration of many in order Gen. 1, 5; nevertheless, רִאשׁוֹן §, 341 *princeps*, *primus* which is more opposed to to אַחֲרוֹן *last*, may be used instead. There is no adjective derived from any numeral above 10, so that the simple numerals must be used for the ordinals also. The *fem.* of these numeral adjectives is also used as substantive: רְבִיעִית *fourth* i. e. *a fourth part*; שֵׁנִית also as *adv. a second time*. — 2) The *dual* of the numbers 3–10 expresses what is *doubled*, *multiplied*, or more definitely *a whole divided* into so many single parts §. 362: אַרְבַּעְתַּיִם *fourfold*, *four times*, שִׁבְעָתַיִם *seven times*. — 3) Remoter derivations are: short forms after the first formation §. 317: רֶבַע *quarter*, חֹמֶשׁ *a fifth*; עֲשָׂרוֹת *decuriae*; עָשׂוֹר, *decas*, especially *ten days* or *tenth day* (of the months), שָׁבוּעַ *seven days*, *a week* §. 386. 410. 431; שִׁלֵּשִׁים, רִבֵּעִים (intensive forms §. 330. 389) *the third*, *fourth* as a multitude i. e. grand children, great grand children, — 4) There are no derivations from the numerals like *ter*, *quinquies* etc., the word *time*, *vicis* (פַּעַם, רֶגֶל; and the *pl.* פְּעָמוֹת, מֹנִים Gen. 31, 7 also as *vices*) is

used separately with the numeral, as שָׁלשׁ רְגָלִים *three times*; rarely are the substantives for *vicis*, all of which are *fem.* except the last rare one, left out, and the numeral which is *fem.* as to the sense, placed by itself, as שֶׁבַע *seven times*, אַחַת *once*, שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, מֵאָה, מְאַת *a hundred times*. Cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 239.

THIRD SECTION.

FORMATION OF PARTICLES.

440 The particles are to be described here, not so much with regard to the different classes of words which may be included among them, as prepositions, conjunctions etc. (for their signification is of more importance for the Syntax), but rather only with regard to their origin and their imperfect formation, cf. §. 201 f.

I. The words of mere feeling (*interjections*), hurried sounds, chiefly aspirates, are still without any form, although every sound in them is the expression of a peculiar feeling. Thus 1) most generally הָהּ Ez. 30, 2. אָח 6, 11, or more commonly with a soft repetition אֲהָהּ, is nothing but the expression of astonishment, of fear, like *ah! oh!* but is not so worn down as a more interjection for the vocative as *oh!* in Latin and English: yet once הָאָמוּר *o dictum! oh the word!* an indignant exclamation Mich. 2, 7. The harder הֶאָח, for הָהּ אָח acc. to §. 129, 1. and §. 121, a repetition of the simple word, is the expression of joy, and also of malicious triumph. — 2) הוֹי is the obscure, deep sound of seriousness, of threatening or lamentation, therefore like the Lat. *heu*, *eheu* and *vae* in different circumstances; the more definite expression of lamentation is הוֹ־הוֹ Am. 5, 16, or shorter אוֹי, rarely אוֹיָה as feminine, once very much lengthened אֲבוֹי Prov. 23, 29 where the ו is commuted for ב, cf. *αἰβοῖ*. Seldom the shrill sound אִי for *alas!* Koh. 4, 10. 10, 16 and הִי Ez. 2, 10. — 3) A longer, protracted loud cry, generally of *pain*, is אַלְלַי (whence the *Hif.* הֵילִיל §. 239) Mich. 7, 1. Iob. 10, 15. Cf. the exclamation in Waddington *Journal of Travels in Ethiopia* p. 96. 234. 274. Burckhardt Notes on the Bedouins p. 58, and words like *ejulare*, *ululare*, *ὀλολύζειν*, *ἀλλλά*.

441 II. The *demonstratives* are less numerous as to the simplest roots, but are an exceedingly various and important part of the language in many derivations, as all pronouns, many conjunctions and adverbs, and even some prepositions are derived from them. The following are the ultimate roots and rudiments as they are discovered in the isolated stems and branches: 1) a

ha (*hu*) or, without the strong aspirate, *a* (which also becomes *i* in many languages) is the perfectly simple demonstrative and has no great power of itself; from this is formed in Sanscrit *ajam*, *atra*, *iti* etc. in Lat. *is*, *ibi*, *ita*, in Germ. *er*, in Hebr. chiefly the pronoun of the *third* person *hû* §. 449. — 2) more important or *definite demonstratives* whose sense depends on firm consonants and which, therefore, admit greater variety: the nearest consonant is the strong *t* which points out with a certain violence, that to which the attention must be first directed; a softer consonant and one which rather points to what is near or internal, is the lingering *n;* and *l* rather points to what is more distant; among all these lingual sounds, however, the *t* is the predominant one. The linguals in general, however, are the nearest sounds for the demonstrative: much less *k*, which, in contradistinction, can refer rather to the inward part, cf. the *c* of *hic*, the pronoun of the first pers. *ich* §. 449. — 3) Lastly, the demonstrative conceived *interrogatively*, and therefore with a peculiar tone; and moreover more definitely with the deep, strong *ka* or *qua*, which is attrited to *va* (as in German) or *pa*, *ma*. This is, perhaps, as far back as we can trace these origins. — In the life of the several languages, however, we find partly manifold combinations of the weak and short primitive sounds, partly too many changes and commutations of the sounds, and partly much that is either not developed or is only preserved in fragments. One kind of formation is indeed preserved in many demonstratives and partly as a relick of the most ancient time, but in Semitic it is always only an approach to the proper nominal formation. Particulars in Hebr. are as follows:

442 1. The simple הָא *here!* = *behold!* is very rare Gen. 47, 23. Ez. 16, 43. The appended *ah* ־ָה, only rarely reduced to *éh* ־ֶ [1]) is, however, related to this, which, with the noun and verb, expresses motion *toward* an object §. 420, but which is also attached to the longer pronouns: שָׁמָּה §. 447, in which the reduplication is to explained according to §. 61.

1) With the noun דְּדָנֶה *towards Dedan* Ez. 25, 13; 1 Sam. 21, 2. 22, 9; with the verb Prov. 24, 14. cf. 294.

Concerning other compositions and concerning the personal pronoun הוּא, see below.

443 This demonstrative sound is very rapidly pronounced as an interrogative, הֲ, and is thus used simply to render the proposition interrogative, like ἦ, *an*, as also it can only be placed *before* the emphatic word of the question, and can never stand alone by itself. This particle is pronounced very rapidly, with the shortest *a*, yet always with a certain force and not so weak and closely as a prefixed sound belonging to the form. Hence הֲ is pronounced with a full vowel and with weak reduplication before gutt. acc. to §. 70, as הַאֵלֵךְ, הֶהָלֹךְ, and הֶחָכָם (*an sapiens?* Koh. 2, 19) acc. to §. 121; it is only before א that this weak reduplication sometimes ceases entirely §. 120, as הַאַתֶּם *an vos?* Jdgs. 6, 31. 12, 5 cf. Gen. 27, 21. In the same way הַיִּיטַב (*an bo-*

num est? Jer. 10, 19, in the concurrence of *a* with *i* against whose attraction that firm *a* protects itself by reduplication and hardening of the *j*. If the word begins with a mere appoggiatural vowel, הַ must always assume a full vowel, thus הַמְשֹׁל, הֲלֹךְ without close attachment of syllables §. 181, hence with Dag. dirimens הַכְּתֹנֶת §. 172, especially before the fleeting *ŏ*, as הַצֳּרִי Jer. 8, 22, or also הַבְרָכָה §. 169; if a gutt. thus begins the word without a firm vowel, this *a* is well suited to the fleeting *ă* of the gutt., as הַאֲשֶׁר 2 Kgs. 6, 22. but the fleeting *ĕ* is overcome by the stronger *a* coming before it, and is changed into *a*, as הַאֲמֹר *an dicere* Iob 34, 18, as that infin. is otherwise אֱמֹר; before the shortest *ŏ* we always find *é* acc. to §. 121. The collision of many gutt. is usually avoided: הֶחֳדַלְתִּי v. §. 123. 1 Sam. 22, 15. 25. 2 Sam. 19, 23; instead of אֲחֵיכֶם (*your brothers*, before light suff. אַחֵינוּ, אֶחָיו acc. to §. 387) we find, after the interrog. הַ, הַאַחֵיכֶם, the fuller pronunciation again returning by way of better separating the three gutt.

אֱהִי *where?* Hos. 13, 10. 14 (thrice, but it does not 444 occur elsewhere) is a composition of this interrogative particle and that *hé* or הִי = *here*, so that the demonstrative *here* becomes, by an interrogation, *where?* This original *a-hí*, however, is usually contracted into אֵי Gen. 4, 9; often lengthened a little at the end אַיֵּה; the short אֵי is, however, also used besides in a very extended sense §. 451.

2. Among the pronominal demonstratives, the syllable 445 הַל is attrited to the frequent use and sense of the Greek and German *Article*; nay this syllable is still closer and more firmly attached to the noun than our article, and is much more shortened. It represents only a gentle reference to an object by way of rendering it prominent: and gender and number is so much the less necessarily distinguished in it, as it cannot possibly stand by itself, but only in this closest attachment. The first consequence of this is, that its ל is always resolved acc. to §. 113 into the first sound of the noun, as הַבֵּן *the son*, הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*; הַיְאוֹר *the Nile*, הַמְבַקֵּשׁ, הַצְפַרְדֵּעַ with loss of the reduplication acc. to §. 119; before gutt. with weak reduplication הַחַיִל, הָעַיִט Jer. 12, 9, and acc. to §. 121 הֶחָכָם, הֶעָפָר, הֶחֳדָשִׁים *pl.* from חֹדֶשׁ, and this weak reduplication remains very constantly, acc. to §. 120 with ח (although not in Gen. 6, 39. Js. 17, 8), and ceases more with עה, as הָעַיִט Gen. 15, 11, and constantly with א and ר, as הָאֵם, הָאָדָם, הָאָרֶץ, הָרָב, הָרָחוֹק. — Other consequences of this close connexion of the article with the noun are elsewhere explained, as §. 324. 463.

We find the Arabic articfe אַל in the proper name אַלְמוֹדָד Gen.

10, 26, but this is the only place where it is certain that the syllable אַל at the beginning of a word, is the article.

446 The nearest demonstrative pronoun [1]) is זֶה, exactly = *da* Germ. *the*, *there*, Sanscrit, Greek and Lat. *ta* (*tu*) according to the change of the mute ד into the sibilant ז; the *ê* is reduced from *â*, for we also find rarely and poetically זוּ (*û* from *ô*) Hab. 1, 11. Ps. 12, 8. The *fem.* זאת is produced from זָאת acc. to §. 60. 365, as if from a former *msc.* זָא; the shortening of this *fem.* into זֹה or זוֹ by the falling away of the ת (cf. §. 344 at the end) is only found in Hos. 7, 16; Koh. 2, 2. 5, 15. Ps. 132, 12. Another root has, however, established itself for the *pl.*, and indeed without any visible plura ending; אֵלֶּה, unless the ending is shortened from אֵלִּין (cf. the Aramaic and Aethiopic *elû*); still further shortened, in the connexion with the article, to הָאֵל, which is, however, only found in the Pentateuch (and repeated from it 1 Chro. 20, 8) for הָאֵלֶּה.

1) זֶה is also found as a mere adverb in statements of time, where its use is only to refer the period more definitely to the present: עַתָּה זֶה *this very time* 1 Kgs 17, 24. 2 Kgs. 5, 22. זֶה שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה *thee seventy years*, cf. Gen. 31, 41; besides in הִנֵּה זֶה *see there!* Js. 21, 9. 1 Kgs. 19, 5.

This pronoun simply refers to that to which the attention is to be first called, and is thus essentially distinguished from the pronoun of the third person which has much less power, whether the object referred to is to be first explained, as *these are the words of God: ye shall* etc. Ex. 35, 2. 5. Gen. 36, 1. Dt. 5, 26, or whether the pronoun refers to a thing already named, as Ex. 34, 27. Lev. 7, 37. It is therefore the simple *this*, or the more emphatic *he*, *it* (the Germ. *der*) and is used in itself without the article, which is only added by apposition (v. Syntax). — If it is to refer to a more distant object, לְ with the article is prefixed: הַלָּזֶה the Lat. *ille*, *ἐκεῖνος*, a very strong demonstative which is shortened, after the Pentateuch, into הַלָּז, as Jdgs. 6, 20. still rarer is the form הַלֵּזוּ Ez. 36, 35. Moreover, this long word is not common, is without distinction of gender and without a corresponding plural; more usually the lighter הַהוּא, *pl.* הָהֵם, is put in apposition with a preceding substantive, by way of referring to a remoter object which is not to be forgotten, rather *οὗτος* than *ἐκεῖνος*, rather *the same* than *that*, rather *idem* than *ille*, and הַזֶּה *pl.* הָאֵלֶּה, by way of referring to a nearer object of more importance at the moment, *this*, *ὅδε* e. g. בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם is always *in those days*, בַּיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּה *in these days* Zach. 8, 9. 10. But neither these nor other demonstratives are ever used correlatively, as *this* — *that* in English.

The following demonstratives are without any personal reference, and are not, therefore, developed to pronouns: 1) אָז *there, then* as particle of time, *tum, τότε*, a combination of the *a* (*ha*) and זֶה, hence we also find אֱזַי as the fuller, more original form which is preserved in Aramaic [1]), in Hebr. only in the later period Ps. 124, 3–5, cf. إِذَنْ and shortened إِذْ. It is used in a remarkable way in Koh. 2, 15 *why then* (אָז) *have I been wiser?* i. e. if things are so. The composition מֵאָז as adverb *from then* i. e. *not from now* therefore *from ancient time, formerly*, like *olim* which is related to *ille*, Js. 16, 13. 2 Sam. 15, 34. — שָׁם *there* of place, also *thither* with a verb of motion, only rarely and poetically referring to an important period already mentioned Ps. 14, 5. 132, 17. Prov. 8, 27, is derived from the same *ta* (da) by a change of the ת into שׁ §. 106, with the ־ָם of place, which is found prefixed §. 338; שָׁמָּה is acc. to §. 442 *thither*, seldom is the postfixed *-âh* merely *demonstrative*, as *there* Hos. 2, 17. Jer. 18, 2. 447

1) In which an *-n* is also attached to it at the end, אֱדַיִן like ܗܝܕܝܢ.

2) From the root *la*, or combined *hala*, which rather points to a remote object, is derived הָלְאָה *hâl'âh*, with the toneless ־ָה of motion: *farther, beyond*, precisely as *ultra* and *ulterius* are comparatives of *ille*; it is used in this signification of place, as גֶּשׁ הָלְאָה *go farther = away with you!* Gen. 19, 9. and of time Num. 15, 23. The part. Nif. נַהֲלָא *removed* which occurs Mich. 4, 7 is only derived from it by a new formation. — On the contrary, with retracted tone and the *-ôm* or *âm* of place §. 447 הֲלֹם *here*, with a word of motion *hither* [1]) the contrary of the local particle שָׁם; the *l* here is probably an early modification of *n* which would be more appropriate for the signification, for we also, and more frequently, find הֵנָּה for *hither*, עַד הֵנָּה *as far as this*, also in a temporal sense: *until now*. 448

1) So only in Arabic, see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 364 f.

3) This *n* is, besides that, chiefly found in the following particles: הִנֵּה referring to the nearest object, *there! = look!* often in the signification *see there = there is —!* Gen. 18, 9. Iob. 9, 19. The shorter הֵן, precisely the Latin *en*, has a somewhat weaker power; and it becomes much more frequent in certain books. This shorter הֵן acquires a special importance inasmuch as it, as referring to an action as merely possible, and representing it with reference to a consequence, becomes a *conditional particle: if*, as is found beginning

to be established Iob. 12, 14. 23, 8, and already entirely developed Lev. 25, 20. Jer. 3, 1, hence also interrogatively *if*, *whether*, like εἰ, *si* Jer. 2, 10. The more genuinely Hebrew conjunction, however, is the somewhat different, softer pronunciation אִם

־נָא is properly *now*, *yet*, but is only used enclitically as a tern of entreaty, calling on one to act at once in the present and nothwithstanding any possible scruples, as the Latin enclitic *-dum* with the imperative, and the German *doch* (from *denn-auch*) have a similar primitive signification. This particle is very common with the imperative and imperfect in any entreaty, or even question (Ps. 115, 2) of some urgency, and chiefly used in cases where acc. to §. 294 the ־ָה of the cohortative is not possible. In Jerem. also אוֹי נָא לִי *woe is me then!* = bewail me! 4, 31. 45, 3. Lam. 5, 16. It can never be placed at the beginning of a sentence unless it is attached to אָהּ *oh!* §. 440, by which the word אָנָּה is formed acc. to §. 129 *oh yet!* which is common at the beginning of urgent entreaties Gen. 50, 17. Jon. 1, 14. 4, 2.

In the oldest and simplest particles of negation לֹא (from לָא acc. to §. 50) and אַל, concerning whose differsnce see the Syntax, the essential *l* appears to prove, that the idea of the negation arises from the pointing away to the distance [1]. In the Indo-Germanic languages, however, this *la* always becomes *na*, and even in Hebr. we discover *n* in אַיִן which is no adverb, but a stronger, completely developed substantive, and expresses *non-existence*, *absence*, or *without*, *un-*, and אִי shortened from it is sometimes used to form a compound adjective as the Indo-Germanic *an-*, *-un*, (*in-*) as אִי־נָקִי precisely like *unclean* = guilty Iob 22, 30; proper name אִי־כָבוֹד ἄτιμος from כָּבוֹד τιμή 1 Sam. 4, 21.

1) Cf. also *alius*, *al-ter*, *an-*dere, from the same primitive root.

449 The *personal pronouns* stand above the mere demonstrative pronouns, as person is denoted by them, not according the natural relations of space, but according to the consciousness of superior human personality, and is strictly distinguished in them. Especially is the distinction of *I* from *thou* as the counterpart of *I*, and of both again from the absolutely distant, indifferent *he*, of the most importance here: *I* and *thou* are of a peculiar higher kind as to their formation also. The mere demonstrative pronouns are like adjectives, the pronoun of the third person, as a more usual demonstrative, may be also so construed: but the real personal pronoun has completely the power of a substantive or proper name, and is incapable of any other construction. Hence gender and number are fully developed here: and the personal pronoun is most variously used as verbal person and

as suffix to the verb and noun §. 281 f. 300 ff. 421 ff. The independent pronouns are:

	Sg.	*Pl.*
3 Ps. m.	הוּא he	הֵמָּה, הֵם they
f.	הִיא she	הֵנָּה, הֵן they
2 - m.	אַתָּה thou	אַתֶּם, you
f.	אַתְּ (אַתִּי) thou	אַתֵּנָה, אַתֵּן you
1 -	אָנֹכִי *or* אֲנִי I	אֲנַחְנוּ (נַחְנוּ) we.

The derivation of הוּא see §. 442; the constant orthography with א (which is only omitted Jer. 29. 23 *K'tib*) is a proof of an ancient strong pronunciation like *hûa*, *hû'*. אַתָּה is a contraction of *anta*: it is easy to perceive that *-ta* is the most essential part, like *tu* in Indo-Germ., related to the demonstrative *ta* §. 441, and this *ta* alone is always found dependent as prefix §. 281, and as suffix is always changed acc to §. 110 into *ka*; the prefixed *an* is a demonstrative particle, therefore, by which this pronoun is enabled to stand by itself, something like *-am* in Sanscrit = nominative *tvam*. As the last syllable is accented here, ־ָה is written acc. to §. 153, very seldom אַתְּ without ־ָה, as Ps. 6. 4. *K'tib;* but shortened to אַתְּ Num. 11, 15. Dt. 5, 24. Ez. 28, 14. In אָנֹכִי (in pause אָנֹכִי §. 132) however, the *an-* cannot have this origin, because *ni* must be a more significant sound for the first pers. (cf. the suffix and §. 240 *nt.* and *me* in Indo-Germ.): it is therefore to be considered as a union of two signs for the first pers., of אֲנִי and of *ôk* (cf. something similar in Coptic and Indo-Germ.). As to use, this אָנֹכִי is most frequent in the Pentateuch; Ezech. Kohelet, and Chron. however, only use the short אֲנִי.

The *pl.* of *hû*, according to ancient traces, was הוּמוּ, which was first shortened to הוּם, and this latter was then shortened to הֵם, acc. to §. 51, although הֵמָּה with a vowel-ending is also often found. In the same way the *pl.* of אַתָּה was originally אַתּוּם, of which there is still a trace §. 303, but it is now always reduced to אַתֶּם. אֲנַחְנוּ, however, appears to have arisen in another manner by repetition from אָנֹכִי; it is only rarely shortened to נַחְנוּ, and only Jer. 42, 6 *K-'tib* has אֲנוּ.

The *fem. sg.* הִיא §. 209; in the Pentateuch there is often הוא for the *fem.* also, but it is always pointed הִוא because the Masoretes desired it to be read הִיא (*Q'rî perpetuum*) [1]). The *fem.* of the second pers., in the same way, was אַתִּי properly [2]), but is always shortened to אַתְּ, and is also written אַתִּי according to this derivation in later writers and in Cant. — The *fem. pl.* הֵנָּה, אַתֵּנָה Gen. 31, 6 or אַתֵּנָּה Ez. 13, 20 just as the verbal person ־תֶנָה, as suffix ־ָנָה, ־כֶנָה, where the final *â* is primitive and essential acc. to §. 371, but is yet often shortened by the falling away of this *-a*, though more in the third than in the second person Ez. 34, 31. The *fem.* is also not unfrequently found here with the more general form, as well in the independent

pronoun הֵם, אַתֶּם, as in the dependent pronoun, as Gen. 31, 9. Iob 1, 14. Cant. 4, 2. 6, 6.

1) The suffixes §. 300 ff. are derived from another feminine formation *hâ*.

2) There is no certain vestige of a form אַתֵּין, so that the *n* with the verb is to be explained as arising from the distinction of the *fuller* form from the shorter.

For the further usage of *the pronoun of the third pers.* see §. 446 and elsewhere. It may also be compared, in this respect, with *is* and its derivatives *idem, ipse*.

450 3. The interrogative pronoun is מָה *what?* of things, מִי *who?* of persons. These indeed have the full power of pronouns, but, being placed with emphasis at the beginning of the sentence, they are so little pliable, so little like adjective or demonstrative pronouns, that they neither distinguish number nor gender, like immoveable substantives: מִי is also referred to the *pl.* as מִי אֵלֶּה *quinam illi?* Gen. 33, 5. Js. 36, 20 and to the *fem.* as מִי זֹאת *quae illa est?* Cant. 6. 10.

The pronunciation מָה belongs properly to the pause merely; there are two other short pronunciations possible:

1) In the intimate conjunction of words, it is pronounced together with the following word by a shortening of the long vowel and a reduplication of the following consonant acc. to §. 129. But if that is a gutt. this pronunciation only takes place if the gutt. can admit weak reduplication accord. to §. 120, therefore always before ח, often before עה, seldom before א and never before ר, as מַה חַטָּאתִי Gen. 31, 36, מַה־הוּא Num. 13, 18; and hence acc. to §. 121 מַה־חֶלֶד Ps. 89, 48. מֶה עָשִׂיתָ Gen. 4, 10, מֶה הָאָדָם Koh. 2, 12, also מַה־אֲנִכִי: but if the gutt. is too weak for this weak reduplication, the *ă* then becomes long again acc. to §. 120, as מָה־אֵלֶּה Zach. 1, 9. Js. 38, 15, מָה־אָהַבְתִּי Ps. 119, 97, מָה־רָאוּ Est. 9. 26. — 2) Where this close conjunction does not take place, and there is no pause at the same time, it is pronounced only more compressed as מֶה acc. to §. 45 (without Maqqef) as 2 Kgs. 1, 7. Js. 1, 5. Jer. 8, 9. Ps. 4, 3. 10, 13: but the *â* remains before a gutt. without being changed into *é*, as the gutt. are in general partial to *a* and the longer vowels, as 1 Kgs. 9, 13. Gen. 31, 32. Jos. 4, 6 (the Mss. and editt. often fluctuate here between the two possibilities e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 1.).

The Aramaic form מָן for *what?* lengthened by the demonstrative *na*, is only forced into use in Hebr. in Ex. 16, 15.

451 The very confined sense and use of this מָה and מִי is the cause that the interrogative אֵי §. 444, because it can mean *where? how?* is united with any demonstrative pronoun to form more definite interrogative pronouns, as various as the demonstratives themselves, only not in a substantive sense which מָה and מִי have of themselves like the personal pronouns. In our languages, the demonstrative pronoun in all

forms goes over into the interrogative by the change of the first sound (*that*, *what?* etc.): in Semitic, where the formation is looser on the whole, the sound which contains the interrogative power is placed at the beginning by itself. Thus 1) when united with זֶה *this*, it forms an *interrogative adjective: οἷος? qualis? quisnam?* precisely as *which?* is distinguished from *who?* The זֶה has the adjective power here, and accommodates itself in gender and number: אֵי possesses merely an interrogative power; זֶה as *neuter* can also stand alone, as אֵי מִזֶּה *e quali? ex quonam?* which more definitely enquires after the country, people, or business from, or on which one comes. 1 Sam. 30, 13. 2 Sam. 1, 13. Gen. 16, 8. Iob 2, 2. There is another shorter word of place formed with the simple demonstrative *n*, which, however, only occurs in flexion (where the simple אֵי *where?* did not seem suitable): מֵאַיִן *whence?* and on the contrary אָנָה *whither* with the ה ָ of motion, which word is, however, so common that it is even shortened to אָן sometimes; עַד אָנָה or עַד אָן *how far?* when used of time *how long? quousque tandem?* with impatience.

1) For one of the very rare examples of the reduction of the *ai* in tone to *á* cf. the proper names דֹּתַיִן and דֹּתָן Gen. 37, 17.

2) From כֹּה or כָּה *so* (§. 455, 2) אֵיכָה *how?* rarely אֵיכָכָה Cant. 5, 3. Est. 8, 6, but very often shortened to אֵיךְ, afterwards הֵיךְ 1 Chro. 13, 12. Dan. 10, 17.

3) From כֹּה in a local signification (§. 455, 3) אֵיכֹה *where? ubinam?* 2 Kgs. 6, 13, also אֵיכָה according to the change of *ô* into *á* Cant. 1, 7. More frequently אֵיפֹה for *where?* acc. §, 455, 3, but also for *how?* Jdgs. 8, 18.

An interrogative pronoun, which is in its very nature 452
founded or an indefinite object, may be also so used in exclamation, that all of that kind, known or unknown, is interrogated if it belong here; and whereas the Indo-Germ. languages express this idea more distinctly by combinations of the interrogative pronoun with other particles, as *quicunque*, *whoever* etc. Hebrew expresses the same sense by means of the position and accent of the words: מָה or מִי are thus placed abruptly at the end, as יַעֲבֹר עָלַי מָה *let come upon me — what!* i. e. what will, Iob 13, 13. 2 Sam. 18, 12; 22. 23. 29; or also at the very beginning of a protasis, as 1 Sam. 20, 4, especially when with a *stat. cs.* דְּבַר־מָה *matter of what = whatever* Num. 23, 3. — It is only in certain phrases that the interrogative is found repeated after the manner of the Lat. *quisquis*, as אָנֶה וָאָנָה *where and whither* i. e. *any whither* 1 Kgs. 2, 36. 42 cf. §. 51; and מְאוּמָה *something* appears to be a combination of מָה וּמָה.

453 *Relative* demonstratives are not primitive, but are derived either from the demonstratives or interrogatives. Demonstratives are very near, as the relative also points or refers, only in a different tone and more gently, after a substantive already named. Interrogatives are nearest in correlative propositions: *he who — he —*, but are also transferred to explanatory propositions, as in Latin, German [1]. Both these possibilities occur in the following relation in Hebr.

1) The delicacy of Sanscrit and Greek in the use of the relative is of another kind.

1) From a demonstrative root is the common relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר [1]) which explains a substantive going before, and which is itself as a substantive when at the beginning of a sentence; but, according to the essence of the relative proposition (see the Syntax) it is placed so abruptly at the beginning of the new proposition, that it is still more than the interrogative pronouns §. 450) without any distinction of gender or number. It is found so much shortened in some writings, that the *a* at the beginning falls away, the ר is resolved into the following consonant, and the שׁ alone remains as the firmest element of the word, and indeed the *ĭ* generally remains still (contrary to §. 47) before the reduplication of the following cons.: שֶׁלּוֹ, even before a weak gutt. שֶׁאֵל Ps. 146, 5 and before ר שֶׁהָאשֹׁי §. 124, although also שַׁקַּמְתִּי with *a* acc. to §. 46, and hence with *ā* before א (acc. to §. 120) Jdgs. 5, 7. 6, 17; it is rarely shortened to שְׁ־ Koh. 2, 22. — The *article* §. 445 is sometimes used in the same manner (see Syntax), and occasionally זֶה or זוּ §. 446 in poetry, and in that case they are, like אֲשֶׁר, without distinction of number or gender, as Ex. 15, 13. Ps. 9, 16. 10, 2. 62, 12.

1) The derivation of this genuinely Hebr. word is, indeed, very doubtful, yet it appears best to consider it as a different pronunciation for אֲשֶׁל, from שׁ = ת = ד §. 447, ל §. 448 and a prefixed *ă*, properly therefore *he there*, and fundamentally not different from الذي.

454 2) מִי and מָה can at the utmost be used in the protasis and in the full power of a substantive, as also relatively (= *quicunque*) in a perfectly indefinite sense, so that they are sufficiently distinguished from אֲשֶׁר. It is only late, in Kohelet, that we find the more convenient combination מַה־שֶּׁ *quod* as substantive, ὅ τε.

On the other hand, כִּי, from the interrogative stem, is used very frequently and in the most various modifications for the relative conjunction *quod*, ὅτι, *that*, although אֲשֶׁר (and זוּ Ps. 62, 12) may indeed be also used as neuter *quod* and therefore as conjunction, but not so frequently nor so definitely; כִּי is most constantly and characteristically used in

those very cases in which a conjunction, in contradistinction to the substantive construction, is most urgently required. It is also used as relative particle of time *ὅτε*, *quum*, *when*. כִּי is, however, never used in a personal sense i. e. as a pronoun.

The use of this relative particle for *the comparison of* 455
similitude, but not *of dissimilitude*, is very remarkable, as it is a relation of mutual reference [1]), like *ὡς*, *quam*, *as*, Sanscr. *jathâ*, all of which are from relative stems. The word is thus pronounced quite short like a preposition כְּ, and serves, by means of composition with demonstratives, to form very many new demonstratives which refer to a *measure*, a *limitation:* 1) when combined with the demonstrative pronoun כָּזֶה (with the foretone *â* §. 37) a new pronoun, for which other languages use *talis*, *such*, shorter; in the repetition כָּזֹה וְכָזֶה (*such and such*, which cannot or need not be definitely stated) *ô* is used the first time for *è* (a) as it is easy for the external distinction of a small change of sound to occur in such correlative compositions, Jdgs. 18, 4. 2 Sam. 11, 25. 1 Kgs. 14. 5; כָּזֹאת the *fem.* as *neuter such a thing* is also repeated in the same way 2 Sam. 17, 15. 2 Kgs. 5, 4. 9, 12; on the contrary, כְּזֹאת without such close combination, כְּ being taken as a preposition, is *after this* i. e. *in the same way* Gen. 45, 23. Also in the *pl.* כָּהֵם, *fem.* כָּהֵנָּה *as those* = *such* Gen. 41, 19. 2 Sam. 24, 3. — 2) Short particles of measure: כֵּן (from this כָּהֵן, the *fem. pl.* as neuter) *after that* i. e. *so* in the manner already described, referring to something said before, or otherwise well known and easily understood, e. g. כְּ־כֵן *as - so*; כֹּה (from כָּהוּ *after that*) *so*, somewhat weaker, referring to something present and near Gen. 15, 5. Js. 20, 6, or to something following, which is to be explained Gen. 31, 8. 32, 5. 45, 9. This כֹּה (or כֹּהַ §. 50) however, when repeated כָּכָה, has again a stronger power *so*, and is used so to refer to something following Ex. 12, 11. 1 Kgs. 1, 48, and to something preceding or known Num. 15, 11-13. Dt. 29, 23, stronger even than כֵּן, hence too always by itself, never after כְּ *as*, as mere apodosis. — 3) כֹּה is transferred to the signification of *place: so!* i. e. in this place as the speaker points out, *ὧδε*, *here*, sufficiently distinguished, from הֲלֹם §. 448 by this very animated mode of denoting place; when with a word of motion *hither*, to the place where the speaker points, Gen. 31, 37, עַד־כֹּה *so far* 22, 5. Ex. 7, 16; also repeated כֹּה וָכֹה, *so and so* i. e. this way and that way Ex. 2. 12. Num. 11, 31, used of time *until so and so* i. e. not long, but in a passage of animated imitation 1 Kgs. 18, 45.

Still more common is פּה [2]) in the same signification *here*, also written פּוֹ, and sometimes even פֹּא.

1) Cf. especially EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 351 ff.

2) According to the same change of the *k* into *p*, as ποῖος etc. is formed from κοῖος; especially as this פ is again very near to the מ §. 450.

456 This last with the newly prefixed demonstrative *é* אֵפוֹ, written אֵפוֹא except in Iob, is used temporally for *now then*, but always only in an animated, impatient question or challenge (by the imperative), as *τοίνυν, ποτέ* or *quaeso* e. g. דְּעוּ אֵפוֹ *know then!* אֵפוֹ מִי הוּא *now then who is he?* Iob 9, 24. 17, 15. 19, 6. 23. 24, 25. Gen. 27, 33. 37. 43, 11. Hos. 13, 10. Js. 22, 1. This is sufficiently distinguished from the interrogative אֵיפֹה §. 451 in sound and sense; the orthography also differs for the most part.

That כֵּן with a newly prefixed demonstrative *á* אָכֵן is *so very*, *so much* as an adverb, fully equivalent to the Lat. *tantum;* and is used 1) as an assurance by means of a limitation which excludes every thing else: *so much* i. e. *only*, *surely* Gen. 28, 16. Ex. 2, 14. 1 Sam. 15, 32. Js. 40, 6. — 2) As a restriction against something going before, as *tantum* = *only*, also = *but* in somewhat later writers Ps. 31, 23. Js. 49, 4. 53, 4. More frequently and at an earlier period is the abbreviation אַךְ used as a limitation, *only*, *yet;* when before the perfect in the sense of the plusquamperf. *he had only gone out* and nothing more i. e. he had *scarcely* etc. Gen. 27, 30. Jdgs. 7, 19, and closely connected with the predicate, as *only joyful* i. e. perfectly joyful Dt. 16, 15. Js. 16, 7. 19, 19. [1]).

1) Neither the derivation from the inf. abs. Hif. הָכֵן *stabilire*, nor that of אַךְ from אֶחָד (like μόνον, *only*) appear so near and certain.

There are only a few and isolated vestiges of a *reflexive* demonstrative *su* or *tu*, see §. 242 *nt.* 340 *nt.;* see the Syntax for the manner in which the language expresses it in other ways. In the same way a pronoun exactly corresponding to our *self*, *the same*, is wanting; concerning which also see the Syntax.

III. Particles formed from the *verb* and *noun:*

457 1) Few are derived from *verbs:* chiefly 1) from the *imp.* רְאֵה *see* almost = הֵן, hence also construed with the *pl.* Dt. 1, 8. 11, 26; לְכָה (§. 293) *go*, for *well!* also construed with the *pl.* Neh. 6, 7. הָבָה *give!* for *come! well! pl.* הָבוּ (shortened from הָבוּ) from יָהַב, which verb is lost except in these persons of the imperat. — 2) Some adverbs

are formed from the *inf. abs.* as הַרְבֵּה *much* cf. §. 356 *nt.* and some others in the Syntax.

2) The greatest number of particles is formed from *nouns*, as *a*) in the *msc. sg.* as אֶפֶס *want*, then *without*; רַק (*thinness*, *emptiness*) *merely*, *only*; adjectives, as קַל *swiftly* Js. 4, 4. טוֹב *well*, the derivative syllable ־ם, ־ָם §. 341 f. which has, in this pronunciation, been almost exclusively preserved for adverbs, is especially frequent here: פִּתְאֹם *suddenly* from פֶּתַע §. 108, יוֹמָם *by day*, רֵיקָם *frustra*, *in vain*, אָמְנָם *truly*, אוּלָם *front*, *opposite part* = *on the contrary*, *but*. — *b*) in the *fem. sg.* chiefly for the formation of new adverbs, as the *fem.* is also proper to the abstracts; generally, ending in ־ה acc. to §. 365, as the adverb has here also the less animated form מְהֵרָה *swiftly*, רַבָּה and רַבַּת beside רַב *much*, *enough*, מְעַט *enough*; אֲרָמִית, יְהוּדִית *in Aramaic*, *in Jewish* (of the language); the endings ־ית and ־ות are also often attached by means of the derived nominal forms §. 341-43, as אֲחֹרַנִּית *backwards*, קְדֹרַנִּית (only Mal. 3, 14) *mournfully*, קוֹמְמִיּוּת Lev. 26, 13 *upright* (from קוֹמֵם §, 234. *to erect*). — *c*) in the *pl.* chiefly inasmuch as it forms abstracts §. 360, as מֵישָׁרִים *right*, *justly* Ps. 75, 3. Cant. 1, 4; יַחְדָּו is properly a *pl.* compounded with a *suff.*, and is first construed with a substantive in the *msc. sg.*, as הָעָם יַחְדָּו *the people*, *its totalities*, *together*, and then with other substantives also; the ending which has become hard to be recognised, is only written ־ָיו in Jer. 46, 12. 21. 49, 3 acc. to §. 428. — Concerning לֵאמֹר an *infin.* with the preposition לְ, see §. 464. — חָלִילָה *to abhorrence!* (from חָלִיל *profane*, *abominable*) = *far be it!* acc. to §. 420.

On account of the great attrition and extreme smallness 458
of the most frequently used particles, we also find many examples of the combination of many particles in one, as עֲדֶנָּה only Koh. 4, 2 and still shorter עֲדֶן v. 3. from עַד הֵנָּה *until now* §. 448, בִּלְעֲדֵי or מִבַּלְעֲדֵי *not as far as* i. e. *besides*, from עַד §. 470 *as far as* and בַּל (without tone also בְּל) or מִבְּלִי (מִבַּל) *without*; בְּלִיַּעַל what is *not high* = lowness, *vileness*, *destruction*; and that bold poetical formation בְּלִימָה, a subst. *not* — *what* = *nothing* Iob 26, 7. In the same way the crowding together of particles explanatory of each other in the laxer language of the late periods.

Nevertheless, although the particles are preeminently the inanimate part of the language, any one of them whose sense approaches the noun, may be again reanimated and new formed, or, at least, be construed with prepositions like the noun. Thus בְּכֹה *with so* i. e. *with such words* 1 Kgs. 22, 20; בְּעוֹד *in yet* = *so long as*, also with suffixes

cf. §. 466; מָחָר as adverb, לְמָחָר *tomorrow*, but where it must again pass as a substantive and be construed as such, there we have the new formation מָחֳרָת, *stat. cst.* מָחֳרַת; from מְעַט *a little* (prop. substantive acc. to §. 319) we afterward find a newly formed *pl.* מְעַטִּים as if from an adjective, because there exists no adjective for that idea. — In the same way, פְּנִימָה *in front* is derived from the preposition לִפְנֵי, which accounts for the absence of the foretone, and has the ־ָה of motion at the end.

459 As to power and construction, however, all particles may be divided into those which *stand by themselves*, as the pronoun and most adverbs, and those that *are attached*, which only obtain a meaning by their connexion with a stronger, more independent word. And indeed some attach themselves *backwards* to a preceding word, in the flow of the diction, serving only to explain or define what is already said, as ־נָא §. 448 and for the most part (but not always) אֵפוֹ §. 456. The *prepositions* are attached to a *succeeding* word, the *conjunctions* to a whole succeeding sentence. The conjunctions are words which only express merely general relations of time and space, and are very much shortened and externally weakened in proportion to their frequent use and extensive meaning, but as they express judgments of the understanding, they have the most important power and position in the sentence. Both, prepositions and conjunctions, are always in *stat. constr.* as to their idea [1]); those prepositions, however, which are derived from mere demonstratives, do not accommodate themselves to this purely nominal construction so easily as those which are derived from nouns, so that we often find כְּמוֹ (§. 469) for כְּ §. 455, מוֹ = מָה being used as a relative conjunction *that*, *quod*. Many archaisms are more faithfully preserved in this *stat. constr.*, as the particles in general have retained many important remains of Antiquity:

1) The union vowel §. 406 in בִּלְתִּי *without* as prep. and conjunct. from a *fem.* בֶּלֶת acc. to §. 380, root בָּלָה, and the very similar זוּלָתִי which, however, as preposition, is also pronounced זוּלַת; מִנֵּי and מִנִּי *from* are only poetical.

2) Some prepositions have more faithfully preserved the original plural formation acc. to §. 361 in the *stat. cs.* and still more before suffixes (acc. to §. 430), as אַחֲרֵי *after*, often and, as adverb, constantly without ending אַחַר.

1) Some longer prepositions may also, and chiefly in poetry, be placed *by themselves* i. e. as adverbs, as תַּחַת *below*, עַל *above*, both poetical, אַחַר *post* = *afterwards*, perhaps also *behind* Gn. 22, 13.

460 There is, however, yet another distinction between the particles which are attached at the beginning of the word, according as such a particle

may in case of need and in short phrases e. g. in an abrupt answer, be nevertheless placed by itself, referring to a completion of the sentence which may be easily supplied, as לֹא *not!* i. e. *no!* עוֹד *again!* and other adverbs of that kind, or according as such a particle has no sense whatever of itself, but necessarily requires a firmer word as support, as the smaller prepos. and conjunct. e. g. אִם *if*, וְ *and;* the interrogative הֲ· §. 443 and the article §. 445.

PREFIXES.

461 When these prefixed particles are shortened down to a single distinct sound, a full (a cons. and entire vowel) or an imperfect one, they are then never written as separate words. Thus the interrog. הֲ §. 443, the article ·הַ §. 445, the relative ·שֶׁ §. 453; besides these, there are the following which contain much that is remarkable:

The preposition מִן almost always resolves its weak *-n* into the following sound, as מִכֹּל §. 113; only rarely does it remain entire in poets, and rather oftener before the article. Gutturals give up entirely the reduplication which compensates for ן §. 120, because the preposition does not belong intimately to the word, as מֵעַם, מֵאָדָם; the weak reduplication, however, remains sometimes before the hardest ח, as מִחוּט Gen. 14, 23, and before ר Js. 14, 3 in some editt. If the following consonant has a mere appoggiatural vowel, the distinct reduplication by means of the peculiar weakness of the *-n* sometimes ceases entirely even in the six simple mutes, contrary to §. 119, as מִבְצִיר Jdgs. 8, 2. 1 Sam. 23, 28. Ez. 32, 20; cf. מֵהְיוֹת §. 464.

462 The three prepositions בְּ, לְ, כְּ and the copula וְ are reduced to imperfect sounds i. e. without a full vowel, and as external affixes they remain so

1) before any vowel whose first cons. has a full vowel, even if the word is monosyllabic as to tone, a לְמֶלֶךְ, בְּכֹה, וְלוֹ, וְכֹה; וְ however, as being very easily softened into the corresponding vowel *u*, is constantly resolved into *u* before a labial, as וּבִי, וּמַלְכוּתוֹ acc. to §. 90. It is only in certain favourable cases that they receive the foretone *â* before a word which is monosyllabic as to tone, and then וְ also has the fuller וָ even where it might become וּ: *a) on account of the fuller tone*, the nearest occasion of which is when such a word is closely connected with a preceding one *as to the sense*, and both form a little separate member in the proposition, so that there is generally a *pause* at the same time at the monosyllabic word, as דּוֹר וָדוֹר *generation and generation;* וְקֹר וָחֹם *and cold and heat* Gen. 8, 22. בֵּן וָאָח *son and brother* Koh. 4, 8. Iob 4, 16; two words so Ez. 27, 17, דְּבַשׁ וָשֶׁמֶן וָצֳרִי. Not so often if the word

stands before a greater pause without this connexion, as רָמָת Gen. 14, 9. וָחָיָה Ex. 1, 16. — *b*) Before many *short separable pronouns and suffixes*, these prep. take *á*: always before זֶה and אֵלֶּה, as לָזֶה, כָּזֶה, בָּזֶה, בָּאֵלֶּה; on the contrary, the possible pronunciations vary in such a way with the longer זֹאת, that the longer one takes place when a new simple idea is formed by the combination, as כָּזֹאת *such a thing*, כְּזֹאת *like this*, quite loose, לָזֹאת *on that account* and לְזֹאת Jer. 5, 7. Gen. 2, 23. The prep. are still more closely attached to the interrogat. מָה, so that *á* is shortened into *ă* even with reduplication of the liquid: בַּמֶּה, בַּמָּה *with what?* כַּמָּה *how much?* and in the most common combination לָמָּה *wherefore?* the last syllable has even lost the tone from the greater shortening; the original tone לָמָה, has only remained where the next word begins with א and usually when it begins with חע (except. Ps. 42, 10. 43, 2 and לָמָה Iob 7, 20 without Dagesh), because final vowels generally become stronger and more permanent before gutt. and especially before the weak ones (see §. 450). — *c*) ל always receives *á* if it is so closely connected with some words, that it is equivalent to an inseparable letter: *α*) in the adverb לָכֵן *therefore* 1) (not in the rarer בָּכֵן) לָרֹב *much* (in number), לָנֶצַח, לָעַד *for ever*. *β*) In the construction with all *infinitives*, because ל is very often attached to them (see Syntax) and is almost as closely connected with them as the prefixes of the imperfect §. 283: לָתֵת *to give*, לָלֶכֶת, לָשֵׂאת (in which combination שְׂאֵת §. 354 is also shortened at the same time to שֵׂאת acc. to §. 82). But ל remains without *á* when it is, merely for external connexion, quite loosely attached to the infinitive as to any other noun Gen. 16, 3.

1) That this is never used for לֹא כֵן, لكن لا *not so = but*, has been already observed in the *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen* 1829 p. 1403.

463 When these three prepositions are prefixed to a word with the article הַ, the aspirate ה is always suppressed in this close conexion acc. to §. 82, as לַבָּן for לְהַבָּן, בָּאָרֶץ; the later writers only resolve this compressed form again, as Neh. 9; 19. Koh. 8, 1. But the copula וְ which is less closely attached than the preposition to the noun, always remains separated, so does כְּ in cases like כְּהַיּוֹם *as to day*, because הַיּוֹם *the day* has become an adverb in this combination 1 Sam. 9, 13. — On the contrary, the ה of the *infinitives Hif. Nif. Hitp.* which is externally attached to the root, is usually maintained and is seldom inaudible after בְּ, more frequently after ל (acc. to §. 462) in the same way as it is after the prefixes of the imperfect §. 283, as לְהַחֲטִיא for

לְהַחֲטִיא *Hif.* Iob 33, 30, Js. 23, 11; hence also לִיסּוֹר *inf. Qal* 2 Chro. 31, 7 acc. to §. 271 at the end.

2) If the word begins with a cons. without a full vowel, these prefixes must then necessarily assume a full vowel acc. to §. 66, and as such *ĭ* is the nearest: it stands in a *loosely* compounded syllable always, except with ל before the *infinit.* (acc. to §. 462) as בִּדְגַת, כִּדְבַר, בִּבְחֹר, but לִכְתֹּב. Only וְ is rather changed acc. to §. 90 into its nearest vowel sound *u*: וּכְתֹב. If י however is the first cons. of the word, so that it coalesces with that inserted *ĭ* in *î*, then ו must remain a consonant before this necessarily arising *î*: בִּידֵי, וִידֵי. If the word begins with a gutt. and consequently with a fleeting vowel acc. to §. 70, then *u* or *ĭ* which would disagree with such a vowel (§. 76) is not assumed, but, as there is no *per se* definite vowel there, the short vowel which is to be assumed, accommodates itself to the sound which already exists in the syllable in its fleeting vowel, e. g. ל or ו before עֲבָדִים, אֱמֶת, חֳלִי become לַעֲבָדִים, וַעֲבָדִים, לֶאֱמֶת, לָחֳלִי. And as the consonant is altogether very loosely attached with its vowel, the looser vocalization remains in such syllables always (yet cf. Iob 34, 2); the harder one §. 168 can only take place with ל before the *inf.* as לַחְטֹב, לֶאְסֹר, לַחְמֹם (inf. intrans.) Js. 47, 14. even לַהְשׁוֹת inf. Hif. 2 Kgs. 19, 25 *Q'rî*, shortened from לְהַשְׁאוֹת Js. 37, 20 acc. to §. 82. In very common words, א looses its guttural power acc. to §. 341: בֵּאלֹהִים (*in God*) לֵאלֹהִים but not in the rarer לֶאֱלוֹהַּ) לֵאמֹר *to say, to this effect*, which has become an *adverb* for citation of anothers words. These are examples of another sort: בֵּעָיִם acc. to §. 94 Js. 15, 11 from עִיִּים §. 328, וִהְיִיתֶם from הֱיִיתֶם, וִהְיוּ, וִחְיוּ from the *pl. imperat. Qal* הֱיוּ (*sg.* הֱיֵה: but *fem.* הֲיִי) חֱיוּ, also somewhat softer וֶחְיֵה *sg.* Prov. 4, 4; even מִהְיוֹת from the *infin. Qal* הֱיוֹת and the prepos. מִן which is capable of great shortening acc. to §. 461. — Concerning בַּהֲשַׁמָּה inf. Hif. root שָׁם with בּ, see §. 254.

Whether therefore the vowel-sign before the Chatef-Qamess in nouns like בָּאֳנִי has arisen from a mere Sh'va mobile, or whether that form has arisen from בְּהָאֳנִי (with ב and the article §. 463) and is to be read in the first case *bŏ°-ni*, and in the second *bā-°ni* (cf. §. 162) can only be decided by the sense, which will leave no doubt about the article.

PARTICLES WITH SUFFIXES.

465 These may take suffixes: 1) all prepositions, as they are equivalent in the construction to the idea of a noun in the *stat. constr.* — 2) הִנֵּה *see!* because it answers to the sense of an imperative רְאֵה, as the Lat. *en me;* — 3) some particles which, because they include from constant use the idea of a *being*, may subordine to themselves, as a necessary complement, the personal idea belonging to that (in the noun substantive and pronoun and, therefore, suffix) just as the verb cannot be without signification of person: a kind of imperfect verbs is thus formed, without distinction of tense and mode. These words may, moreover, differ in origin and mode of construction: יֵשׁ §. 318 (root יָשָׁה *to be firm, established* [1]) and hence *to be really*) is *existence*, *being*, אַיִן §. 318, 3 the contrary, both are therefore properly substantives in *stat. constr.;* on other hand עוֹד *yet*, an adverb from the *infinit. abs.* and אַי *where?* §. 444 are of a different kind as to origin; also instead of אַיָּם *where are they?* may be used אַיֵּה הֵם.

1) This root is further developed in יָשַׁב *to sit, dwell;* the Indo-Germanic *ăs* (esse) has also a similar sound and origin, cf. *ās* = *to sit*.

466 Particles which are formed from the *stat. cs.* of a noun, receive, according to their origin, the nominal suffixes §. 421. But הִנֵּה on account of its signification always receives the verbal suffixes §. 300, as הִנְנִי *en me* = *here am I!* הִנְנוּ *en nos*, the tone remaining very strong on the end of this word, only in pause הִנֵּנִי, הִנֵּנוּ although sometimes acc. to §. 306 הִנֶּנִּי, הִנֶּנּוּ Gen. 22, 7. 27, 18. 44, 16. 50, 18; הִנֵּהוּ *en eum* Jer. 18, 3, generally shorter הִנּוֹ; הִנְּךָ *en te*, in pause הִנָּךְ, הִנְּכֶם *en vos*, הִנָּם *en eos*. The particles also which form imperfect verbs §. 465, 3, have always rather the verbal suffixes, because they approach nearer to the verb than to the noun, and the personal pronoun is more loosely attached, as always עוֹדֶנִּי *yet am I*, אֵינֶנִּי *I am not*, with the 3 pers. sg. עֹדֶנּוּ, אֵינֶנּוּ, אֵינֶנָּה, יֶשְׁנוֹ *he is* acc. to §. 306 in prose also Dt. 29, 14. 1 Sam. 14, 39. 23, 23, but simply אֵינוֹ; עוֹדְךָ, אֵינְךָ, יֶשְׁךָ, in pause אַיֶּכָּה *where art thou?* אֵינָם, עוֹדָם, afterwards written אֵינֵימוֹ Ps. 73, 5 cf. 59, 14; אֵינְכֶם, יֶשְׁכֶם [1]). Lastly, some prepositions which are more capable of formation also begin to assume the characteristic verbal suffixes, because the prepos. also may be gradually more loosely construed, and with the accusative instead of the genitive, thus תַּחְתֶּנָּה *under her* Gen. 2, 21, poet. תַּחְתֵּנִי *sub me;* בַּעֲדֵנִי *circa me* 2 Sam. 22, 37, cf. Ps. 18, 37. Ps. 139, 11.

1) That the relation of the accusative is actually contained in the sense of the suffix here, is shown by the later resolution into אֵין אֶתְכֶם Hag. 2, 17. In what manner the suffixes may be distinguished where it is necessary, is shown by בְּעוֹדֶנִּי *in while I am* — i. e. as long as I am — with a predicate following, and the poetical innovation בְּעוֹדִי *in my duration* i. e. with a complete sense in itself *as long as I live* Ps. 104, 33. 146, 2, cf. מֵעוֹדִי *since I was* Gen. 48, 15.

This has become most powerful and remarkable in the preposition מִן *from*. The *-n* namely, which is a very weak final cons. in itself, has become, before the lighter suffixes, quite like the *-n* which is inserted before them §. 306, and as the tone and in part even the compass of the word is very much shortened thereby, the מ itself has been repeated [1]); thus מִמֶּנִּי for מִנְנִי *from me*, מִמֶּנּוּ *from us*, but also מִמֶּנּוּ for *from him* for מִנְהוּ, מִמֶּנָּה *from her*; מִמְּךָ, מִמֵּךְ because this *-n* is not to near nor so easy to support before the rather heavier suffixes, in pause מִמֶּךָּ; lastly, before the heavy suffixes this formation ceases entirely, as מִכֶּם, מֵהֶם. The poets also omit the reduplication sometimes where it is always found in prose, partly by resolving and lengthening the prosaic form with the *-n* belonging to the suffix, as מֶנְהוּ Ps. 68, 24. Iob 4, 12, partly by attaching the suffixes to the entire מִן, as מִנֵּהוּ, מִנִּי, but the last is always מֶנִּי in pause Ps. 18, 23. Iob 21, 16. 467

1) The same thing is shown in מֵימֵי for the *stat. constr.* מֵי *water* §. 416, and in the very rare *infin. constr. Qal* תִּתֵּן *to give* for תֵּת, root נתן (usually תֵּת) 1 Kgs. 6, 19. 17. 14.

The difference between the lighter and heavier suffixes is shown in an especial manner by the accusative particle אוֹת (see the syntax). This is generally shortened to אֶת־ or, without Maqqef, to אֵת acc. to §. 51, and the original vowel *ô* is only preserved before suffixes, because the final ת is separated by them, the vowel sound of the syllable is therefore opened and the original long vowel can be more firmly maintained. And indeed *ô* remains before all lighter suff., as אוֹתִי *me*, אוֹתוֹ *him*, אֹתָנוּ *us*, אֹתְךָ *thee*; but before the heavier suff. before which every moveable vowel is shortened §. 426, that *e*, produced by flattening, is immediately heard, as אֶתְכֶם, אֶתְהֶם; the later writers only form consistently אוֹתְכֶם Jos. 23, 15. Ez. 23, 46 f. — This particle is therefore perfectly different from the preposition אֵת, אֶת־ *with*, before suff. אִתִּי, אִתְּךָ, אִתְּכֶם; but as the shortened אוֹת has become very like this prep. and, except before suffixes, has precisely the same sound, consequently, both are so much confounded together in the later period, that אוֹת is also used before suff. for the prep. *with*. 468

469 כְּמוֹ, for כְּ §. 459, is always preserved before the lighter suffixes: as כָּמוֹנִי, כָּמוֹךָ, on the contrary before the heavier כָּהֶם, כָּכֶם, only poet. כְּמוֹכֶם Iob 12, 3 and כְּמוֹ also before all nouns. As this מוֹ as relative particle can attach any preposition, some poets have therefore attached the equally short בְּ *in* and לְ *to* with it, but not often (לְמוֹ only in Iob) and only before *monosyllabic*, rarely before disyllabic words.

The prepositions and other very short and attrited particles take the longest possible pronunciation when attached to suffixes. Thus 1) constantly the foretone *á:* כָּכֶם, כָּמוֹנִי, לָהֶם, also עִמָּהֶם from עִם *with;* — 2) the longer formations לָהֶם (never לָם) לָהֶן, בָּהֶן or בָּהֵן, and often בָּהֶם for בָּם, עִמָּהֶם, אִתְּהֶן for עִמָּם, אוֹתָן; also often לָהֵנָּה, בָּהֵמָּה for לָהֶן, בָּהֶם. — 3) *á* instead of *é* as union vowel of the suffix: לָנוּ, אִתָּנוּ, אֹתָנוּ, so much so that this *á* expells the *e* of the suff. of the 2 pers. *fem. sg.*, as בָּךְ, אִתָּךְ, עוֹדָךְ, הִנָּךְ. In the same way also כֹּל *omnis*, which approaches the pronouns as to idea, has assumed some pronominal peculiarities: כֻּלָּנוּ *we all*, כֻּלֵּךְ or כֻּלָּךְ *thou entirely*.

470 Vestiges of a *pl.* of prepositions §. 459, 2 are always found in אַחֲרֵי *after* before suffixes, although the simple *stat. constr.* without suff. is often only אַחַר. תַּחַת *under* is not found in the simple *stat. cs.* but only before suffixes in the *pl.*, although instead of the longer word תַּחְתֵּיהֶם we frequently find the shorter תַּחְתָּם from the *sg.* cf. §. 430. בַּעַד *circa* is only found in Am. 9, 10 with a plural-suff. In בֵּין *between*, the *pl.* בֵּינֵי, בֵּינוֹת is confined to the case of the suffix also having a plural sense e. g. בֵּינִי וּבֵינֵיכֶם *between me and you.*

We are not to confound the forms of the prepositions אֶל־ *to*, עַל *upon*, עַד *as far as* with this plural, although they ressemble it externally, for those prep. being from ל״ה roots, have the ending ◌ֵי from their origin, and not from the *pl.;* this ending is always retained before suffixes cf. 426 *b*, we also find in poets אֱלֵי (only in Iob), עֲלֵי, עֲדֵי in the usual *stat. cs.* א is partical to *e* acc. to §. 76. —

View of the particles with suffixes,
cf. page 275.

From בְּ	מִן	אֵת־ (אֹת)	אֶת־	כְּ	(אֱלֵי) אֶל־
בּוֹ	מִמֶּנּוּ	אֹתוֹ	אִתּוֹ	כָּמֹהוּ	אֵלָיו
in him	from him	him	with him	as he	to him
בָּהּ	מִמֶּנָּה	אֹתָהּ	אִתָּהּ	כָּמֹהָ	אֵלֶיהָ
in her	from her	her	with her	as she	
בְּךָ *)	מִמְּךָ **)	אֹתְךָ	אִתְּךָ	כָּמוֹךָ	אֵלֶיךָ
in thee	from thee	thee	with thee	as thou	
בָּךְ	מִמֵּךְ	אֹתָךְ	אִתָּךְ	כָּמוֹךְ	אֵלַיִךְ
בִּי	מִמֶּנִּי	אֹתִי	אִתִּי	כָּמוֹנִי	אֵלַי
in me	from me	me	with me	as I	
בָּם , בָּהֶם	מֵהֶם	אֹתָם	אִתָּם	כָּהֶם (כְּמוֹ־)	אֲלֵהֶם
in them	from them	them	with them	as they	
בָּהֶן , בָּהֵן	מֵהֶן	אֹתָן	אִתָּן	כָּהֵן	אֲלֵהֶן
בָּכֶם	מִכֶּם	אֶתְכֶם	אִתְּכֶם	כָּכֶם	אֲלֵיכֶם
in you	from you	you	with you	as you	
בָּכֶן	מִכֶּן	אֶתְכֵן	אִתְּכֶן	כָּכֵן	אֲלֵיכֶן
בָּנוּ	מִמֶּנּוּ	אֹתָנוּ	אִתָּנוּ	כָּמוֹנוּ	אֵלֵינוּ
in us	from us	us	with us	as we	

In the same way עַל עָלַי, but always with *a*.

*) In pause בָּךְ see §. 131.

**) In pause מִמֶּךָּ 134. 497.

THIRD PART.

THE SYNTAX.

FIRST SECTION.

ON THE SIMPLE PROPOSITION.

The simple proposition in ordinary diction is formed by the juxtaposition and mutual relation of *subject* and *predicate* as its two necessary members. These members, however, may be of the most various compass and of different kinds, so that we must first show in how various relations a word may stand in a simple proposition and what compass a member of the proposition may accordingly have. Moreover, the quality of the whole proposition may be negative, interrogative, or interjectional. Hence arise the following three divisions: 471

I. RELATIONS OF A WORD IN A PROPOSITION.

472 There are only three relations in which a word can stand in a proposition: 1) in the relation of *independence in the proposition* and of *dependence as to the sense* or of *subordination*, in other words, in the relation of the *nominative* and *casus obliquus*. 2) The *casus obliquus* may be distinguished into two kinds: a word may either be subordined by itself, freely, that is as the *accusative*, or in the relation of the closest and most immediate connexion of two *different* ideas by means of *mutual attraction* and *subordination*, in which the first word attracts the second and the second is subordined to the first, which is also called *status constr.* §. 400 ff. the characteristic peculiarity of which subordination to the preceding attracting idea is, that it may express our *genitive*. And lastly 3) in the relation of *isolation* and of *apposition*, according to which a word which might be placed by itself, is further explained by one or more words loosely added and externally subjected to it (in apposition to it), as אִישׁ *man, some one* placed by itself, or, with apposition, הָאִישׁ *the man*, אִישׁ גָּדוֹל *great man*; there is no internal connexion whatever here, and in this respect this is the contrary of 2). This third relation may also always take place in the two preceding ones.

473 These three relations extend throughout all words in the proposition, but have most influence on the noun, less on the verb and particle: the former, because it is too complete a member, the latter, because it is too insignificant a member in the proposition.

As, on account of the want of cases, the relation of *subordination* and *dependence* can only be expressed by the mere order and position, and as these means are very limited, and are not in all instances sufficient, accordingly, the use of the *prepositions* must be very frequent and important in order to denote externally all relations which cannot be internally (virtually) signified.

474 I. Relation of *independence* and *dependence* or *subordination in the proposition*, or of the *nominative* and *casus obliquus*. In an ordinary proposition, there are only two absolutely independent ideas, subject and predicate §. 471; these two are the chief parts, the two supporters, and are therefore to be conceived in the nominative. The subject indeed must necessarily be in the nominative always, and so may the predicate if it is expressed by a common noun, as יְהוָה צַדִּיק *Jahve* is *just* (for it is also possible for the predicate to be an adverb or word with a preposition §. 545); the verb contains subject and predicate in itself, as אָמַר *he said*. All other words besides the subject and predicate must be in the casus obliquus.

II. The *casus obliquus* admits a separation and distinction into two kinds: a word may be subordined by itself, freely, or it may be strictly subordined to a preceding word by means of mutual attraction, when the first attracts the second and the second subjects itself to the first, which is a kind of composition. Free and strict subordination may be thus distinguished, and they correspond generally to the *accusative* and *genitive* in our languages. Because these two relations are not diametrically opposed to one another, there are instances in which they border very closely on one another, and there is only a nice distinction between them, as we might either say *pulcher faciei* or *faciem*. 475

A. Relation of the *accusative* or *of loose, free subordination*. It is the abrupt, unconnected expression of a *relation merely existing in the mind*, and conveys therefore the idea of *motion* in opposition to that of rest. This expression of relation and motion may either be interwoven in the middle of the proposition or may only express a mere abrupt, incomplete sentiment and impulse of the mind, as the infinitive קַוֵּה *waiting!* i. e. let some one wait. In many instances indeed this corresponds to the European *accusative*; but its compass is much wider [1]). It may occur in the noun or in the verb, in the middle of the proposition or in an abrupt proposition. With regard to the interjectional proposition, however, see §. 582. — In the middle of the proposition, and first in the noun, are the following three kinds of free subordination to be distinguished: 476

1) This may be most clearly seen in Arabic, because it distinguishes the nominative and accusative by different forms. The same difference exists fundamentally in Hebr. although the form is not everywhere so distinct.

Every word, therefore, in the proposition, with the exception of those that are forcibly subordined i. e. in the *genitive*, must be placed either in the *nominative* or *accusative* i. e. independently or relatively.

1. Where the verbal idea implies that *the action affects a thing immediately*, the substantive of the thing affected is freely subordined to the verb; this kind of accusative in the strongest and most significant, as the action does not merely extend as far as the object, but also touches and defines it; and the closest ideal bond is contained in this connexion, because the action and the object are externally quite distinct. Whether a verb may show such a power on any occasion depends less on the mere verbal stem than on the direction of the idea of every single verb; for a verb of intransitive and reflexive form can also, through such a direction, receive an immediate complement without preposition §. 240-43-50. The language often fluctuates between this 477

shorter construction and the mediate one by a preposition, and the poets especially have much boldness and freedom here e. g. נָשַׁק *to kiss*, prop. to join, and hence first construed with לְ of the person 2 Sam. 15, 5, then with the accusative at once 1 Sam. 20, 41; עָרַךְ *to arrange* (battle), *to encamp* with על of the person, but in poetry with the accusative of the person at once: *to besiege* Iob 6, 14; יָכֹל *to be able*, with the accus. of the person: *to overpower*, conquer Ps. 13, 5. Jer. 38, 5; גּוּר and שָׁכַן *to dwell*, poet. with the accusat. of the person for *to possess some one as friend* or *neighbour* Ps. 5, 5. 120, 5. Prov. 8, 12; עֲמָמוּךָ as *latent te* Ez. 28, 3. A thing may also in many phrases be more easily subordined immediately than a person. — It is unnecessary to enumerate every verb of this kind; the following are some classes of them:

1) The verbs of *going* thus take as their object the place which the motion directly affects and renders immediately passive, as הָלַךְ אֶת־הַמִּדְבָּר *to go the desert* i. e. to pass through it Dt. 1, 19. Iob 29, 3. Js. 57, 2, or where going, walking is metaphorically = *to act* 33, 15. Mich. 2, 11. In the same way יָצָא *to go out*, if it is directly = *to leave*, as *exire urbem* Gen. 44, 4 and עָבַר *praeterire aliquid* 32, 33; also בּוֹא *to come* = *to reach*, as *destruction reaches him* Ps. 35, 8.

478 2) The verbs of *speaking* do not only subordine to themselves the thing uttered (the words, the purport), to which belongs also זָעַק חָמָס *clamare* = *queri injustiam* Hab. 1, 2, but also the object spoken of, even the person, although this last is very confined, as in the relative proposition אֲשֶׁר יֹאמְרוּ *of which they say* Gen. 22, 14, in the phrase דִּבְּרוֹ לְשָׁלוֹם *he speaks him for peace* i. e. speaks in such a manner of him that he wishes him well 37, 4, and poetically אִמְרוּ צַדִּיק *say of the just* Js. 3, 10; especially in עָנָה *to inform some one*, generally *to answer*, and in the same way הֵשִׁיב (with or without דָּבָר) *to return* = *to reply*, *αποκρίνεσθαι* Iob 33, 5. 32. צִוָּה *to command*, like *jubere* with the accusat. of the person, is prop. *to appoint*, *dispose*.

3) The verbs of *acting* or *treating* do not only subordine the act, but also the person affected, as גָּמַל which signifies reciprocal action, and שִׁלֵּם *to recompense*. In the same way the verbs of *giving*, *bestowing*, by which also the person can be immediately affected (*donare aliquem*); whence also נְתַתִּיךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת *I gave* = permitted *thee to do*.

479 A verb which thus subordines to itself on either side two perfectly different objects, each of which is equally near, can also connect both of them with itself in the same proposition; this power and fredom become gradually rarer in

later languages. Thus from the classes mentioned in §. 478: מַה עָנָה אֹתוֹ *what he answered him* Mich. 6, 5; צִוָּה Dt. 1, 18; גְּמַלְתִּיךָ הָרָעָה *I requite thee the evil* 1 Sam. 24, 18, שִׁלֵּם and עָשָׂה *to do* Js. 42, 16; נָתַן *to give* often, in which it is followed by חָנַן to be gracious to = *to give graciously* Gen. 33, 5. בֵּרֵךְ *to bless* in the same sense Dt. 15, 14, קִדֵּם *to precede* = to grant before hand Ps. 21, 4, כִּבֵּד to honour = *to honour by gifts* Js. 43, 23, סָמַךְ, סָעַד, כִּלְכֵּל, מָשַׁךְ (Jer. 31, 3) = *to prop, support* = to bestow for support, on the contrary עָבַד to serve = *to give as service* Ex. 10, 26; in the same way עָנַשׁ *mulctare* Dt. 22, 19, הָלַם *to smite* Ps. 141, 5. הוֹרָה *to shoot* Ps. 64, 8. Moreover, the following classes: the verbs of *clothing, covering* of every sort (cf. *induo te vestem*), as חָגַר and חִזֵּק *to gird* Js. 22, 21, נָעַל *to shoe*, עִטֵּר and עִטֵּר *to crown*, מָשַׁךְ *to annoint*, כִּסָּה *to cover*, poet. סוֹבֵב *to surround* = to clothe Ps. 32, 7. 10, סָבַב Ps. 109, 3, צִפָּה *to overlay*, to which the verbs of *planting* and *sowing* agree, as the seed is like the clothing of the field, נָטַע Js. 5, 2, זָרַע 17, 10. 30, 23. — Moreover, the verbs of *asking* and *teaching*, as שְׁאַל אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים תּוֹרָה *interroga sacerdotes legem*, לִמַּדְתִּיכֶם חֻקִּים *docui vos leges*, יִסַּר *castigare*, הוֹרָה *to show, instruct* (the last sometimes with בְּ *in a matter*); sometimes nevertheless with לְ of the person, as in later languages with the dative, Iob 21, 22. — Cf. something similar in §. 239.

The case is somewhat different if a verb and a noun together are only equivalent to a perfectly simple idea, so that they take an object, as עָשָׂה כָלָה (*all machen*) *to make an end of* = *to destroy*, with an accusative Nah. 1, 8.

Utterly different from this is a second object which, if 480
it were not, together with the first, dependent on a purely active verb, would be the predicate of the first; thus with a verb of *making, destining*, not only the object primarily affected but also the new destination itself is subordined to the verb, whereas later languages would express the latter by *to, as*. Thus *a*) with the verbs of making, נָתַן, שׂוּם, שׁוּת, עָשָׂה, as נְתַתִּיךָ נָבִיא *constitui te prophetam*. Particularly with the verbs of *preparing, building* are two constructions to be accurately distinguished: *α*) if the material is first mentioned and is the nearest object, as בָּנָה אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ *he built the stones an altar* i. e. for an altar 1 Kgs. 18, 32; *β*) if the work is the nearest object, and the material or execution is the second and is put without the article, as עָשָׂה אֶת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ *he made the altar wood* i. e. of wood, *wooden* Ex. 37, 25. Gen. 2, 7. 6, 14 (*make the ark cells* i. e. so as to contain compartments); מִזְבַּח עֵץ *st. cs.* might

also be used here *as an altar of wood.* — *b*) With the verbs of *naming*, which is also a kind of *defining*, and, on the contrary, of altering the name, as הֵסֵב 2 Kgs. 23, 34. — *c*) With many other verbal ideas for any kind of *destining, making*, as *he erected the stone* מַצֵּבָה *a pillar* = for a pillar; *he smote the house* רְסִיסִים *to ruins* Am. 6, 11. An adjective can be subordined as second object in the same way, as *write ye this man* עֲרִירִי *childless* Jer. 22, 30. Gen. 33, 2.

Hither also belong; *he sees* (*hears*, *believes* etc.) *them* עִוְרִים *blind.*

481 According to the idea of *motion* which is contained in the accusative, the roots of *motion* subject the noun of the *direction* to themselves by simple subordination; but the accusative is not so strictly subordined here, because it does not denote the object actually affected. Thus *he went* הָעִיר *to the city;* the verbs which are at the same time active with two objects, as *lift up your hands* קֹדֶשׁ *to the sanctuary* Ps. 134, 2; *the land* אֲשֶׁר *whither thou sentest us* Num. 13, 27. Names of persons, however, do not so easily admit of being subordined in this way, and, where a verb of motion is not so near, only certain words of frequent use can support the idea of the direction, as *he called them* הַשָּׂדֶה *rus, to the field* Gen. 31, 4. Else the ָה of motion §. 420 is frequently used for clearness, as when the noun is put before Ex. 1, 22, also in a temporal sense in the phrase מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה *from year to year.*

482 2. An idea is described and explained merely *as to its purport* and *nature* by means of the free subordination of a noun, so that both are not related to each other as cause and effect, but as general and particular, This is a looser construction therefore, and later languages express many relations which belong here, more distinctly and strongly by prepositions or adverbs: in Hebr., however, there is still great ease and fredom here, and especially in the poets. The verb, or the participle and adjective answering to it, may be so described:

1) by *substantives* which limit the purport of the verb more strictly to the particular part to which the whole at this time specially refers; as from intransitive verbs: חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו *he was diseased in his feet* (cf. πόδας ὠκύς) 1 Kgs. 15, 23, *greater than thou* הַכִּסֵּא *as to the throne* Gen. 41, 40, Ex. 6, 3, poetically גָּבְרוּ חָיִל *they are mighty in strength* Iob 21, 7. אָבַד דֶּרֶךְ *to lose the way* Ps. 2, 12; from reflexive verbs: הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה אַפַּיִם (rarely אַפָּיו 2 Sam. 24, 20) *to bow the face*, נִתְרָאֶה פָנִים *let us see one another* (i. e. let us contend) in person = *personally* 2 Kgs. 14, 8. 11;

hence also as second object with active verbs: יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ *he will crush thee on the head* Gen. 3, 15. Dt. 33, 11. Jer. 18, 17 cf. τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσ' ἐκάλυψε, הִכָּהוּ נֶפֶשׁ *he smites him as to his life* = *to death* Dt. 22, 26. Also bolder in poetry: *I call* פִּי *with my mouth* i. e. *loud*, *I yearn for thee* נַפְשִׁי *with my soul* i. e. deeply, where the particular instrument only describes the nature of the action Ps. 3, 5. 12, 3. 17, 10. 13 f. 27, 7. 44, 3. 60, 7. 66, 17. 109, 2. 138, 7. Js. 10, 30. 26, 9. — An *adjective* or intrans. and pass. *participle* may indeed be construed in the same way Js. 40, 20, and must be so if a word comes between Job 15, 10; but in all cases in which the *stat. cons.* is possible, it is much nearer to use it, acc. to §. 503. Such a substantive is sometimes subordined by a preposition, in which case it at the same time does not usually continue indefinite Dt. 28, 35.

The verbs of the idea *full* especially belong here, by way of more definitely denoting the contents of the fullness: 483
מָלֵא Ex. 15, 9. שָׂבֵעַ (*to be full of bread*, *of good* etc.), the contrary חָסֵר, חָדֵל *to want*, שָׁכֹל *to be childless*. The verb can also denote a more definite kind of abundance by *to rain*, *to swarm*, *to swell*, *to shoot up*, as שָׁרַץ and רָמַשׂ *to crawl* Gen. 1, 21. 9, 2; *the hills* תֵּלַכְנָה חָלָב *flow with milk* Joel 4, 18; *the eye* יֹרְדָה מַיִם *runs down with water* Lam. 1, 16; *the ground* עָלָה סִירִים *rises up* (by an optical delusion) *with thorns*, which always become higher Js. 5, 6. 34, 13. Prov. 24, 31. These verbs when they become active, take a nearer object, as מָלְאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ חָמָס *they fill the earth with cruelty*, from מָלֵא or מִלֵּא *to fill*; in the same way שִׂבַּע *to satiate*, רִוָּה *to satisfy with drink* Js. 16, 6. עוּת *to refresh* 50, 4, חִסֵּר *to deprive* [1]).

1) Hence the possibility of the verbs of *giving* subordining two objects §. 478.

2) The freely subordined substantive describes, even with 484
verbs which are not active, the ultimate *effect* of the action, or that which proceeds from the action as its consequence, as *the mount of olives is cleft* גֵּיא גְדוֹלָה becoming *a*, or *into a great valley* Zach. 14, 4, *Zion is ploughed* שָׂדֶה *as a field*, becoming a field Mich. 3, 12; *it corrupted* תּוֹלָעִים *to worms* Ex. 16, 20, יָשֵׁן הַמָּוֶת *to sleep death*, so that the sleep is death Ps. 13, 4; also in the same way, *the hand of God came over the city* מְהוּמָה גְדֹלָה *as a great terror*, so that great alarm was occasioned 1 Sam. 5, 9. cf. v. 11.

This comes to the same thing, in fact, as the second object of the verbs of *making*, *destining* §. 480. For this rule especially obtains: if the active verbs which subordine two objects, acc. to §. 478. 483, be-

come passive or reflexive, the first object indeed ceases then, but the second, remoter one remains (as with Hof. §. 258), as the object of the part §. 482: נִמֹּל אֶת־בְּשַׂר עָרְלָתוֹ *circumcisus est praeputium suum* Gen. 17, 11. 14, 24. 25; Ex. 1, 7; as the object of the thing of the two perfectly different objects §. 479: מְלֻבָּשִׁים בְּגָדִים *induti vestes* 1 Kgs. 22, 10. Hab. 2, 19. 2 Sam. 6, 14. קָרוּעַ כֻּתָּנְתּוֹ LXX *διεῤῥωγὼς τὸν χιτῶνα* 15, 32; acc. to §. 480, 2 Sam. 6, 2. 1 Kgs. 6, 7; moreover שָׁלוּחַ קָשָׁה *sent with hard* tidings, prop. *missus ad dura* 1 Kgs. 14, 6 acc. to §. 481.

485 3) A verbal idea is immediately completed by the statement of the *manner how*, so that here too there must be an internal connexion of sense between both, as the description affects the intrinsic nature. The noun is always *indefinite*, as describing the mere manner, like an adverb. There are two chief kinds of this:

a) The verb may be thus explained by a *substantive*, for which later languages use adverbs, as הָלַךְ *to go* may be combined with רוֹמָה (*altitudinem*) i. e. *proudly* Mich. 2, 3, with שְׁחוֹח *bowed down* Js. 60, 14, with מַעֲדַנּוֹת *cheerfully* 1 Sam. 15, 32, with שְׁבִי *captive* (also with בַּשְּׁבִי *into captivity*), and with קְרִי *contrary to* (also בִּקְרִי *occursu*); in the same way אֹהֲבֵם נְדָבָה *I love them* with freewill = *readily* Hos. 14, 5; 12, 15. Jer. 31, 7. Mich. 7, 2. Mal. 3, 24; by the instrument, merely to define the manner Jos. 7, 25, also in passive construction תְּאֻכְּלוּ חֶרֶב *ye shall be devoured by the sword* Js. 1, 20, as one could very well say אֻכַּל חֶרֶב *sworddevoured* in *stat. cs.* §. 503 [1]). A smaller circle of words (i. e. some words united by apposition or by the *stat. cs.*) may also be subordined in this way, as *to speak*, *to cry*, *to weep* קוֹל גָּדוֹל *a great voice* = *loud* 1 Kgs. 8, 55. Dt. 5, 19, *they assembled* פֶּה אֶחָד *one mouth* = *with one accord* Jos. 9, 2. Zef. 3, 9; *he who worketh* כַּף רְמִיָּה *with a lazy hand* = *lazily* Prov. 10, 4. 6, 12; nay even an entire short nominal proposition, as *I have seen God* פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים *face to face* i. e. *evidently* Gen. 32, 31. Ex. 33, 11.

1) The usage of the language is, however, to be minutely observed here at the same time, as this freedom is by no means so general in Hebr. as in Arabic.

There is not much difference when the complement refers back rather to the subject, as *ye are left* מְתֵי מִסְפָּר (*as*) *few people* Dt. 4, 27. Gen. 15, 16. Jer. 31, 8; *Jerusalem shall be inhabited* פְּרָזוֹת (*as*) *villages* = villagewise Zach. 2, 8.

486 The nearest and simplest, and also still very prevalent, method here is, for the verbal idea to limit and explain it-

self *by itself* i. e. *by means of its abstract*, as *πόλεμον πολεμεῖν*. The verbal idea, returning on itself, can thereby become altogether contained and complete in itself, so that we might express it in our languages by *altogether*, as הֶבֶל תֶּהְבָּלוּ *vanitatem vani estis* = *ye are altogether vanity* Iob. 27, 12; the *infin. abs.* §. 540 is more frequently and appropriately used for this purpose, cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 37 f. But by the subordination of a substantive of a more definite signification or limitation, the general notion is thus referred to the particular, and the substantive may either stand alone, as חָלַם חֲלוֹם *to dream a dream* = once, חָלַם חֲלֹמוֹת *to dream dreams* (many), or with the addition of an adjective or pronoun, as בָּכָה בְּכִי גָדוֹל *to weep a great weeping* = bitterly, or of a *stat. cons.* as נָסוּ מְנֻסַת חֶרֶב *they fled the flight of the sword* = as one flies from the sword Lev. 26, 36; also attaching itself backwards, in a relative proposition, to the preceding substantive: הַמָּצוֹק אֲשֶׁר יָצִיק *the straight which* (= wherewith) *he will straighten, or cause* Dt. 28, 53. Ps. 89, 51 f. Later languages lose this simplicity of antique diction. — As the pure verbal idea is only farther developed by this, it is a matter of perfect indifference whether the verb is active, intransitive, or passive (as Js. 14, 2. Zach. 13, 6) and whether it already has one or two other objects Jer. 30, 14. Jdgs. 15, 8; a substantive of *similar sense* can also be so construed Zach. 8, 2. Jer. 14, 17; 23, 6. Js. 37, 6.

b) The verb is explained by an *adjective*, as עָרוֹם יָנוּס *he flies naked* Am. 2, 16. Ps. 15, 2; also in a subordined predicate-member, as *he sees the moon coursing* יָקָר *bright* Iob 31, 26.

For the manner in which a *substantive* is freely sub- 487
ordined *to another* with abrogation of the *stat. cs.* see §. 499. 514 f.; a small word can then easily come between, as בְּשַׂר בַּשָּׂדֶה טְרֵפָה *flesh of what — in the field — is torn* Ex. 22, 30, הַמַּבּוּל הָיָה מַיִם *the flood-was-of waters* Gen. 7, 6, cf. 6, 17. 41, 29. The free subordination takes place especially easily after a statement of measure, order and weight, by the name of the material being added quite loosely as a mere specification of the contents of the measure and therefore in the *sg.* and not requiring the article; as שְׁלֹשׁ סְאִים קֶמַח *three measures meal* Gen. 18, 6, *four* טוּרִים אֶבֶן *rows stone* Ex. 28, 17. 2 Kgs. 4, 2; שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים *two years in days* (time) שָׁבוּעַ יָמִים *a week in days* i. e. *about as long*; this usage is transferred to other words 2 Sam. 24, 13. In certain common phrases, even the name of the measure which is easily understood from the material spoken of, is omitted, as שֶׁקֶל *shekel*, אֵיפָה *ephah*, כִּכָּר *talent* Zach. 11, 12. Ru. 3, 15. 1 Sam. 17, 17.

488 The numerals for the *tens* §. 436 as words incapable of formation, always subordine the noun to themselves in this free manner. And indeed the *sg.* of the object suffices with these and with all numerals above ten, as the idea of multitude is already contained in the numeral and it is enough merely to add the object as such, as עֶשְׂרִים אִישׁ *ten man* cf. 1 Kgs. 20, 16; also עֲשָׂרָה אֶלֶף Ez. 45, 1; Adjectives, however, may remain in the *pl.* Gen. 18, 24. 28. The article, as in §. 504, does not belong to the number, but to the object Zach. 11, 12. 15. Jdgs. 18, 17. Dt. 9, 25. 1 Chro. 27, 15; yet cf. Jos. 4, 4. The adjective either strictly follows the *sg.* of this construction 1 Sam. 22, 18. Jdgs. 18, 17, or returns more loosely to the *pl.* v. 16. This *sg.* is also put so loosely and inflexibly, that it even ceases to connect itself in *stat. cs.* with a following noun Est. 9, 30.

489 As acc. to §. 439 there exist no adjectives for the numerals above ten, accordingly, the numeral which is expressed in the common way with the object, is subjected to the *stat. cs.* of the object, as שְׁנַת הַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה *the year of the fifty year* i. e. which can only be produced by fifty, therefore *the fiftieth year* Lev. 25, 10 f. This *st. cs.* however is often either more briefly omitted, so that the context alone determines the point, as בִּשְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם *on the thirteenth day*, cf. Gen. 14, 4; or the last substantive is wanting, although the gender of the numeral remains the same, which method prevails more and more in the later period and is applied to all numbers, as בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלֹשׁ *in the third year.*

490 3. The noun is freely subordined to the whole proposition as *word of relation*, as every general relation of measure, space, kind, and mode has a complete sense only when in reference to a thought and only refers to that. The historical progress of the language, however, must be attentively observed here in particulars. Thus 1) in statements of *measure*, if measure or degree in general is spoken of in the proposition, as *the water rose* 15 *cubits* Gen. 7, 20. 31, 23. 2 Sam. 14, 26, which is also like the case in §. 485; then in general estimates of space and time, as הַשָּׁמַיִם *the heaven* = *above* 1 Kgs. 8. 32 ff., שָׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים *three times*, הַפַּעַם §. 533; *he journeyed* יָמִים רַבִּים *many days*, the whole period mentioned, or thus, *this year thou diest* Jer. 28, 16. Jdgs. 7, 19; this might be more definitely expressed by prepositions. Ps. 122, 4. 127, 2.

491 2) Many have thus become *adverbs*, partly constantly, partly being still more fully construed with prepositions, as בֹּקֶר *in the morning*, לָנֶצַח or shorter נֶצַח *for ever*, יוֹם יוֹם *day by day*, סָבִיב *round about*; מְאֹד *very*, שָׁלוֹם *well* Gen. 43, 27. cf. 29, 6; בֶּטַח *for security* = *securely*, אֱמוּנָה *steadily* Ex. 17, 12. פְּלָאִים *wonderfully* Lam. 1, 9; some adjectives of measure and kind, as רַב or רַבַּת *much* Ps. 123, 3. 4, קַל *swiftly*, מַר or *fem.* מָרָה *bitterly* with זָעַק *to cry*; cf. other adverbs §. 457, 2. Later writers extend much of this to a greater degree, as עַד לִמְאֹד *to very much* 2 Chro.

16, 14. Every adverbial addition is in free construction with the verb, and may also be put before it with emphasis; but the adverb must always follow the simple adjective in apposition, as עִיר גְּדֹלָה מְאֹד *a very great city*.

3) In the *stat. constr.* מִסְפַּר *number* = *in number* — (as לְמִסְפַּר is also possible) Iob 1, 5. Ex. 16, 16. Jer. 2, 28. Some relations of space in the *stat. cs.* as פֶּתַח *door* for *out of doors at* —, בֵּית (or more complete בְּבֵית) *house* = in the house, the same as the Lat. *apud*, hence also בֵּית־לֶחֶם by itself, for *at Bethlehem* 2 Sam. 2, 32; moreover מַרְגְּלוֹת, פְּנֵי *coram*, and similar words above §. 338 *nt.*; lastly, all *prepositions* belong here, cf. §. 507 and further §. 518 ff.

Although there is generally no external characteristic of a word freely subordined, nevertheless Heb. has a particle to denote it externally. This *preposition of the accusative* is אֵת (אוֹת §. 468) properly a reflexive pronoun *self*, *ipse* (cf §. 242 *nt.* and the Syriac ܝܳܬܶܗ *se ipsum*) and hence serving as a reference, to carry the relation of that which is freely subordined backwards to the chief word; its use is, however, confined within the following limits (cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 175 ff.): 492

1) אֵת is only *necessary* with the personal pronouns, in case they cannot be used in the *suffix form* §. 300 ff.; for the idea of independence and dependence has been so entirely separated in these pronouns in the form, that they must necessarily be used as *suffixes* where the idea requires dependence; and when external difficulties oppose the attachment of the *suffix* to the verb itself, this אֵת must then support it. Thus *a*) if the emphasis renders it necessary to place the accusative before the verb, or even quite alone by itself, as אֹתְךָ הָרַגְתִּי *thee I had slain* Num. 22, 33. Jer. 7, 19; — *b*) if a verb has two objects, and both are personal pronouns, the second must stand by itself then, as the verb can only support *one* suffix, as הֶרְאַנִי אֹתוֹ *he let me see him*; in the same way with the infinitive, בִּרְאֹתָם אֹתוֹ *in their seeing him* = when they saw him. — *c*) Moreover, with the *infinitive* in many cases, as with the *inf. abs.* because it is too inflexible acc. to §. 355, 1 Sam. 2, 28, with the *inf. constr.* because a noun intrinscially nearer is put before, §. 554, as דְּרֹשׁ אָחִיךָ אֹתוֹ *thy brother's seeking him* i. e. that thy brother seeks him Dt. 22, 8, or for the purpose of marking a suffix as the *accusative* Gen. 4, 15 (acc. to §. 555). This placing of the pronoun by itself, however, also becomes more and more frequent without urgent necessity.

493 2) אֵת is indeed not uncommon before *substantives*, especially if they are *placed before*; its use is nevertheless still very fluctuating and confined, namely, only before *definite* nouns §. 535, and even then more before words of *persons* than of *things*, because such words, as having more force and independence, are on that account easily more strongly and clearly subordined, as *we saw* אֶת־הָאָרֶץ *the land*, *they annointed* אֶת־דָּוִד *David* §. 534 *they brought* אֶת־אָבִיו *his father*, אֶת־מִי *whom?* Js. 6, 8 (but not with מָה *what*), אֶת־זֶה *this man*, אֶת־אֲשֶׁר *whom* or *that which* Gen. 9, 24; אֶת־עָיֵף *the weary* Js. 50, 4 (because the article is not necessary in poetry), אֶת־כֹּל *the whole*, אֶת־כָּל עוֹף *all fowls* (acc. to §. 505. 512) Gen. 1, 21. 29. 30. 8, 21. 9, 3. Dt. 2, 34 (3, 6.) Jdgs. 7, 8. 2 Sam. 6, 1; with numerals 1 Sam. 9, 3. 2 Sam. 15, 16 acc. to §. 516; also when the *sg.* is used for the whole species, as אִישׁ *man* Ex. 21, 28. Lev. 20, 14. 2 Sam. 4, 11; or with the *participle* in the signification of *he who* Ez. 2, 2. Thus אֵת alone clearly shows when a word without the article has nevertheless a more definite signification. Moreover, rather more with the nearer complements than with the remoter (Gen. 17. 11. 14. 25, cf. v. 24), and not at all with adverbs or adverbial expressions; rarely too with statements of time Ex. 13, 7. Dt. 9, 25, and with the statement of going *toward* a place Jdgs. 19, 18. Finally, all this only applies more immediately to ordinary Prose: Poets use this particle still more sparingly.

This particle, however, can never denote the nominative; yet it is often only the general sense of the sentence which produces the accusative, as the active construction intrudes on all occasions as the nearest, as יֻתַּן אֶת־הָאָרֶץ *detur* (= dandum est, *let some one give*) *terram* Num. 32, 5. Gen. 17, 5 acc. to §. 572; אַל יֵרַע בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֶת־הַדָּבָר *let not be evil in thy eyes* i. e. do not look with displeasure on *this matter* 2 Sam. 11, 25. 1 Sam. 20, 13; Jos. 22, 17. For greater irregularities in the later language, see 2 Kgs. 18, 30. Dan. 9, 13. Neh. 9, 19. 34.

494 The prepositions also belong here, inasmuch they are all in the *accusative* themselves, as may be easily seen in Arabic; but it will be better to treat of them afterwards where we speak of the genitive, the case they govern.

495 B. Relation of the *genitive* or *of strict subordination*. This is a kind of composition, and where the two ideas are most discordant and most violently resist one another because the one contains no part of the other, as *king - Egypt*, *fear - I*, there must the combination be strictest and firmest, there must the first word try to retain the second forcibly in dependence on itself, as *Egypts-king*, *my fear*; on the other hand, where the two ideas are not so discordant, where the first already contains something of the second, there is this close construction nearer to free subordination, as we not only say *pulcher faciei*, but *pulcher faciem*. This mode of composition is more strongly expressed in the Indo-Germanic languages by the subordined word being *placed first*, as πολυσθενής; but, in Semitic, the words remain in their natural order, in which the defining word is put last. But the

defined (the first) and the defining word §. 400 are placed in such a mutual connexion here, that the first is not pronounced as independent, by itself, but as seeking its end and aim in the following word, and, as the second is attracted by the first and is subjected to it, they both conjointly form a higher whole. Thus the two substantives *wisdom - Solomon*, *king-land* combine in a higher idea *the wisdom of Solomon*, *the king of the land* מֶלֶךְ הָאָרֶץ. The only limits to this relation are, that the first member must contain the idea of a noun i. e. of a word which is not complete in itself (as the verb is); the second member is, as to the idea, always immediately subordined to a noun, and answers to our *genitive* for the most part, but has no further limitation. The defining member, however (if it is a noun) may be itself defined by an immediately following defining word, and two, or even more, nouns may thus follow in the *st. cs.*, as פְּרִי גֹדֶל לְבַב מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר *the fruit of the greatness of the heart of the king of Assyria* i. e. of his pride Js. 10, 12. The great frequency of this relation, however, is partly to be explained from the compressed conciseness of the ancient language, and partly, from the want of more definite and current adjective formation.

1) The Indo-Germanic languages use nominal composition for the most cases, which is of a similarly extensive signification and equally depends on an ideal combination, only that they place the defining noun first; for which reason the compass of this relation does not remain altogether as free as it does in Hebr.

1. *Compass of the stat. constr.* — The easiest method 496
of understanding the different kinds of this infinitely manifold construction, is by considering what ideas are capable of entering into such a combination itself. There are, however, three:

1) two nouns *perfectly unequal to each other* in sense, but equal in power and independence, enter thus into a combination together which is the more close the more their ideas repel each other; see §. 495. Both must be substantives therefore, either from their nature or in consequence of their power and position at the time. — If the first substantive denotes action or passion, it may then be referred to the second either in such a sense, that the action must be conceived as proceeding from the second (genitivus *subjecti*) or that the second is affected by the action (genitivus *objecti*); the context will always easily determine the particular sense of every passage, later languages, however, generally express the latter use more clearly by propositions, e. g. פַּחְדִּי *my fear*, which I feel, or *fear of me*, which others feel, זִכְרְךָ *thy remembrance*, which thou hast, or *the remembrance of thee*, חֲמַס יְדֵיכֶם *the cruelty of your hands*, but חֲמַס

לְבָנֹן *the cruelty of Libanon* which it suffered Hab. 2, 17, שְׁמֻעַת שָׁאוּל *the report about Saul* 2 Sam. 4, 4, אֵבֶל יָחִיד *lamentation for the only* (son) Am. 8, 10. דַּרְכִּי *my way*, but דֶּרֶךְ הָעֵץ *the way to the tree* Gen. 3, 24.

497 *Proper names* are too complete and perfect in themselves, and therefore too unpliant and immoveable to enter easily into such a combination. Nevertheless, some examples of it are found, chiefly on account of the very frequent use of the language: יַהְוֶה צְבָאוֹת *Jahve of hosts*, which is sometimes more completely and easily expressed by יַהְוֶה אֱלֹהֵי צ׳ *Jahve, the God of hosts;* often in the names of towns, as גַּת פְּלִשְׁתִּים *Gath of the Philistines* = the Philistian Gath (as in Lat. Ascalon Judaeae), although the looser construction is also not rare here, Am. 6, 2. Dt. 23, 5. 1 Sam. 17, 12; דַּמֶּשֶׂק אֱלִיעֶזֶר *Damascus* (the city) *of Eliezer* Gen. 15, 2.

498 2) the two nouns are not each perfectly different as to *sense* and equally independent, but the *first* remains the more important and independent, and the second is less closely attached, so that it may even stand more freely i. e. may be subordined in the accusative merely. This takes places if the one describes a *property*, or *essence*, and *object* of the other, so that the *first*, the one described, predominates and remains more independent, while the second is less closely construed, and the whole construction, as will be plainly shown in many traces below, remains looser and may be easily dissolved. The first member now may be either a substantive or an adjective, in either case, however, it must be capable of limitation, not a proper name, for instance, as that at the utmost can only be further described by apposition.

a) a substantive is thus described by another in such a manner that the last only expresses the quality of the first, and is therefore in itself placed without the article (cf. §. 511), a mode of construction which becomes more frequent in proportion as adjectives are either yet wanting or are not usual, as גִּבּוֹר חַיִל *hero of might* = mighty hero Jdgs. 11, 1, אִישׁ מְדָנִים *man of strifes* i. e. a quarrelsome man; there are no adjectives as yet derived from many names for external objects, as *silver*, *gold*, hence they are used in the *stat. cs.* אֲרוֹן עֵץ *ark of wood* = wooden, אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶף *idols of silver;* or the adjectives denote persons acting, and are not used for things, as צַדִּיק *just*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*, hence זִבְחֵי צֶדֶק *sacrificia juris* = *justa*, בִּגְדֵי קֹדֶשׁ *vestes sanctitatis* = *sacrae*.

This want of the frequent use of adjectives is also the cause that abstracts or neuter substantives are often construed with general names of persons or names which denote the possessor, the origin, the derivation: *a*) often with אִישׁ *man:*

אִישׁ תֹּאַר *vir formae* = formosus 1 Sam. 16, 18, אִישׁ דְּבָרִים *vir verborum* = facundus Ex. 4, 10; — *b*) often with בַּעַל *lord, possessor:* בַּעַל דְּבָרִים *having words* (cause of complaint) Ex. 24, 14; בַּעַל חֲלֹמוֹת *having dreams*, a dreamer Gen. 37, 19; — *c*) with בֵּן *son*, to denote derivation or relation: בְּנֵי חַיִל *filii roboris* = robusti Dt. 3, 18, בִּן הַכּוֹת *a son of beating*, belonging to beating, worthy of stripes Dt. 25, 2. 1 Sam. 20, 31; בִּן לַיְלָה *son of night*, ssprung up in the night and dependent on it Jon. 4, 10. Poets go still farther in such constructions Js. 5, 1.

According to this, it is not surprising then that many substantives 499
whose idea only denotes measure, number, or time, and which therefore are most easily subordined loosely after the manner of adjectives, gradually separate themselves as second member from the close construction, give up the *stat. cs.* and are subordined freely (in the accusative, adverbially) as אַנְשֵׁי מִסְפָּר *men of number* i. e. easy to be counted, few, and even יָמִים מִסְפָּר *a few days* Num. 9, 20; the ancient מְתֵי מְעָט and the later אֲנָשִׁים מְעָט *a few men*; עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד *offering of continuance* = continual offering, and עֹלָה תָ׳ Num. 28, 3. 6.

If the principle of this combination were stretechep to a 500
wider use, it would be possible to connect by the *stat. cs.* not only a substantive, but any word and any proposition which might be added for the *description* of the first substantive [1]). Hebr. however, rather leaves these additions and complements looser, without close connection by the *stat. constr.* Nevertheless, there are some incipient attempts of that more extended use, and chiefly in the bold diction of poetry: 1) adverbial additions are sometimes closely connected, as דָּם חִנָּם and דְּמֵי חִנָּם *innocent blood*, אֱלֹהֵי מֵרָחוֹק *Gods — from afar* = strange Gods Jer. 23, 23; מַכַּת בִּלְתִּי סָרָה *blow-without ceasing* i. e. incessant Js. 14, 6. The adjective, on the other hand, is more loose and easily intelligible in itself; when placed after, however, as a neuter, it has another sense, as יֵין הַטּוֹב *wine of the good* absolutely, *of the best wine* Cant. 7, 10. Js. 22, 24. Prov. 6, 24. — 2) Before an entire relative proposition, as אַדִּירֵי כָּל־חֶפְצִי בָם *the nobles — in whom all my delight is* = the nobles dearest to me Ps. 16, 3. — 3) Still more with the *ĭ* of the *stat. constr.* §. 406–408.

1) As in Persian by اِضافه, and compositions in Sanscrit, German etc. *Großkönig*, *Mahârâg'â* etc.

If the adjective, instead of being placed afterwards with- 501
out power, as is usual §. 537, is rather placed in the *stat. cs.* before the substantive as an independent neuter acc. to §. 496, the idea of the property (of the adjective) is thereby rendered very significantly prominent as the strongest, or

most important for the time being, as אַמִּיץ כֹּחַ *the power of strength* (τὸ κρατερὸν τῆς ἰσχύος) = the very great strength Js. 40, 26; Ps. 46, 5. 68, 14, רַב טוּבְךָ *the abundance of thy goodness* = thy abundant goodness Ps. 145, 7; yet this is rare and only poetical, cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 18. 156. A substantive otherwise serving for description, may be rendered prominent in the same way.

It also produces great emphasis if the individual is prominently distinguished *by the stat. cs.* from the whole immediately following, which may take place partly by combination of the same substantive, as קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים *the holy of holies* i. e. what is most holy, עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים *slave of slaves*, lowest slave Gen. 9, 25. Hos. 10, 15; partly by the adjective of a peculiar kind being expressly rendered more prominent by its place before the following plural or collective, as קְטֹן בָּנָיו *the little one* (least) *of his sons* 2 Chro. 21, 17; זִקְנֵי הָעָם *the eldest of the people* Mich. 7, 4. Gen. 24, 2; רָעֵי גוֹיִם *wicked* (worst) *of nations* Ez. 7, 24. 1 Sam. 9, 21. 17, 40. Iob 41, 22; also with the adjective used as a neuter, as פְּרִיץ חַיּוֹת *the ravenous* (most ravenous) *of beasts* Js. 35, 9. In the same way: פֶּרֶא אָדָם *a wild ass of a man* i. e. a very wild man Gen. 16, 12. Iob 11, 12. Prov. 15, 20, cf. *nara-sinha* (man-lion) in Sanscrit.

502 Such constructions are for this reason especially important and necessary, because the language, having no form for the elative or superlative of adjectives, is obliged to have recourse to circumlocutions of various kinds as they happen to be suitable. Besides the circumlocutions above mentioned, another substantive of a suitable idea may be put before in the *stat. cs.* as מִבְחַר עֲמָקַיִךְ *the choice of thy vallies* i. e. *thy best vallies*, or the whole may be more loosely combined by בְּ *in, among* with the adjective, as הַיָּפָה בַּנָּשִׁים *the beautiful among women* = *the most beautiful woman* Cant. 1, 5. Am. 2, 16. Jdgs. 6, 15. If the whole is already mentioned or is easily understood, it is sufficient to render the adjective prominent by the article in the general ideas of *good, great, near*, as *Isai had eight sons; and David was* הַקָּטֹן *the little one*, where it is clear from the comparison and the connexion of the sense that *the least* is meant (or, if the comparison can only be between two, *the lesser*) 1 Sam. 17, 12-14. 9, 21. Gen. 1, 16. 19, 38. 29, 16. Joel 4, 5. Dt. 21, 3. Where the whole, however, is not at all mentioned, but a high degree absolutely is to be expressed, for instance, in the proposition, *the question is very hard*: then this idea (unless it is contained in a verbal or adjective formation) can only be expressed by adding מְאֹד *very*, or by repetition of the same word or an accumulation of similar ones.

503 *b)* Every participle or adjective may be limited by a following substantive, if its verb, or the verbal idea which it represents, is only of such a kind as to admit an immediate complement or the reference of the universal to the particu-

lar. Therefore, whenever the verb subordines an accusative to itself freely from any cause acc. to §. 477, then is the closer subordination by the *stat. cons.* always the nearest here; for the *stat. cs.* is the same thing in the noun which the accusative is with the verb. Only that there is greater freedom and boldness in the subordination by the *stat. constr.* than in the more external construction with the accusative. But as the first member is merely described by something particular, and consequently remains the most important one, and as the substantive is also often quite separated in the accusative, accordingly, this combination also is looser and weaker as to the idea. Thus 1) from active verbs: אֹהֲבֵי אֱלֹהִים *amantes dei*, מְאִיר עֵינַיִם *eye-enlightening*, אֹכְלֵי שֻׁלְחָנֶךָ *who eat thy table* i. e. thy bread 1 Kgs. 2, 7; בָּאֵי שַׁעַר *who come to the gate*, יֹצְאֵי עִיר *egredientes*, or *egressi*, *urbem*, יֹרֵד שְׁאוֹל *going down to Orcus*, שָׂטֵי כָזָב *who turn aside to deceit* Ps. 40, 5, as these verbs of motion are construed immediately with the accusative §. 477-481; bolder combinations are זֹחֲלֵי עָפָר *dust-creeping* (serpents) שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר *lying in the grave* Ps. 88, 6. — 2) From passive verbs, in various ways: חֲגוּר שַׂק *sackcloth-clad*, פְּצוּעַ דַּכָּה *broken to pieces* Dt. 23, 2, in which the substantive would be the second accusative in the verbal construction §. 484; יְלוּד אִשָּׁה *woman-born* because this is equivalent to *whom a woman has borne*, in which the second member is therefore more closely connected and could not be easily separated in the accusative; in the same way בְּעֻלַת בַּעַל *lord-ruled* i. e. married, חֲבוּר עֲצַבִּים *idol-allied*, קְרֻאֶיהָ *those invited by her* Prov. 9, 18; lastly, even נְשֻׂא עָוֹן *he who is of forgiven sin* i. e. whose sin is forgiven Js. 33, 24. Ps. 32, 1, קְרֻעֵי בְגָדִים *those of torn clothes* (or with torn cl.) 2 Sam. 13, 31, because the participle in itself expresses the idea *he who* (is of); even in cases in which its substance, i. e. its verb, does not immediately affect that person, but belongs to the idea of the following substantive [1]. — 3) Simple words of property or condition, adjectives or participles, as גְּדֹל כֹּחַ *πολυσθενής*, נוֹרָא תְהִלֹּת *who is of awful deeds* Ex. 15, 11 רַךְ לֵבָב *soft-hearted*, טְמֵא שְׂפָתַיִם *impure of lips*, prop. who (is) of impure lips; moreover חוֹלַת אַהֲבָה *lovesick*, שׁוּבֵי מִלְחָמָה *averse to war* Mich. 2, 8; שְׂרוּף אֵשׁ *fire-burned*, חַלְלֵי חֶרֶב *sword-pierced*, עֲרוּךְ מִלְחָמָה *battle-arrayed*, חֲלוּצֵי צָבָא *service-equipped*, יֹצְאֵי צָבָא *going out to service* (i. e. forced to serve in war) 1 Chro. 7, 11, and many similar instances. This construction occurs before a long description Dt. 3, 5, and even before a small explanatory proposition שְׁכֻרַת וְלֹא מִיָּיִן *not-with-wine-drunken* Js. 51, 21, exactly as the Sanscrit *apânamatta*.

1) Cf. Ewald's *Gramm. Arab.* II. p. 242 ff. and similar Sanscrit compositions.

504 3) The first member may represent the *relations* of the second to space, number, existence, nature etc. In that case, the first is therefore a word of purely ideal signification, for the most part externally weak and not independent in itself, like a particle, whereas the second is externally the firmer and more important. Under this rule are included

a) the simple and numerals from 2 to 10, מְאַת and אֶלֶף, which are properly to be considered as substantives in *st. cs.* hence too with suffixes, as שְׁנֵינוּ *we two*, שְׁנֵיהֶם *they two*, שְׁלָשְׁתָּם *they three*, but then also separated and standing alone without close subordination, see farther §. 436. Among the numerals from 3 to 10 which express the feminine, תְּשַׁע and שְׁבַע are only placed in *stat. cs.* before another closely connected numeral, חֲמֵשׁ only before a definite substantive Ex. 26, 3. 9, שְׁלֹשׁ also before an indefinite one Gen. 18, 6. — In the same way מִשְׁנֵה *duplum* in *stat. cs.* Dt. 15, 18, or by itself as adverb *duplo* Ex. 16, 22.

505 כֹּל prop. *totum*, *universitas*, is always used in *stat. cs.* only, for our *all* and *whole*, cf. farther §. 512; this word, as answering to the idea of an *adjective*, is indeed sometimes placed after also (in apposition) but, in that case, the substantive already placed before it must be repeated after it in its suffix, because כֹּל always remains a substantive, as יִשְׂרָאֵל כֻּלֹּה *all Israel*. It is only rarely that כֹּל is used by itself for the perfectly indefinite *every thing*, or *all*, *every* Gen. 8, 21. 9, 3. 16, 12. Jer. 44, 12; then by degrees also הַכֹּל with the article for *all that*, *all they* Ps. 49, 18. Dan. 11, 2; cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 11. 343.

506 *b*) The negative אֵין §. 448, as אֵין יוֹסֵף *no Joseph*, אֵין נִתָּן *ungiven*, and בְּלִי or בִּלְתִּי §. 459 which also form negations of simple adjectives, as בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ exactly like an Indo-Germanic *unannointed*, 2 Sam. 1, 21. The opposite of these negations is יֵשׁ §. 550.

Substantives also which are still used on other occasions in a more primitive, freer signification, may serve for such an ideal usage. Thus especially נֶפֶשׁ *soul* = internal, independent life = *self*, to express *self*, *ipse*, in cases in which pronouns alone would not be sufficiently clear, although it is chiefly used of animate objects only, or those that resemble them Js. 46, 2, and especially with the suffixes to express the reflexive, as נַפְשִׁי *my soul* = *I myself*, נַפְשָׁם *they themselves*; עֶצֶם *bone* = body, is rather used for inanimate objects in the same sense, as עֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם *heaven itself* Ex.

24, 10; when followed by הַהוּא acc. to §. 446 it refers to what precedes, and signifies *the very same* Gen. 7, 13.

c) Moreover, all prepositions belong to the same class properly, as they express certain relations and references of the following noun quite as ideally, however various in other respects the origin of the several prepositions may be as to their roots.

Substantives also which only define the space, time, kind 507
or manner of the following action in a general way, may in the same manner be placed in *stat. cs.* before a whole proposition, as בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר י״י *on the day — God spoke* i. e. on which day = *when* Ex. 6, 28. 1 Sam. 25, 15; עַל דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר לֹא קִדְּמוּ *by reason — that they did not come to meet you* = *because* Dt. 23, 5, cf. below on the relative proposition.

Still farther than all these cases, which amount essentially to subor- 508
dination, extends the mode of combination by means of *coordination*, by which two ideas, in themselves equal, are united to form a single higher one, as is very common in Sanscrit cf. §. 13. This is, however, hardly found even in an imperfect rudiment in Hebr.; yet חָכְמַת וָדָעַת *wisdom and knowledge* Js. 33, 6 belongs here, and another example 35, 2; moreover certain numerals §. 438. But not cases like נְהַר פְּרָת *the river Euphrates*, אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם *terra Aegypti*, בַּת צִיּוֹן *daughter*, i. e. poetical title of honour for *city*, *Zion*, (this can only be expressed by apposition in our languages, *daughter Zion*, but the Heb. could say *river of Euphrates*) שֵׁבֶט הַמְנַשֶּׁה *the tribe Manasseh*; for, in these instances, a more general term is actually described by a more particular one, although it is true on the other hand, that apposition can very well take place here, as far as the idea is concerned, and that it often does take place (e. g. הָאָרֶץ Num. 34, 2. הַבַּת Lam. 2, 12) and those shorter constructions are chiefly found in certain common expressions only.

2. *Consequences of the stat. constr.* Since the *stat. cs.* only consists in the power of the closest mutual construction, in such a manner that the first member attracts the second, accordingly,

1) no *adjective* nor *pronoun* nor other word can in- 509
trude between the defined and the defining noun; for any word thus intruding would amount to a substantive defining the *stat. constr.* and would thus confound the sense. Every apposition of the *stat. cs.* by means of an adjective or pronoun [1]) §. 532 must therefore be placed at the end after the defining substantive, and where two connected substantives do not differ in gender and number, then the general sense of passage can alone show to which of them the apposition is to be referred, as בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדֹל might either be *the son of the great king*, or *the great son of the king*. The ָה of motion §. 420 may however be attached to the *stat. cs.* as it does not constitute an apposition, Gen. 24, 67. Ex. 10, 19. — Only after כֹּל §. 505 can a little word be interposed, because it begins to be treated more as a particle, 2 Sam. 1, 9. Iob 27, 3. Hos. 14, 3.

1) If a substantive stands in apposition, the *stat. cs.* is sometimes continued 2 Kgs. 10, 6. Jdgs, 19, 22. Js. 23, 12. Gen. 14, 10; such instances are rare on the whole. Here also belongs אֶחָד *one* Js. 36, 9, which generally separates itself more from the adjectives (2 Kgs. 12, 10).

510 The interposition of a preposition, however, and especially of a small one, does not hinder the *stat. cs.* very much, although it is rather the poets only who take this liberty; the following word with the preposition may describe a property of the first substantive, as נְבִיאֵי מִלִּבָּם *prophets out of their heart* i. e. of their own discretion Ez. 13, 2. Js. 9, 2 or the preposition may only render the relation clear, as הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ *mountains in Gilboa* 2 Sam. 1, 21 (without בְּ in prose v. 6. 1 Sam. 31, 1). Ps. 58, 5. Prov. 24, 9. Iob 18, 2, especially if it belongs to the construction of a verb which has become a participle Ps. 2, 12. 84, 7. Iob 24, 5. Js. 9, 1. Jdgs. 5, 10. 8, 11, and in an unusual manner Jer. 33, 22; besides these, in cases in which לְ is inserted acc. to §. 517 and the *stat. cs.* nevertheless remains before it, as מִימִין לַבַּיִת *from the right of the house* Ez. 10, 3. Jos. 8, 11; lastly, with לְ of the *infinitives* acc. to §. 544. Js. 56, 10.

511 2) The first noun cannot have the *article*, which would detain the tone and the rapid pronunciation in general (cf. §. 324 *nt.*); it can only stand with the last, but in such a way that its power is extended to the first also on account of the intimate union of both nouns. If therefore 1) both nouns are definite of themselves, the article, nevertheless, stands only with the second, as גְּדוֹלֵי הָעִיר *the great men of the city*; hence also with derivations from compound proper names acc. to §. 216, as בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי *the Bethlehemite* from בֵּית לֶחֶם *). — 2) if the first is definite and the second indefinite, the latter, however, only contains the particular of the former acc. to §. 498 ff. and so far both belong together as to the sense, then the second receives the article, as רַךְ לֵבָב *a coward*, רַךְ הַלֵּבָב *the coward* Dt. 20, 8, שְׁדוּפַת קָדִים an ear *blasted by the east wind*, שְׁדוּפַת הַקָּדִים *the* ear blasted etc. Gen. 41, 6. 23. 27; 37, 3. 23. [1]). On the other hand, if they are more different, and the second indefinite word is the chief one, the article falls away entirely, as דְּבַר יוֹם *the matter — of a day* i. e. enough for a day Ex. 16, 4, יַד כֹּל *the hand of all*, חֶרֶב אִישׁ *the sword of every man* Gen. 16, 12. Jdgs. 7, 22. — 3) If the first is to be considered indefinite, but the second is definite in itself, the first may still be put indefinitely in *stat. constr.* before the article, if no ambiguity arises from it, as שְׁלַל הָעִיר *spoil of the city* 2 Sam. 12, 30. Gen. 16, 7, אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה

*) In such derivations, the *plural* is denoted in the *first* noun if it is a personal one, as בֶּן־יְמִינִי *a Benjamite*, *pl.* בְּנֵי יְמִינִי 1 Sam. 22, 7, as בֵּן *son* is easily formed in the *pl.* Cf. בְּנֵי אִישׁ Ps. 4, 3.

a husbandman 9, 20; if, however, any ambiguity would arise from it because a thing individual and indefinite in the genus must be necessarily denoted by the first word, then the first word *cannot* be connected by the *stat. constr.* (§. 517).

1) If the second noun is easily placed as *object* (§. 503, 2) the article may be used with both, as לְבוּשׁ בַּדִּים *indutus vestes linteas* הַלָּבוּשׁ הַבַּדִּים Ez. 9, 2. 3. Jdgs. 18, 17.

A proper name or pronoun, when used as second noun, has the same influence acc. to §. 535 as nouns with the article; e. g. in בְּנִי *my son*, בַּת מִי *whose daughter?* בֶּן־יִשַׁי *the son of Isai*, the first noun is rendered quite as definite by the second as it is in בֶּן־הָאִישׁ *the son of the man;* but the proper name nevertheless takes the article in all cases in which it is possible, as שֵׁבֶט הַמְנַשֶּׁה *the tribe Manasseh.*

כֹּל §. 505 is used in such a manner with *a definite* noun *sg.* which one can only conceive as singular as to sense, that it signifies *totus*, *whole*, as כָּל־הָעָם *the whole people,* although the article is not indispensably necessary in poetry Ez. 36, 5; if it is used with a *sg.* noun which we can conceive as plural in its kind according to the sense of the passage, then it means *omnis*, *all* or *every*, therefore with an indefinite noun generally, as כָּל־עָם *every people*, yet also before a definite noun Dt. 4, 3. 1 Sam. 2, 26 in a relative addition. Inasmuch as כֹּל, however, has something definite in itself like a pronoun acc. to § 505, a singular denoting the whole genus may be added to it without any new definition, as כֹּל חַי *every living thing* Gen. 8, 21. 1, 29. 30. כֹּל בָּחוּר *all the youths* 2 Sam. 6, 1. 512

The same rules (§. 509-511) hold if many nouns in *st.cs.* follow each other. If the second substantive merely describes the property of the first noun or is in any other way closely dependent on it, the third noun refers to both the preceding ones equally, as הָרֵי מְרוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵל *the mountains of the height of Israel* i. e. the high mountains etc. Ez. 34, 14. Dt. 31; 16, נְעִים זְמִרֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל *suavis carminum* i. e. suavis poeta *Israelis* 2 Sam. 23, 1; but as *two merely descriptive* substantives cannot be thus placed after the *stat. cs.* on account of the obscurity, the *stat. cs.* is either repeated as in Dt. 9, 9, or the third noun is separated by a preposition acc. to §. 517. — That connexion of three substantives answers to the connexion of two substantives which belong intimately together as to their idea, with the pronoun suffix as third noun, as הַר קָדְשִׁי *the hill of my holiness* i. e. my holy hill; כְּלֵי מִלְחַמְתּוֹ *his weapons of war* Dt. 1, 41, 513

יַד יְמִינוֹ *his right hand* (יָמִין prop. *the right* as a substantive); the poets may, however, attach the suffix to the first substantive, to which it belongs as to the idea, and then subordine the second freely, as מַחֲסִי עֹז *my refuge in strength* i. e. my strong refuge, שֹׂנְאַי שֶׁקֶר *my causeless foes* Ps. 71, 7. Hab. 3, 8. Ez. 16, 27. 2 Sam. 22, 33; in prose, the *stat. cs.* is rather repeated in this case Gen. 37, 23, except with little words, Lev. 6, 3.

514 There are a few cases only in which the first member, in the *stat. cs.* receives the article, contrary to §. 511: 1) on account of the loose construction, according to which the first member more easily separates itself acc. to §. 498 ff. therefore when the second substantive only describes the property or substance of the first, as הַמִּזְבַּח הַנְּחֹשֶׁת *the brazen altar* 2 Kgs. 16, 14. 1 Sam. 2, 13, הַכְּתֹנֶת שֵׁשׁ *the coat of fine linen*, in which the article has also not been attached to the second, in itself, indefinite word, Ex. 28, 39; or when a mere participle or adjective is described, as Jdgs. 8, 11 where a preposition is interposed at the same time §. 510, the active participle especially may receive the article with some force before the suffix, as the suffix might also be the accusative, as הַפֹּדְךָ *who redeemed thee* Dt. 13, 6. 11. 8, 14–16. 2 Sam. 1, 24. Iob 40, 19. Js. 9, 12. Ps. 103, 4. Also before the *stat. cs.* with the ־ָה of motion Gen. 24, 67. Cf. *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 25 f. 157. — 2) Rarely without this before the suffix as a lighter word Mich. 2, 12. Lev. 27, 23. Jos. 7, 21. 8, 33. — 3) It is new before two substantives which are always united to form a proper name 2 Sam. 24, 5. Besides these, sometimes in the more negligent language of the later period, most easily when a somewhat stronger relatively demonstrative power may exist in the article Jdgs. 16, 14. 1 Kgs. 14, 24. 2 Kgs. 23, 17. Jer. 32, 12; 25, 26. 38, 6, and besides this where a third substantive is rather the beginning of a new sequence Jos. 3, 11.

515 If the first member, however, which should stand in *stat. cs.* detaches itself more by the assumption of the article, it then returns sometimes even to the *stat. abs.* again, as הַבָּקָר הַנְּחֹשֶׁת *the brazen ox*, כּוֹס הַיַּיִן הַחֵמָה *the cup of the wine of wrath*, הָעָם הָעַי *the people of Ai* 2 Kgs. 16, 17. Jer. 25, 15. Jos. 8, 10 f. Ez. 45, 16. 2 Chro. 15, 8. This is most easy when the first member would be in itself also distinct as to the usage of the language, as הָאָרוֹן הַבְּרִית *the ark of the covenant* Jos. 3, 14, although the first word which is placed by itself, is more accurately repeated in *stat. cs.* as הַנָּהָר נְהַר פְּרָת *the river Euphrates* Dt. 11, 24; Ex. 38, 21.

It may be seen from §. 498 to what extent the same freer subordination of the second member is permitted with indefinite substantives also, as יֵין תַּרְעֵלָה *wine of staggering* Ps. 60, 5, אֵילִים צֶמֶר *rams of wool* = *woolly* 2 Kgs. 3, 4; מַיִם לַחַץ *water of affliction*, metaphorically = which does not profit, Js. 30, 20. cf. also מַעֲשֵׂה מִקְשֶׁה 3, 24.

The article is originally used with the second word acc. 516
to §. 511 with the numerals mentioned in §. 504, as שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַחִצִּים *the three arrows*, and remains with the second word even when the numeral is placed before it without being in *stat. cs.* Jos, 15, 14. Nevertheless, the numeral placed by itself without *stat. cs.* may also freely subordine the following substantive without any further definition whether it be definite according to the sense of the whole or not, because every number *is definite in itself* like a proper name, as Gen. 21, 28-30. 2 Sam. 15, 16. 20, 3; compare a similar instance with כֹּל §. 512. The numeral, when placed after, is without the article 1 Kgs. 7, 44; אֶחָד *one* is also sometimes placed after without the article in the same manner, as being definite of itself Gen. 42, 19. Num. 28, 4. 1 Sam. 13, 17 f. Jer. 24, 2. — The numeral placed without a substantive, may receive the article when repeated in apposition of an adjective or pronoun, as הַשִּׁשָּׁה הַנּוֹתָרִים *the remaining six* Ex. 28, 10. Dt. 19, 9; on the contrary Gen. 9, 19. 1 Sam. 17, 14 cf. v. 13. — In the compound numerals 11-19 §. 438, the article is either attached to the second member, as שְׁנֵים הֶעָשָׂר *the twelve* Jos. 4. 4, or to the first at once 1 Chro. 27, 15. — Concerning other peculiarities of the numerals, see §. 488 ff.

3) The noun which follows the *stat. cs.*, the defining 517
noun, almost always expresses the idea of our *genitive*; but where a substantive is placed alone, without a preceding noun, or where the preceding noun either is not or may not be connected in the *stat. cs.* then the language must necessarily have recourse to a *preposition* to express the idea of our genitive; it must use the *mediate* instead of the immediate construction; and לְ, which is generally the preposition of the dative (§. 520) is usually found thus employed, as the genitive generally expresses *appertaining* to, possession [1]). Thus 1) if the first noun is altogether wanting, as in an inscription: לְדָוִד *Davidis* (carmen); or where *son*, *day* are omitted: אַמְנֹן לַאֲחִינֹעַם *Amnon* the son of *Achinoam* 2Sam. 3, 2. 3. 5. Dt. 1, 3; or if a genitive is to be placed *first* for the sake of the emphasis Jer. 22, 4. — 2) If the second in itself definite noun must be separated acc. to §. 511, 3 from the first in order to leave the first indefinite: בֵּן לְיִשַׁי *a son of Isai* (בֶּן־יִשַׁי would necessarily be *the* son of I.) 1Sam. 16, 18. Gen. 41, 12. שַׂר צָבָא לְשָׁאוּל *a captain of Sauls host* 2Sam. 2, 8; מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד *a psalm of David*; *I have come first of the house* רִאשׁוֹן לְבֵית 2Sam. 19, 21, where the noun belongs rather to the verb. — 3) if a word is interposed or the sentence is interrupted, as especially happens after statements of time, as בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לַמֶּלֶךְ

in the year two of the king Hag. 1, 1. Gen. 7, 11. — Sometimes, too, if the first two of three nouns belong more closely together acc. to §. 513, although the separation does not always take place here, and is only preserved on account of its facilitating the construction, as דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *the daily events* (Chronicle) *of the kings of Israel*, 1 Kgs. 15, 23. Gen. 41, 43. Jdgs. 3, 28. Ruth 2, 3. 4, 3. — Lastly, it is also possible if the *article*, either for emphasis sake or because the narrator had not the following complement already in his mind, is used with the first word contrary to §. 511, as אֵלֶּה הַשָּׂרִים לִשְׁלֹמֹה *these* are *the princes of Solomon* 1 Kgs. 4, 2. Gen. 29, 9. 40, 5, cf. v. 1; the *stat. cs.* might be often used here also without the article, and this more prolix mode of expression is especially peculiar to the later prose. — The noun with לְ can also be attached by means of the relative אֲשֶׁר *which* to the word which is completed by this absolute genitive, as מִרְכֶּבֶת הַמִּשְׁנֶה אֲשֶׁר לוֹ *his chariot of the second rank* Gen. 41, 43, which construction is especially suited for small additions, as with the personal pronoun 2). This אֲשֶׁר cannot, of course, be used where the genitive is placed first, or when the sentence is interrupted.

1) Or, with a different notion, with מִן of the *part*, or *descent* §. 519; also with other prepositions which may be more appropriate, cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 91-95.

2) There thus arises an incipient attempt to form the possessive pronoun, which is otherwise altogether wanting in Hebr., as אֲשֶׁר לִי *mine* 1 Kgs. 1, 33. cf. v. 38.

518 All the *prepositions* (with the exception of כְּ cf. §. 455) have originally a *local* signification, which is, however, transferred to a intellectual signification, or entirely lost in it, in the greater part of them. They represent the general relations of space, time, means, and effect, *by themselves;* they are, however, more frequent and in part more intellectual in proportion to the want of proper cases, and to the inadequacy of the external power of the *stat. cs.* and accusative for many instances. On account of the total want of all composition, the prepositions are also always only loosely placed with the verb.

Moreover, the great moveability and boldness of the Hebr. language is shown also in the use of the prepositions as also an uncommon brevity of expression. This is especially shown in the fact, that the prepositions of motion are brought together with verbs with which the idea of motion is by that means only associated (the so called *constructio praegnans*), as חָרַד, פָּחַד *to tremble*, *to fear* with לִקְרַאת *before* some one, with אֶל *towards* some one (throwing one-

self down); חַלֵּל לָאָרֶץ *to defile to the earth* (casting it down); הֶחֱרִישׁ *to be silent* with מִן *from* some one (turning oneself away), with אֶל *to* some one (turning toward him to listen to him in silence); עָנָה *to hear*, *answer* any one with מִן *out of* suffering, with בְּ leading him *into* happiness, Ps. 22, 22. 118, 5.

The not infrequent fluctuation of the construction between a preposition and an accusative, depends on a fluctuation and uncertainty of the verbal idea itself, according as a verb of absolute signification goes over into an immediately active signification, or the reverse. The latter is often the case with a new, figurative signification, as נָשָׂא *raising* and *taking away* sin = *to forgive* with לְ of the person, *the sinner*, then also with לְ of the offence, although fluctuatingly Gen. 50, 17.

A. *Simple prepositions.* 1. There is only one preposi- 519
tion for the idea of motion *from* and *out of* a thing, מִן, in which these two ideas are not strictly separated; hence where it is important to signify the local distinction minutely, combinations with other prepositions must be used §. 528. According to its original local signification, מִן is especially used with the ideas, *to snatch away*, *to help*, *rescue*, *avenge* from some one; *to conceal*, *keep*, *fear*, *take care*, *have abhorrence*, *warn*, *abstain* 1) from some one, in which the idea of removing to a distance is always discoverable; moreover, in many single constructions, as בּוֹשׁ מִן *to be ashamed away from* some one, so as to leave him from shame at him; רָשַׁע מֵאֱלֹהִים *to sin from God*, deserting him Ps. 18, 22. The following are a few frequent applications: *a*) A nominal idea is represented together with another as removing itself from, *avoiding*, *disappearing*, as *their houses are well*, מִפָּחַד *away from fear* i. e. safe from fear Iob 21, 9, Js. 23, 1. 22, 3. *he has rejected thee* מִמֶּלֶךְ *from king* i. e. that thou be no longer king 1 Sam. 15, 23; *the eyes were weak* מֵרְאוֹת *far from seeing*, so that he did not see Gen. 27, 1; thus מִן is also a term of comparison between higher and lower degrees, by denoting that the first thing is removed from, is higher than the second with respect to a third thing 2), and this expression for our *comparative with than* is equally appropriate and possible with all nominal forms, and also with a preceding verb denoting the *quality*, as טוֹבָה חָכְמָה מֵחָרוּץ *good is wisdom away from gold*, leaving gold behind it, therefore *better than gold*; אָמְצוּ מִמֶּנִּי *they are stronger than I*, עָצְמוּ מִסַּפֵּר *they are greater than counting*, than that they might be counted Ps. 40, 6, רַב מִהְיוֹת *more than that be* = *too much* Ex. 9, 28. — *b*) מִן expresses the *separation of a part*; when it is placed before a substantive which is the object, it expresses, of itself alone, an indefinite part of the whole, as קַח מִזִּקְנֵי הָעָם *take of the elders of the people*

(hence especially with the verbs of *giving*, *taking*, and those corresponding to these, of *teaching*, *relating*), also before *the subject*, as וַיֵּצְאוּ מִן הָעָם *there went out of the people* (some, an indefinite number) Ex. 16, 27, but very seldom where *one* indefinite thing is meant Ex. 6, 25. According to this common use of מִן of the part, it is often combined, in the signification of *any*, with the similar word אֶחָד *one* [3]), as מֵאַחַד אַחֶיךָ *any one of thy brothers* Dt. 15, 7. — The Hebrews often say *from the side*, *from the right*, *the left*, where we, according a different view of the relation, say *at the side*, *to the right*. Hence מִן expresses the farther side generally, and is used in many combinations which become adverbs, as מִקֶּדֶם *eastwards*, מֵעַל *above*, מִתַּחַת *below*, מֵרָחֹק *from afar*, also construed with a verb of motion, *far away*, *μάκροθεν*, מִסָּבִיב *κύκλοθεν*, *round about*, *on all sides*, — 2) Transferred to *time*, as מִנְּעֻרַי *from my youth on*; if the action of the period of time follows, then it expresses (somewhat different from אַחַר §. 525) the action beginning *immediately at the close of the period*, as מִיֹּמָיִם *from two days on*, immediately *after* two days Hos. 6, 2. — Transferred to an action which proceeds from a thing as its immediate cause, as *they could not drink the water* מִמָּרָה *from bitterness*, or *on account of bitterness*.

1) In Jer. 2, 25 an adjective also follows, מִיָּחֵף *that it be not bare*; hence מִן may, by itself alone, signify *that not* (retiring that something may not happen), once construed poetically as a conjunction with the imperfect Dt. 33, 11.

2) Hence the ablative is used with the comparative in Sanscrit and Latin; the Hebrews use the ablative merely without a definite form for the comparative, as the Sanscrit also can.

3) Concerning such combinations of particles in which the stronger word is placed first cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 201 *nt*.

520 2. For the idea of motion to a thing are used 1) אֶל *to*, *ad*, *πρός* [1]); also *towards*, *at*, but not so strictly as בְּ §. 521 (as אֶל־הַשָּׁמַיִם *in heaven* 1 Kgs. 8, 30, אֶל־הַשֻּׁלְחָן *at the table* 13, 20), נָתַן אֶל *to place in*, but not so strictly; in an intellectual sense *according to the rule*, *resemblance* (secundum, ad) as אֶל־פִּי *according to the mouth*, *command*; with words of inclination, to denote the object *to* which they incline, as בָּכָה אֶל *to weep over* some one 2 Sam. 1, 24; with the words of *speaking*, it may denote the person *to* which one speaks (but צִוָּה אֶל *to command to* some one i. e. to give order to him) and the person or thing *to* which the words spoken refer, Gen. 20, 2.

1) It is related to وَلِيَ *accessit*.

2) לְ, shortened from this אֶל and used in the same significations, is much more frequently used, however, and in many other applications: 1) from the original local signification is *a*) the idea of motion, of passage into a place, transferred to the transition into a condition; hence לְ is used with

the verbs of *changing*, of *making into* something; of making in thought = of *esteeming as* something; with הָיָה when it signifies *to become*, as הֱיוּ לַאֲנָשִׁים *become men*, and in similar constructions, as יֵצֵא לַחָפְשִׁי *he goes out free*, becoming free, Ex. 21, 2; also without such a verb, לְ signifies *for*, *as*, Gen. 9, 5. — *b*) *in reference to*, as *he was great* לְעֹשֶׁר *as to wealth*; לְשָׂרִים *with regard to the princes* Js. 32, 1; hence לְ also denotes the object to which the intention of the action passes over, as הֶעְתִּיר לוֹ *he prayed for him*. — *c*) לְ also expresses *possession*, and is thus the sign for our *dative* [1]), as נָתַן לוֹ *he gave him*; *there was nothing* לָרָשׁ *to the poor*, *he had nothing* (which verb the Hebrews have not got in our sense). It is also used, as denoting the dative, with passive verbs to express the action being referred to the agent, as *death is chosen* לְכֹל *by all* Jer. 8, 3. — It is used with indefinite plurals to denote the single parts of which they consist, as לְמֵאוֹת *by hundreds*, לִבְקָרִים *every morning* Iob 7, 18. — 2) Used of time, *towards*, as לְרוּחַ הַיּוֹם *towards evening* (the wind of the day [1]) Gen. 3, 8; or referring to a future time, as לְמָחָר *to-morrow* Ex. 8, 19. Gen. 7, 4; in the same way, *and the gate was* לִסְגּוֹר *about shutting* i. e. was about to be shut Jos. 2, 5. cf. Gen. 15, 12. 1 Sam. 4, 19. — 3) It is used of the external cause or of the action in reference to which and immediately after which any thing happened, as *they fled* לְקֹלָם *at* or *on account of their voice* Num. 16, 34. Gen. 4, 23. Ex. 12, 42. — Concerning the infinitive with לְ see §. 544.

1) Hence it is used in certain cases for the genitive acc. to §. 517, to which also belongs the case when the whole is again connected, after a long digression, by לְכֹל *of all* Gen. 9, 10. 23, 10. Ex. 14, 28. Lev. 11, 42. It is very seldom used for the accusative *when the object is placed before* (therefore where the mediate construction rather takes place in the same way) Js. 11, 9. 1 Sam. 22, 7 and in later writers for אֵת after the Aramaic dialect §. 518. Jer. 40, 2. 1 Chr. 16, 37. Ps. 69, 6. As the nominat. Ps. 89, 19.

3) עַד properly *progress*, *continuation*, *usque*, as a preposition expresses *a*) continuation of the action, with the infinitive, *while* Jdgs. 3, 26 *b*) progressive motion either until a certain, or the highest, point is attained, which is conceived as being at the same time reached and touched, as *from the foot* עַד רֹאשׁ *to the head*, the latter being included; *there did not die* עַד אֶחָד *even to one*, even one, Ex. 9, 7 cf. v. 6. 14, 28; שׁוּב עַד יַהְוֶה *to return altogether to Jahve*; or merely with the accessory idea of duration, as הֶאֱזִין עַד *to listen continually* i. e. attentively Num. 23, 18. Thus it is always somewhat different from אֶל and לְ.

3. בְּ *in* is of a very extensive use: 1) from the primary 521
local signification are derived the following applications: *a*)

none remained בָּהֶם *in iis, among them*; he slew בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים *among the Philistines*, in their compass, an indefinite number 2 Sam 23, 10; in the same way נָשָׂא בְּ *to bear a burden*, the preposition denotes *to partake of* it, Neh. 4, 11. Iob 7, 13. *b*) *they came* בְּשִׁבְעִים נֶפֶשׁ *in seventy souls*, consisting of 70 persons Dt. 10, 22. 28, 62; hence ב is used when a whole is briefly comprised as to its contents, as בָּעוֹף וּבַבְּהֵמָה *in, of fowls, beasts* etc. Gen. 7, 21. 9, 2. 10. 15. 10, 5. 20. 31, 32. 23, 18. Moreover, ב is used to state the substance, nature of which a thing *consists*, first in constructions like *I appeared* בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי *as Almighty God* (consisting of that name) Ex. 6, 3; then also to subordine the property, the predicate, in which any thing consists, but this use is very rare and confined to poetry, as הוּא בְאֶחָד *he* (God), *is one* Iob 23, 13. Ps. 68, 5; but בְּרַע Ex. 32, 22 is *in wickedness*. *c*) The verbs of motion can also be construed with ב if the thing moves *into the place* and remains there, as נָתַן בְּיַד *to give into the hand; he sends enemies* בָּם *into them*, into the midst of them; in this respect ב differs from the prepositions in §. 520. Hence too עָצַר בְּ *to hold in, constrain*, rule, as מָשַׁל and רָדָה *to rule*, when construed with ב, express the power which presses into any one, which he experiences; נָגַשׂ ב *to press into any one, to force him*. Therefore ב is also very often used in a hostile sense, as the Latin *in* with an accusative, to express the enmity directed against the inward parts, as with נִלְחַם, רִיב *to contest against*, דִּבֶּר *to speak against* Num. 21, 5. 7, קִלֵּל *to curse against*, צִחֵק, הֵתֵל *to mock*, קָצַף *to be angry*, קִנֵּא *to be envious*. — 2) The local signification may be merely so extended that ב denotes the *immediate neighbourhood*, the most intimate connexion and as it were entrance of one thing into another (the German *an*), as שָׁנָה בְשָׁנָה *year by year*, עַיִן בְּעַיִן *eye to eye*; נִגַּשׁ ב *to approach to* some one, striking against him Am. 9, 13. Js. 65, 5; in the same way קָרָא ב *to call on*. Hence the verbs of *hanging, attaching, adhering*, are used with ב, as דָּבַק *inhaerere*, הֶחֱזִיק, אָחַז, *to seize, take hold of*; and many kinds of verbs of more intellectual ideas: *α*) those of *trusting, believing*, which is also an adherence to some one, and those of the contrary, חָטָא *to sin*, פָּשַׁע, מָעַל, בָּגַד, מָרַד, *to be unfaithful*, כִּחֵשׁ *to deny*; the former are followed by those of asking also, שָׁאַל, דָּרַשׁ, when they signify *to seek an oracle of the Deity*. *β*) Those of *delight* with which we cleave *to* an object: רָצָה, בָּחַר; also those of the opposite signification מָאַס, גָּעַל *to despise*; then שָׂמַח *to rejoice*, עָלַז *to exult in* or over any thing, קוּט *to have disgust at* any thing. *γ*) Those of *seeing* which lingers over an object, cleaves to it with joy, astonishment, pity,

Gen. 21, 16. Iob 3, 9; in the same way שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל *to hearken to the voice* and obey it. ϑ) Moreover, ב denotes the object *in* or *on* which the thought or discourse lingers (*concerning* which it is, as we would say), as שִׂיחַ *to meditate on* some one, עָנָה, הֵעִיד, *to testify of* some one (either *for* or *against*, as the context will determine). — 3) Every accessory matter which accompanies the action, and every instrument, may be annexed by ב, so that it answers to our *with*, *by*, inasmuch as the matter meant is not an independent one, but merely accompanies the action and is subservient to it, as *to act* בְּכֹחַ *with strength*, *to slay* בַּחֶרֶב *with the sword;* this construction can only be transferred to persons, if the person is used as means or instrument, as עָבַד ב *to perform labour by*, *through* some one i. e. to use him for labour, to compel him Ex. 1, 14, נָשָׁה ב or הִשָּׁה *to take interest through* some one i. e. to have lent him money Dt. 25, 2. Neh. 5, 11. Hence arise two very common constructions: *a*) *to buy with money*, מָכַר בְּכֶסֶף = *for* money, hence ב is used generally to state the thing *for which* any thing is exchanged or bought; then in a more general sense *for*, *propter*, *on account of* Gen. 18, 28. *b*) *To swear* נִשְׁבַּע *with* or *through God*, *the king* etc. i. e. so as to make God a withness and judge, a mediator, where we say *to swear by God*, according to a different application, — ב is used *of time* precisely as our *in* [1]).

1) In most instances, this ב corresponds exactly to the *locative* case in Sanscrit.

בֵּין *between* (which is connected etymologically with ב, as *in* with 522
inter) can only be used with the *plural*, *dual*, or with *two substantives;* in the last case, it is most simply repeated, as בֵּין טוֹב וּבֵין רָע *between good and between evil* Lev. 27, 12; nevertheless, the second בֵּין can also be left out, especially in short sentences, and the following noun be construed with לְ [1]) which briefly denotes the direction, as בֵּין הָאֻלָם וְלַמִּזְבֵּחַ *between the porch and the altar* Joel 2, 17, then without וְ, as בֵּין מַיִם לָמָיִם *between water and water* Gen. 1, 6 (in the later period, this use is confused, בֵּין־לְבֵין Js. 59, 1). According to its first signification, בֵּין is frequently used with the verbs of *deciding*, *separating*, *judging*, *testifying*, *estimating*, *discerning* between two opposed things or persons.

1) Properly *between* from — *to* —, both limits of the interval being given. Cf. بين - الي Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 79.

עִם *with* [1]) and, with a trifling difference, אֵת (אֶת־), 523
expresses a more independent association and accompanying, in which respect it differs from ב §. 521, 3; when used of place, it signifies *close by* Gen. 25, 11; *with* is also =

like, *as* (it is even used for the connexion of two adjectives 1 Sam. 17, 42), hence נֶחְשַׁב עִם *to be considered equal to* Ps. 88, 5. To say a thing is *with me* may mean in my possession, or in my soul, my thought and intention Iob 15, 9. 9, 35. Dt. 8, 5. These prepositions are especially used in actions against and with another, as with *to contend*, *to be angry*, *to do good or evil with* any one.

1) Instead of עִמִּי *with me* we very often find עִמָּדִי, in which the ד of a more largely developed root of the same primitive word has, as it seems, established itself before the weaker suffix. For the signification *to stand* for עָמַד comes from that of *to be collected in itself*, *to be firm*. — אֵת (from *ent*, cf. Ludolfi Lex. Aeth. p. 363) is properly *at*, but in Hebr. it is not very different from עִם.

524 The prepositions which express more definite local relations are: 1) עַל *upon*, *over*, of a very frequent and wide use, also used of any thing that is high, prominent beside any thing low, flat, as עַל הַיָּם *at the sea*, *at the fountain*, *at the river* etc. because the banks are higher than the water; with verbs of motion *up to* a thing, as *to hang* עַל עֵץ *upon a tree* Gen. 40, 19; *to go* עַל בֵּיתוֹ *up to his house* (inasmuch as the house stands higher than the ground). These are particular applications: עַל is used α) of the material *upon* which we write, as כָּתַב עַל סֵפֶר *to write upon a leaf*; β) of the body or member *upon* which, on whose surface a garment, or any kind of covering or ornament, lies, as הַשַּׂמְלָה אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו *the garment which is upon him*, which covers him 1 Kgs. 11, 30. Gen. 24, 47; hence the verbs of *covering*, *protecting*, are construed with עַל, and in the same way נִלְחַם עַל *to contend for* some one, to protect him; it is used in an intellectual sense of the protecting, favouring love and inclination with which one embraces any one, 2 Sam. 14, 1, hence with חוּס and חָמַל *to spare*. γ) It is used of the person *upon whom* a heavy, or oppressive, dangerous matter rests, so that עַל expresses the so called *dativ. incommodi* in various ways, as הָיִיתָ עָלַי לְמַשָּׂא *thou wast a burden to* (*upon*) *me* 2 Sam. 15, 33, רַע עָלַי *it is evil upon me* i. e. displeases me; also as one of the two members of the proposition: עָלַי לָתֵת *it is incumbent upon me to give* 2 Sam. 18, 11; hence it is used with many verbs which have the idea of *hostility*, sudden overpowering, *burdening*, as בָּא עַל *to come upon* any one, to attack, קָצַף עַל *to be angry* at any one; moreover, in the common phrases, *my heart rages over me* i. e. overpowering me, so that I am subdued Ps. 42, 5. 6; but also שָׁפַר עָלַי *it pleases me very much*, captivat-

ing me Ps. 16, 6, cf. 1 Sam. 25, 36. *δ*) In the enumeration of cognate things, *over* is a stronger expression for *together*, as אֵם עַל בָּנִים *the mother together with the children* Gen. 32, 12. Ex. 12, 9 (*insuper*), hence too על is found in constructions like, *this happens* עַל דַּעְתְּךָ *over thy knowledge* i. e. nothwithstanding thy knowledge is, *although thou knowest* Iob. 10, 6. 7. 16, 17. — It is used intellectually of the object *of*, on which we speak or hear; and of the remoter, mediate cause, like our *on account of*. — עַל therefore is properly different from אֶל, and there is almost always a distinction in their use in the earlier writings; in the later period, however, they are confounded with each other on account of the similarity of their sound, and אֶל becomes rarer, so that עַל is used for *to*, *toward* generally 1 Kgs. 17, 21.

תַּחַת *under;* תַּחַת יַד *under the hand*, in the power of; *I, under me* Hab. 3, 16 may mean, I in the lower members of my body, knees, or I on the place beneath me, where I stand Ex. 16, 19. For it properly means *depression*, *sinking* (related to נחת), hence *ground*, what is *beneath;* and figuratively *instead of* (*loco*).

2) אַחַר *behind*, *after* used of place and time (§. 518), often used 525
with the verbs of *persecuting*, *seeking* after any one; הָלַךְ אַחֲרֵי *to go behind* any one, for *to follow*, for which idea there is no single verb extant in prose.

In the contrary signification, נֶגֶד (properly *to be prominent*, *distinct*) *plain before*, *before the eyes;* נֹכַח *straight before*, לְנֹכַח like our *for*, in defence of, Gen. 25, 21; מוּל *opposite*, and most frequently לִפְנֵי prop. towards the face of, turned toward the face and lying before, hence *before*, also used in a temporal sense, and as adverb in that sense returning to the *stat. abs.* לְפָנִים *before;* עַל פְּנֵי *upon the face of* is *just before;* מִפְּנֵי *back from before*, *on account of* with a hostile cause.

3) בְּעַד (related as to root with בָּגַד *to cover*) is divided 526
into two significations: 1) *about*, although not so strictly as סָבִיב *round about*, corresponding in many of its uses to the Greek περί, ἀμφί, Ps. 139, 11. Joel 2, 8. Am. 9, 10; thus with the verbs of surrounding, including, covering *about* a thing Iob 1, 10. 9, 7; *about* is also used figuratively for *for* (cf. Ps. 4, 3) to protect and defend, whence to *pray*, *ask*, *to forgive sins for* some one Gen. 20, 7. Js. 8, 19, or *to be for* = to be serviceable for, be used for anything 32, 14; — and 2) covered by a thing i. e. *behind* it Iob 22, 12. 25, 20. 21. Jdgs. 5, 28; and in this respect differing from אַחַר §. 525 which only expresses a wide distance.

אֵצֶל *beside*, *by*. — עֵבֶר *that side of*, *beyond*. — לִקְרַאת §. 82 *against*, prop. *in occursum* is a compounded prep. as are some others.

527 כְּ *as*, *like* §. 455, somewhat different from the other prepositions, and sometimes loosely prefixed to a word rather as a conjunction. The comparison is sometimes not entirely completed, when the signification of the chief word of itself gives the general sense, as *give us a king like all nations* i. e. as all nations have such a one 1 Sam. 8, 5; *thou destroyest the wicked like the day of Midian* i. e. as on the day of Midian Js. 9, 3. כְּ may be thus prefixed even to the object or subject at once (cf. מִן §. 519), as *oh had I* כְּיַרְחֵי קֶדֶם *like the months of the former time* i. e. months like those, אֵין כַּיהוָה *there is not — as Jahve* any one; *to be as* often expresses our *to appear*, for which the language has likewise no verb. It is also poetically construed with the verbs of resembling, Iob 30, 19. — When transferred to estimates of number and degree, with substantives, it means *about*, as כְּאַלְפַּיִם *about two thousand*; in the same way כְּדֶרֶךְ יוֹם *like a day's journey*, about a day's jour. Num. 11, 32, כְּחֹם הַיּוֹם *about the heat of the day*, noon, Gen. 18, 1; on the other hand, when before an event, therefore before the infinit., it expresses the coincidence of two events, as כְּדַבְּרָהּ *as her speaking*, *as she spoke;* בְּדַבְּרָהּ *in her speaking* is rather *while she spoke:*

B. The very frequent *composition of prepositions* has three different causes and kinds:

1. A preposition of motion is put before another not signifying motion; namely,

528 1) מִן, by way of denoting from what part or side of a thing the motion proceeds; in which use the language shows a great precision of thought. Thus *a*) מִבֵּין *from between*, as מִבֵּין עֳפָאִים *from between the branches* Ps. 104, 12. — *b*) מֵעִם, מֵאֵת *from with*, the second preposition retaining the signification ascribed to it §. 523; as *Moses went* מֵאֵת פַּרְעֹה *from with Pharaoh* i. e. from Pharaoh with whom he then was. Because *with me* is equivalent to *in my power*, מֵעִם is used of a thing which is removed from, or derived from the possession or power of any one, with the verbs of *buying*, *taking* from the possessor Gen. 17, 27. 23, 20; with those of *begging*, *asking* from one who possesses or knows the thing 1 Sam. 1, 17; חֹק מֵאֵת פַּרְעֹה *a law from Pharaoh* who has authority over it Gen. 47, 22; especially where God is spoken of who possesses every thing, as *this happened* מֵאֵת יְהוָה *from Jahve*, in whose power it was Ps. 118, 25. — *c*) מֵעַל *from upon*, as *he destroyed them* מֵעַל הָאֲדָמָה *from upon the earth*, so that they should no longer dwell upon it. The manifold significations of עַל §. 524 return here also again: *a*) *to seek* מֵעַל

הַסֵּפֶר *from upon the leaf*, from the leaf upon which it is written Js. 34, 16. *β*) of the removal of the garment or covering or ornament which is upon the body or member Gen. 41, 42. *γ*) *all who stood by* (over) *him* עָלָיו *went* מֵעָלָיו *from him* (who was sitting) Jdgs. 3, 19. *δ*) of the removal of an oppressive object, as לֵךְ מֵעָלַי *depart from me* (thou who art burdensome upon me), Ex. 10, 28. *ε*) of the removal of longing and love to any one Hos. 9, 1. Js. 7, 17. — *d*) מִתַּחַת *from under*, *as I lead you* מִתַּחַת סִבְלוֹת *from under the burdens* under which you now are Ex. 6, 6; זָנָה מִתַּחַת אֱלֹהִים *to go a whoring away from God* (deserting God) *under whom* one is, to whom Israel is subject as a wife Hos. 4, 12 [1]); also where תַּחַת is used of the *place below* Ex. 10, 23. — *e*) מֵאַחַר *from behind, from after*; used figuratively of the cessation of obedience Num. 14, 43. — *f*) מִלִּפְנֵי *from before*, as לִפְנֵי appears to be a simple preposition as to sense; מֵאֵצֶל *from beside*. — The combination of prepositions to express a single idea §. 530, is of a perfectly different kind.

1) Cf. تحت used of the relation of the married wife in the Koran, Sur. 66, 10.

2) אֶל *to* is placed before the same prepositions which do not denote motion, by way of expressing the idea of *motion to the particular part or side*. This composition, however, is much rarer, because the idea of motion *to* the thing may easily follow from the verb of motion itself and from the context: אֶל is never found before עַל which is very frequently used with verbs of motion; but sometimes אֶל־אַחֲרֵי *to behind* 2 Kgs. 9, 18. 19. Zach. 6, 6; oftener אֶל־תַּחַת *to below, beneath* with our accusative Jer. 38, 11, because תַּחַת is seldom subordined to a verb of motion; moreover, אֶל־בֵּין *to between* Ez. 31, 10. אֶל־נֹכַח and אֶל־מוּל *opposite*, אֶל־עֵבֶר *to beyond*; in the same way אֶל־מִחוּץ לְ *to without of* (§. 530) Lev. 4, 12. In our languages, the simple prepositions are used with the accusative in which the motion is already contained; but as the Hebrews have no such cases, they are obliged to prefix the prepositions of motion. — In the same way עַד לִנְכַח *until before*, and עַד לְמֵרָחוֹק *to a great distance* (לְמֵרָחוֹק as adverb §. 519) 2 Sam. 7, 19. In later writers especially we find an extended accumulation of prepositions and adverbs: עַד לִמְאֹד *to very much* 2 Chro. 16, 14; עַד אֶל *even to* 2 Kgs. 9, 20. 529

2. A word which the language conceives more independent, and which it, therefore, uses more by itself, not as preposition but as adverb, must be mediately joined to the following noun i. e. by means of לְ acc. to §. 517; thus סָבִיב לְ *round* about the object; the compositions מִבַּיִת לְ, מִחוּץ *within, without*, מִצָּפוֹן לְ *to the north of*, מִיָּמִין לְ *to the right of* the object, 530

which words, compounded with מִן acc. to §. 519, may however also be used in *stat. const.*, as the use of the word by itself, as adverb, is only commencing here, and לְ is sometimes wanting (2 Kgs. 23, 13 compared with 1 Sam. 23, 19). The same construction is also (although not *quite* constantly) found in some prepositions which are compounded in the same way: מֵעַל לְ in the signification *suprà*, *over* (not immediately *upon*, but, at a certain distance, *above*) מִמַּעַל *above*, מִתַּחַת לְ *beneath*, מִבַּעַד *from behind* — (and for that reason בַּעַד for בְּעַד), מִנֶּגֶד לְ *opposite to*, מֵעֵבֶר לְ *beyond*. In the laxer popular idiom and in the later period, long prepositions may be also used by themselves and the following substantive be construed with לְ, as תַּחַת לְ *under* Cant. 2, 6. cf. without לְ 8, 3.

531 3. אֶל or לְ placed thus before other prepositions in such a manner as to have an adverbial sense: 1) אֶל in אֶל־מִצִּנִּים *even from the thorns* Iob 5, 5, אל expressing the progress, the intension (cf. עַד *even* in 1 Sam. 2, 5). 2) לְ is placed before מִן, when an enumeration *mounts up* to its highest degree, to denote the point from which it sets out, so that לְמִן corresponds to the Latin *inde a*; this is most frequent with two correlative propositions, as לְמִיּוֹם־וְעַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *inde ab illo die — et ad hunc usque diem* Jdgs. 19, 30; לְמִן גָּדוֹל וְעַד קָטֹן *inde a magno et ad parvum usque* 2 Kgs. 23, 2; more rarely before single propositions, as לְמֵרָחוֹק *inde a remoto* (tempore) Js. 37, 26.

532 III. In the relation of *isolation* and of apposition, the latter only requires explanation. None but mere external complements can be thus adjoined to the substantive; a merely explanatory substantive, an adjective, or a pronoun. All such nearer definitions, however, are properly arranged in their natural order in Hebrew, *after* the substantive §. 16, and only few are placed before it, which rather produces an external subordination of the lower to the higher. Short demonstratives alone can go before the substantive, and among them chiefly the article הַ §. 445, a small but very important part in the proposition, which must first be treated of.

533 1. The *article* is used very frequently in the ordinary language, either in reference to a thing before mentioned Gen. 6, 14. Jer. 13, 1. 2, or to things of a particular kind which are always evident, as הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הָאָרֶץ *the earth*, to which class the use of the article to mark generic ideas also belongs, often in the *sg.* as הָאֲרִי *the lion* Am. 5, 19. 1 Sam. 17, 34, הַפֶּרֶד *the mule*, הָעַלְמָה *the virgin*, הָאִישׁ *the man*, הַקַּדְמֹנִי *the ancient*, *ancestor*, הָרַגְלִי *pedes*, הַפָּלִיט *the fugitive* Gen. 14, 13. 2 Sam. 15, 13 (the article

here has a force like *the lion* and not the ox, *the virgin* and not the wife), especially with names of nations, as הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite;* or lastly, if the definiteness proceeds, and is evident, from the circumstances of the sentence itself, as in the established phrases, הַיּוֹם *hodie*, which also means *that day, that time, then*, if the time spoken of be the past 1 Sam. 1, 4; הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, הַשָּׁנָה *this year*, הַפַּעַם *this time;* moreover, if the speaker presupposes the individual to be known to the hearer, as *saddle me* הַחֲמֹר *the ass* i. e. *my ass* 1 Kgs. 13, 13. 23. 27. 2 Sam. 19, 27, or if the narrator assumes a particular thing to be evident from the circumstances, as *he sat down by the well* Ex. 2, 15 because there is generally only one well for the cattle in the neighbourhood of a town; *and the servant told Moses* Num. 11, 27. 2 Sam. 17, 17, because there is generally a particular servant who waits on his master. — The article is generally rarer, however, in the poets (as in Sanscrit, Latin) as their diction is shorter and more antique; e. g. Mich. 7, 12 in very hurried diction.

The *proper names*, all of which, according to their primary signification, may have the article by way of distinction, lose it the more frequently in proportion as the language drops their original meaning, and the more they become short ideal notions and are definite in themselves; the *names of persons* seldom have it therefore, but the names of places frequently; some have always retained it as a distinction, as הַנָּהָר *Euphrates* (prop. the river), הַבַּעַל *Baal* (prop. *the lord*), הַיַּרְדֵּן *Jordan*, הַלְּבָנוֹן *Libanon* (the last two are also used without the article in poetry); others lose the article by degrees only, as הָאֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים *God*, הַיְבוּסִי and poet. יְבוּסִי *the Jebusite* as generic term 2 Sam. 5, 6. 8; הָאָדָם and אָדָם (1 Sam. 24, 10) *man*, *mankind; foreign* names which are not clear, usually do not have it, as פְּרָת *Euphrates*. Any proper name with the new adjective formation, on the other hand, has the article much more constantly, especially in the *sg.*, although the article may be gradually dropt even here. 534

The infinitive as standing too near the verb §. 352 does not receive the article, except in such perfectly isolated instances as הֲלֹא הִיא הַדַּעַת אֹתִי *is not that the knowing me?* Jer. 22, 16, where there is uncommon power in the question. To which is to be added, that precisely דַּעַת is more frequently used as a substantive than other infinitives.

The pronouns in the same way, whether placed alone or as suffixes, are of themselves definite words which do not require the article, but are yet equivalent, as to sense, to any noun with the article, as זֶה *this*, מִי *who?* אֲנִי *I*, בְּנִי son *of me* = my son. 535

Thus all *nouns* are divided, either by their nature, or by election, into *definite* and *indefinite*; and every substantive in the proposition must be conceived as being necessarily in one of these two relations. This alternate relation of the definiteness of nouns (either by means of the article or by their nature) or of their freely chosen indefiniteness, is very important and significant, because it must also react upon the words in the neighbourhood of a noun, and because a definite noun has much more power and weight in the proposition than the contrary. This opposition between the two extends through a great part of the Syntax.

536 The absence of the article in a noun capable of receiving it, is of itself sufficient to denote a thing designedly placed as single and indefinite, as אִישׁ *a man;* it is only rarely, and chiefly in writings posterior to the Pentateuch, that אֶחָד *one* is used for that purpose, first in connexion with the *pl.*, as אַחַת הַנְּבָלוֹת *one of the foolish ones*, a foolish one Iob 2, 10, then as adjective, placed after, as אִישׁ אֶחָד *a man* Jdgs. 13, 2. but more rarely used of *things*, as סַל אֶחָד *a basket* Ex. 29, 3; it is even put before an adjective in Dan. 8, 13.

537 2. The *adjectives* and *pronouns* can only be *placed after* the noun, and must accommodate themselves in sense and construction to the gender and number, definiteness or indefiniteness, of their preceding noun. If therefore that is a *definite* noun, either by having the article or by its nature, this power still continues in the apposition, and the adjective must receive the article, as הָאִישׁ הַגָּדוֹל *the great man,* בְּנִי הַגָּדוֹל *my eldest son* (properly, *the son of me, the eldest*); if there are more adjectives than one, the article must be repeated with each Gen. 41, 35. Dt. 28, 58. The pronoun also, although of itself definite, must nevertheless continue the article in apposition, as הַדּוֹר הַהוּא *the same generation*, הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ οὗτος. Nevertheless, the pronoun by itself often has not the article if the substantive has only a *suffix*, as אֹתֹתַי אֵלֶּה *these my signs* Ex. 10, 1; but very rarely if the substantive itself has the article, as הַדֹּר זוּ Ps. 12, 8. Gen. 32, 23. The *adjective*, however, must much more regularly continue the article (it is seldom wanting after the *suff.* Gen. 37, 2. 43, 14. Cant. 6, 12. Hag. 1, 4. Ez. 34, 12, still seldomer after the article Ez. 39, 27; oftener before אֶחָד *one* 10, 9. cf. §. 516). — That negligent brevity which places the power of the definition only *in the middle*, after the subject, is a rare and chiefly late custom, as הַר הַגָּדוֹל *the great mountain* Zach. 4, 7. 14, 10. 2 Sam. 12, 4. Gen. 41, 26; with numerals Gen. 1, 31. 2, 3. Dt. 5, 14; cf. especially Jdgs. 6, 25 with the still more definite expression v. 26, 28.

The simple demonstrative pronoun only is sometimes put before a definite noun, as זֶה הָעָם *this people*, זֶה מֹשֶׁה *this Moses* (contemptuously, like *iste*) Ex. 32, 1. Jos. 9, 12 f. Js. 23, 13. — Among the adjectives, רַבִּים *many* is the only one which is put before the noun in a few passages, in indefinite diction, Jer. 16, 16. Ps. 32, 10. 89, 51.

3. A *substantive* also may be added in apposition, as אַבְרָהָם אֲדֹנָיו 538
Abraham his lord, דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ *David the king*, or, if the idea of *king* is the nearest, הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד *the king David*, often too in cases in which we would use adjectives, because such adjectives are not yet formed or developed in Hebr. and substantives are generally more numerous, as נַעֲרָה בְתוּלָה *puella virgo* 1 Kgs. 1, 1. 2 Sam. 15, 16. 20, 3, זְבָחִים שְׁלָמִים *thank-offering* Ex. 24, 5, particularly in poetry, as דְּבָרִים נִחֻמִים *words consolations* (comforting words) Zach. 1, 13.

RELATION OF THE SUBORDINED VERB.

The *verb* indeed also suffers free subordination §. 476, 539
but within much narrower limits. According to the antique simplicity of the language, namely, every idea which may be conceived as a verb, appears perfectly as a *finite verb* i. e. as a perfect, living member beside other equal members, and thus many verbs of relation whose idea later languages are wont to subordine in an adverb or in some other form, are independently connected to another verb of a firmer idea by means of the copula, as וַיָּשָׁב וַיְדַבֵּר *he turned and spoke* i. e. he spoke again, וַיֹּסֶף וַיֹּאמֶר *and he added and said* = moreover, he said. Nevertheless there is also a strong attempt to subordine a verb, visible: the second verb is annexed to the verb of relation without copula, that is, in a state of free subordination, as תַּרְבּוּ תְדַבְּרוּ *you make much — speak* i. e. you speak much 1 Sam. 2, 3; וְשִׁלַּשְׁתָּ תֵּרֵד *and thou dost on the third day — descendest* i. e. thou descendest on the third day 20, 19. Or the second verb is more easily connected acc. to §. 544 by means of לְ *to* and the *infinitive construct*, as הִרְבָּה לְהִתְפַּלֵּל *he multiplied to pray* = prayed much 1, 12. But the most appropriate and prevailing form for the free subordination of the verb after the manner of §. 485 is the *infinitive absolute* §. 355, a very important, although very simple, part of the sentence and possessing a peculiar signification in Hebrew:

The *infin. abs.* is thus 1) *loosely* put after the previously 540
mentioned action, for the purpose of further explaining and describing its kind or manner, which may be either done by the same verb, as *then we destroyed them* — (some other words intervening) — הַחֲרֵם *to destroy* (destruendo) or, so that we destroyed *all cities* etc. Dt. 3, 6. Js. 31, 5; with

another infinitive besides, as *God will smite him,— to smite and heal* i. e. so as to heal also, Js. 19, 22. Jer. 12, 17. 1 Kgs. 20, 27; or by one or more *inf.* of different verbs, as *I will accomplish it* הָחֵל וְכַלֵּה *beginning and ending* i. e. completely, from beginning to end 1 Sam. 3, 12. 2 Sam. 8, 2, Gen. 21, 16. 30, 32. Ex. 33, 7. Dt. 9, 21. 27, 8. Js. 30, 14; הַרְבֵּה *to multiply* and הֵיטֵב *to make good* are especially frequently placed after verbs in this manner, and even after an *infin. abs.* itself. In the same way, where the action is already strongly referred to, so that it is then sufficient to name it briefly, as *in this let a man glory: to be wise and to know me!* Jer. 9, 23. Js. 5, 5. 20, 2. 58, 6. 7. Zach. 14, 12 (Jos. 9, 20 where וְ *and* intervenes). Cf. besides Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 40. 134.

541 2) When the *inf. abs.*, however, is *closely subordined to the finite verb of its own root*, so that both form a whole, then the pure verbal idea is complete in itself and its power is contained within it acc. to §. 486, but becomes by that more complete, more finished, more certain, so that our *entirely*, *altogether*, *always*, *further*, *without doubt*, according to the difference of the context, are contained in it; in Latin, this corresponds to *usque;* as שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמוֹעַ *hear hearing* i. e. hear attentively, or, hear always, הָלַךְ הָלֹךְ *he is gone altogether!* אַעַלְךָ גַם־עָלֹה *I will lead thee up also* altogether, without doubt (not only lead thee down) Gen. 19, 9. 31, 15. 46, 4. Num. 11, 15. 32. 16, 13. 23, 11. 24, 10. Jos. 24, 10. 7, 7. 2 Kgs. 3, 24. 5, 11. Js. 6, 9. Jer. 22, 10. 23, 29. Zach. 8, 21. Dan. 11, 10. Iob 13, 17. 21, 2. 37, 2. Another verb may be also thus added at the end by means of וְ, especially with a verb of motion, as יָצֹא וָשׁוֹב *he went ever to and fro*, הָלַךְ הָלוֹךְ וּבָכֹה *he went on continually, weeping* Gen. 8, 7. Jos. 6, 13. Jdgs. 14, 9. 1 Sam. 6, 12. 2 Sam. 3, 16. 15, 30. 16, 5. 13. 2 Kgs. 2, 11 (without a verb of motion Joel 2, 26); הָלַךְ *to go* expresses, even in this combination, merely the continual increase of a thing, as וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְגָדֵל *and he continually increased in greatness* Gen. 26, 13. Jdgs. 4, 24; lastly, a frequently used infinitive of this kind may be placed in the middle with an almost adverbial signification, as וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הָלֹךְ וָשׁוֹב *and they returned more and more continually* Gen. 8, 3. 12, 9, שָׁלַחְתִּי הַשְׁכֵּם וְשָׁלוֹחַ *I sent earnestly* (prop. *early*) *continually* Jer. 7, 13, 29, 19. — The chief verb, as being too far distant, is repeated in a participle in Jer. 41, 6. The last verb may also fall back into the narrative form instead of the infin. abs. Jos. 6, 13. 2 Sam, 16, 13, or the participle of the verb at the beginning may be continued v. 5. Jer. 41, 6, which is possible even instead of the first infin. (as the participle, as expressing *duration*, is nearest to the idea here) 2 Sam. 15, 30; as also the second verb too

is annexed in the participle Gen. 26', 13. Jdgs. 4, 24. The shortening of the phrase by aid of the simple verb of *being*, is also remarkable: הָיוּ הָלוֹךְ וְחָסוֹר *they decreased more and more* Gen. 8, 5.

After this, it is easy to conceive how some infin. abs. have become 542
perfect abverbs: הַצְנֵעַ לֶכֶת *to walk humbly with God* Mich. 6, 8, מַהֵר *hastily* Jos. 2, 5 (as *finite verb* 1 Sam. 17, 48) הַשְׁכֵּם *diligently*, הֵיטֵב *well, very,* all of which, however, can only be construed with verbs, but הַרְבֵּה *much* is even construed with a noun, as עֵצִים הַרְבֵּה *many pieces of wood* Js. 30, 33 (*before* the substantive as in *stat. cs.* הַרְבּוֹת Am. 4, 9. after it Prov. 25, 27).

This last and all similar adverbs, inasmuch as they are only simple 543
words, may again occur in every relation in the proposition acc. to §. 458: e. g. as subject, as הַרְבֵּה נָפַל *much* (of the people) *fell* 2 Sam. 1, 4; as predicate, *my days are* מְעַט וְרָעִים *few and evil*, הֲשָׁלוֹם אֲבִיכֶם *is your father well?* Gen. 47, 9. 43, 17. Iob 8, 9; and like adjectives in apposition, as צֹרְרַי רֵיקָם *my perscutor without cause* = my undeserved enemy Ps. 7, 5.

Where the connexion of the sentence requires the verb 544
to appear indeed as a substantive (infinitive) but not so much as an inanimate and abrupt one, subordined *by itself* after the manner of the adverbs, as *in the current of the proposition*, namely, first and chiefly as intimately interwoven as a noun with a succeeding or preceding noun, and secondly, rather as a kind of the ordinary accusative dependent on the action of the verb (hence it is poetically used after the *stat. constr.* of a *participle* Ps. 127, 2) or lastly, as subject of the proposition acc. to §. 546 [1]), in these cases, the *infin. constr.* is used in contradistinction to the inf. abs., see §. 353. The construction of this *inf. constr.* with the prep. לְ *to* which offers the easiest and nearest subordination (resembling the same use in later languages) has, however, encreased to a great extent in Hebr.: active verbs as הֵחֵל *to begin*, הוֹסִיף *to add*, אָבָה *to will*, are construed with the infin. with or without לְ; it is more necessary with intransitive verbs and adjectives, as חָדַל לָצֵאת *he ceased to go out*, תַּמּוּ לָמוּת *they have finished to die* = are all dead, although the poets again are more sparing in the use of this לְ, as נִלְאֵיתִי נְשֹׂא *I am weary to bear* Js. 1, 14, עָתִיד עֹרֵר *paratus excitare* Iob 3, 8; ל is also used with the subject placed dependently, as טוֹב לָשֶׁבֶת *it is good to dwell* Prov. 21, 9, cf. the same without לְ v. 19, and very rarely even after a loosely placed substantive, as עֵת לָלֶדֶת *a time to bear* Koh. 3, 2. 4. The infin. of some verbs with this ל becomes even an adverb: לָרֹב *in number*, לֵאמֹר §. 464 *to say*, used to cite the words, or, *with a following thought* (Ex. 5, 19), for it always refers to words quoted immediately after (like *iti* in Sanscrit).

With the negation *it is not do to* = can or may not bedone Jdgs. 1, 19. Am. 6, 10. 2 Chro. 20, 6; also without negation *it is to do* = one must do 19, 2. Hos. 9, 13. Iob 30, 6. Ps. 68, 19.

1) Nevertheless, the inf. abs. is still found sometimes in the last two cases in which it is actually easily possible according to the idea, see the passages §. 355 *note*, and Prov. 25, 27.

545 In the same manner as the *infin. abs.* cannot be dependent on a *stat. constr.* or even on a preposition, so also it cannot itself stand in *stat. constr.* nor assume *suffixes* in any sense whatever, but can only remotely subordine a noun (cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 140). The noun, however, which is subordined to an *infin. constr.* may either be referred to the subject, if the finite verb was used, as בִּשְׁמֹעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ *at the hearing of the king* i. e. as the king heard, or to the object, as עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט *to exercise justice.* If the *finite verb* would merely stand in the nearest, most indefinite person, that is, in the third, without a definite subject being added, then the infin. also is used as merely dependent on the construction of the sentence without supplying such a subject, whether the *finite verb* be to be conceived in the *sing.* as כִּרְאֹת אֶת־הַנֶּזֶם *as he saw the ring* Gen. 24, 30, or in the *pl.* as בִּגְזֹז אֶת־צֹאנוֹ *when they shore* (גָּזְזוּ) *his flock* 1 Sam. 25, 2. Gen. 25, 26. 33, 10. Ex. 9, 16. Ps. 42, 4. Iob 20, 4 [1]). — Whether the noun, then, which is subordined, if the *finite verb* were used, be to be taken as subject or object, it can still be attached to the *infin. constr.* as to a *stat. constr.*, and this infinitive does take suffixes; but, notwithstanding, the attachment to the *infin.* is not so close, as it would not take place with the *finite verb* for which the infin. is a substitute; the noun especially often stands separated as object (Js. 11, 9), and with אֵת §. 492 f.; and here the suffix also may be separated by this אֵת, and is regularly so separated when the infin. is used for the third person of the finite verb without a definite subject, as כִּרְאֹתוֹ *as he saw*, כִּרְאֹת אֹתוֹ *as he saw him*, 2 Sam. 6, 21. בְּלֶדֶת אֹתָם *when one bore them* (a common expression which has its origin in polygamy) Gen. 25, 26; hence too אֵת after the infin. of a passive (acc. to §. 572) בְּהִמָּשַׁח אֹתוֹ *when one anointed him* 21, 5. Lev. 13, 55. 56. Num. 7, 10. Ez. 16, 4. 5. Moreover, cf. §. 554 f.

1) It is in a similar manner to this, that it is sufficient for the verb, when it would be used in the third pers. merely, without a more definitely named subject, to go over into the *participle* without the addition of the personal pronoun: in the *pl.* as אֹמְרִים *they say* Ex. 5, 16. Gen. 37, 17, and in the *sg.* as הִנֵּה יֹצֵא *lo he goes out* Ex. 7, 15. 8, 16. Gen. 41, 1, קֹרֵא *there calls* Js. 21, 11 acc. to §. 551, Ps. 97, 10. 66, 7. 33, 5. 7. 22, 99.

II. ENTIRE PROPOSITION.

I. Nothing is required, according to §. 471, to form an entire proposition, but the logical combination of subject and predicate, in whatever form and even with whatever compass either may appear. Two ideas which are combined by the thought are always necessary to form an entire proposition in ordinary diction, e. g. לִי גְבוּרָה *to me* (mine) is *strength*, אֲנִי יַהְוֶה *I* am *Jahve*, הוּא צַדִּיק *he* is *just*, שָׂרָה בָאֹהֶל *Sara* is *in the tent*, קְצִיר הַיּוֹם *harvest* is *to-day*. The subject, however, always has the power of a substantive, either from its own nature or by transference, whereas the word which is added as predicate, may vary much more in form and power, and is even more easily placed as dependent. As subject in the stricter sense, the *inf. constr.* alone can be placed dependently (because it represents a mere possibility), in propositions like טוֹב לָשֶׁבֶת *good* is it *to dwell* (= that one dwell) quietly, precisely as in English, cf. §. 544. 546

An adjective, when used as predicate, generally does not require the article, but represents the quality quite simply, as צַדִּיק יַהְוֶה *just* (is) *Jahve*; the sense, however, may necessarily require the article, as on account of the superlative §. 502, or when a participle renders a quality emphatically prominent, so that it separates itself more with the article, and the article conveys the sense of *he who*, as עֵינֵיךְ הָרֹאוֹת *your eyes* (it is) *which saw* Dt. 4, 3. 11, 7. Js. 14, 27. Gen. 45, 12; Ps. 19, 11. 547

Instead of an adjective, an abstract substantive also may be used as predicate, especially in poetry, as *the judgments of God are* אֱמֶת *truth*, true, Ps. 19, 10, or if an adjective is not yet formed, or not yet currently used, as קִירֹתָיו עֵץ *its walls are wood*, wooden (cf. §. 498 where there is the same thing fundamentally, and still more §. 480) Ez. 41, 22. 1 Sam. 21, 6. Ex. 9, 31. Gen. 11, 1. Jer. 24, 2. Ps. 110, 3; with such predicates, the subject which is mentioned a little previously, may be easily repeated in thought, in *st. cst.* as a part of the predicate at the same time (*its walls are* walls of *wood*), which case also occurs in the following example, כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים *thy throne is* (the throne) *of God* = divine, Ps. 45, 7; cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 146.

The use of the *copula* between the subject and predicate is only gradually introduced: 1) the pronoun of the third person, as the personal pronoun contains the idea of substantial existence in its very nature, and that of the third person 548

most simply e. g. אֲנִי הוּא *I* am *he;* but there is no verbal or temporal power whatever in it, and its use is primarily only on occasions when the subject is most indispensably to be separated from the predicate, namely because both are *definite* nouns Dt. 12, 23, דָּוִד הוּא הַקָּטָן *David is* or *was the least* 1 Sam. 17, 14, §. 502, where one might easily construe הַקָּטָן in apposition acc. to §. 537, *the little David;* in the same way after the pronoun which is more emphatically placed separately at the beginning, especially with persons, as מָה הֵמָּה אֵלֶּה *what are these?* Zach. 4, 5. Gen. 25, 16. It is different when the subject is placed first acc. to §. 557 and is of longer compass, and the sentence is, therefore, somewhat interrupted, as *these men — peaceful* (are) *they* Gen. 34, 21. As this pronoun of the third person is used most simply as the copula, accordingly, even the second or first person may go before, as אַתָּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים *thou art God* 2 Sam. 7, 28. [1]).

1) The poets moreover use this personal pronoun by itself also, for *he is* with a preceding *stat. cs.* (§. 507), in a half finished proposition therefore, Nah. 2, 9. Js. 18, 2. 7.

549 2) The verb הָיָה is properly only used on occasions in which a *verb* is required for the idea *to be, to become, to exist,* therefore for the past or future absolutely, as אִישׁ הָיָה *a man was* (once); and often for the jussive, just as it is constantly used for the imperative. A participle *being* is, with the exception of Ex. 9, 3, only found in later writers, as there is generally no copula at all used for the present as the nearest tense, or the personal pronoun is sufficient of itself; הָיָה is also rarely used of the past in parenthetical propositions Jdgs. 8, 11. — In the same way as the verb *to be* is construed immediately with the predicate, in the same way may the verbs הֵחֵל *to begin* to be, *to become* Gen. 9, 20. 1 Sam. 3, 2, and הֵתַם *to cease* to be Js. 33, 1, תָּמַם Ps. 9, 7, which describe a more definite kind of being, also be construed.

550 יֵשׁ §. 506 is less than הָיָה to be called a copula, as it is properly always placed independently at the beginning of a proposition, to represent an emphatic *there is;* it is also chiefly used before indefinite nouns only, as יֵשׁ תִּקְוָה *there is hope,* יֵשׁ אֹהֵב *there is a friend* Prov. 18, 24, יֵשׁ עוֹנֶךָ *there is* one *who hears thee* Iob 5, 1, very rarely before a definite noun Jdgs. 6, 13, and from a special cause §. 623. For the rest, although the word is primarily always placed in *stat. const.* acc. to §. 506, yet, as it always bears rather a mere verbal idea, it can also be more freely placed, with a word coming between, as יֵשׁ לִי רָב *there is to me* (I have) *much,* or the noun being placed before it on account of a particular reason Jdgs. 19, 19. Js. 43, 8.

As, according to all this, there is no copula corresponding to our *to be* in current use in Hebr., it is not surprising, therefore, that the language possesses another means of distinguishing the predicate, see §. 521.

The more *definite subject* is often omitted, if it is easily 551
understood from the sense of the proposition or expression, or if it cannot be mentioned; the verb therefore is then placed by itself in the third person. Thus, when 1) *persons* are spoken of, *a*) the *plural* is used when there is no need of stating who and how many do a thing, as יֹאמְרוּ *dicunt*, a construction of infinite frequency, especially because the active constructions are used, in all possible cases, in preference to the passive §. 251, so that we even find such a combination acc. to §. 539 as לֹא תוֹסִיפִי יִקְרְאוּ לָךְ *thou wilt not add — they call thee* = thou wilt not any more be called, Js. 47, 1. — *b*) The verb is much more rarely placed alone in the *sing.* as the individual is not so easily left indefinite as the number is; the chief cases are: *α*) the phrase קָרָא שֵׁם *one called the name* of the city, of the child etc.; for it is uncertain who devised the name, though only *one* can have devised it; *β*) when we can determine the agent from the action mentioned, as יַחֲרֹשׁ *he ploughs* (the labourer) Am. 6, 12. Js. 53, 9. *γ*) when the particular person may be gathered from the context of the narration, as וַיֹּאמֶר *then said he* (the person asked), 1 Sam. 19, 22; or when the person follows from the antithesis, as *every one before whom he* (his neighbour) *mentions it, will tremble* Js. 19, 17. *δ*) rarely in other cases, as אָמַר *he* (a man, indefinitely) = *one said* 1 Sam. 23, 22. 24, 11. Ex. 10, 5. 21. [1]). Because the *sing.* is thus more indistinct in itself, therefore the participle of the same stem is, with greater clearness, used as subject, as יִפֹּל הַנֹּפֵל *the falling one* i. e. he who falls, some one or other, *falls* Dt. 22, 8. Jer. 9, 23; this is rare with the *pl.* poet. 31, 5,

1) This use is also found in Sanscrit.

The address in the second pers. *sg.* for *any one*, is only found in Hebr. in the common phrase by which one shows the way, עַד בֹּאֲךָ *until thy coming* = *as far as*, which has become so very much an adverb, that we even find בּוֹאֲךָ alone.

2) As no definite form for the *neuter* has been developed, 552
accordingly, when *things* are to be signified indefinitely, the verb, just as is the case with the adjective and pronoun §. 364, is placed either in the *msc.* or in the *fem. sg.*; in the verb, however, the use of *a*) the nearest, the *msc.*, is most frequent, as יִקְשֶׁה *it is hard* Dt. 15, 18. רָוַח לוֹ *it is wide to him*, easy, he recovers, 1 Sam. 16, 23, especially for the passive constantly, as הוּחַל *coeptum est*, שֻׁדַּד *dirutum est*,

מְדֻבָּר *there is spoken* Ps. 87, 3, which passive acc. to §. 572 is often construed like the indefinite third pers. active, to whose sense it corresponds. — *b*) the *fem.*, especially in occurrences produced by a mysterious power from without, as חָשְׁכָה *it has grown dark*, הִמְטִיר (it makes rain, some uncertain cause) *it rains* Am. 4, 7. Jer. 13, 16. עָשְׁקָה לִי *it is narrow to me, I am oppressed* Js. 38, 14. צָרָה לִי Jdgs. 10 9.

It is somewhat different when the easily understood subject (like the object in others) is gradually left out in some very common expressions, especially a member of the body, as חָסָה (עֵינוֹ) עָלָיו *there looked softly* (mercifully) *upon him* (his eye) i. e. *pepercit ei*, once 1 Sam. 24, 11; often וַיִּחַר לוֹ *then was inflamed to him* (אַפּוֹ his nose, his wrath).

553 The possible compass of the parts of the proposition is clear from §. 471 ff. The whole can also be explained by the individual in apposition, as *both supported Moses* מִזֶּה אֶחָד וּמִזֶּה אֶחָד *on the one side* (prop. as a neuter *ab hoc*) *one and on the other one*, as such prolix descriptions are still prevalent in Hebr. Ex. 17, 12. Especially can a *pl.* be immediately explained by אִישׁ *man* i. e. *each* in such a way that the further additions must accommodate themselves to that *sg.* as חִגְרוּ אִישׁ חַרְבּוֹ *gird ye, each his sword*; and, where reciprocal actions are spoken of, there is אָחִיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his friend* used together with this אִישׁ *man* (which our languages, no longer separating the two members, more concisely express by *each other*, *ἀλλήλων*) even with non-personal objects (Ex. 26, 3) as אָמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ *they said to each other*, prop. man to his friend, אִישׁ אָחִיו לֹא יִדְחָקוּן *they do not crowd one the other* (each other) Joel 2, 8; and subordined, *I deliver them each into the hand of the other* i. e. into mutual captivity Zach. 11, 6. It is remarkable that this אִישׁ without the article, though still a very powerful word, instead of being subordined to the *stat. constr.* is rather abruptly put before, as אִישׁ בִּתְרוֹ *each its half*, for *the half of each* Gen. 15, 10. 9, 5 (*from the hand of the brother of every one*). Iob 1, 4 (*in the house of the order of each*), cf. Gen. 42, 25. 49, 28. Num. 17, 17, and as subject Ex. 16, 19.

554 II. Three principles regulate *the position of the words* in an entire proposition: 1. There is a definite order established for the usual unimpassioned arrangement of words!, which is so much the more immutable in consequence of the want of cases for the noun; to what extent this is the case in the several members of the proposition, is more fully stated above. The nearest place for the *predicate*, however, is *before* the subject, because it is generally the property which is espe-

cially new and important, which the speaker desires to mention, as צַדִּיק יְהוָה *just* (is) *Jahve;* the *verb*, however, is so much the rather placed before, as, just as all verbal persons, so also the third properly contains a subject in itself §. 471, and the more definite subject is originally only an apposition to that third person, as אָמַר יְהוָה *there spoke Jahve.* The object then, according to the most natural order, follows the subject thus placed after the verb, and is distinguished by this very position, as שָׁלַח דָּוִד מַלְאָכִים *David sent messengers* 1 Sam. 25, 14. Gen. 42, 30. This tranquil order is especially observed immutably when the proposition has already begun with power with a closely construed, firm word and returns to rest, either by a strong conjunction being placed at the beginning, as כִּי *that*, הִנֵּה *lo*, or by a substantive being placed first (e. g. §. 557); cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 164. — If it so happens that the verb is placed in the *inf. cs.* according to the construction of the proposition, the same order is preserved, nay is for the most part more indispensably necessary; the noun which would have been subject with the *finite verb*, is placed next in order, so that the *inf.* can be placed in *st. cs.* acc. to §. 545; the object remains object as to form also, and is placed last, as בִּשְׁמֹעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ *in the hearing of the king* i. e. as the king heard; בְּשַׁחֵת יְהוָה אֶת־סְדֹם *in the destroying Jahve Sodom* i. e. when he destroyed, Gen. 13, 10. 29, 13. Ez. 34, 12. Yet cf. §. 555.

Little words and accessory definitions are always inserted in the firmer 555
chief elements of the proposition, as אֶתֵּן לְךָ הָאָרֶץ *I will give to thee the land* מַה זֹּאת עָשִׂינוּ *what* (how) *have we done this?* Nay a little word may even intrude between the *inf. constr.* and the subject of the infin. as verb, which is then altogether put before as such (which is contrary to §. 554) because the construction of the *inf. constr.* is not very close acc. to §. 545, as בִּשְׁלֹחַ אֹתוֹ תַּרְתָּן *in Tartans sending him* Js. 20, 1. 5, 24. Gen. 4, 15. Jos. 14, 11; or an accusative, which is remoter as to the sense, is earlier attached as a smaller suffix Dt. 31, 7. The *participle* in *stat. constr.* also, whose construction in not very close acc. to §. 503, can also be so separated, as מַשְׁלִיכֵי בַיְאֹר חַכָּה *they that cast in the river the angle* Js. 19, 8. Cf. also with כֹּל §. 509 f. — It is for a similar reason that the weak הָיָה *fuit* is interposed in Iob 1, 1.

2. We are clearly to distinguish from this the formation of 556
a *descriptive proposition* (or rather, *proposition of state*) which is produced by the particularly significant arrangement of the words. For as the *subject* is placed first, contrary to §. 554, and the predicate follows, it is not the action, its development and progress, which is brought in the fore-ground, as in the ordinary, narrative diction §. 554, but it is the thing or the person which is described in a certain condition, and the

whole proposition, in direct opposition to the usual narrative style, paints the even tenour and tranquillity of permanence, of continuance, according as the speaker conceives it; and this reversed arrangement of words is extremely important and significant for this purpose (cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 168). The verb also is then usually placed in the participle acc. to §. 350, as, in this condition, the action is generally conceived as still continuing. Thus Ex. 12, 11, where the condition is even introduced with the words, *thus shall ye eat it:* מָתְנֵיכֶם חֲגֻרִים *your loins girded* etc. Jdgs. 15, 2. 1 Sam. 12, 17. Hence עוֹד *still* §. 465 and אַיִן *there is not* are exceedingly well suited to these very propositions, Ex. 3, 2. 5, 16. 9; 2. All this is of greater importance afterwards in §. 607–609.

This order is especially important, inasmuch as the participle so placed serves, acc. to §. 350, at the same time as a *tense-form* for the action continuing at this very present, for the *praesens relativum*, as הִנֵּה אָחִיךָ מִתְנַחֵם *behold thy brother is angry* Gen. 27, 42, or for the future which the speaker contemplates as quite near at hand or, at any rate, as certain in his mind as if it were present (*fut. relativum*), as הִנְנִי מֵבִיא *en me allaturum* = *en allaturus sum* Gen. 6, 17. Much remoter and rarer is the use of the *praeteritum relativum* by itself to place the hearer at once in a definite condition of the past, as in the description of a dream: הִנְנִי עֹמֵד *lo I* was (during the dream) *standing* Gen. 41, 17.

הִנֵּה *behold* is very frequently used at the very beginning with this participle and in other descriptive propositions to call the attention to a condition. It is, however, a general consequence of the sense of this הִנֵּה that it subordines the subject to itself at once, where the subject can be placed separately, and a personal pronoun then usually becomes a suffix. When הִנֵּה is not used, the participle, as a simple form for the *praes.* and *fut. instans*, may *be put before* like the other tenses (compare the Aramaic) Gen. 18, 13 f. 31, 20. Num. 20, 29. Jdgs. 15, 11.

557 3. A word, contrary to the usual order §. 554, is rendered prominent for the sake of *emphasis* or *antithesis* and is placed first, which mode is very frequent in Hebr. as a language of youthful animation. When the subject or object has thus the force of the proposition, the verb is then primarily placed in the middle always, as יָדֵינוּ לֹא שָׁפְכוּ דָם *our hands have not shed blood* (and the antithesis is, *our eyes*) Dt. 21, 7; אֲבָנִים שָׁחֲקוּ מַיִם *stones* (even) *do the waters wear away* Iob 14, 19; after a word with a preposition, e. g. a statement of time, the order is, verb, subject, object Gen. 1, 1. The following arrangements are rare and rather poetical: object, subject, verb 2 Kgs. 5, 13; subject, object, verb Js. 13, 18, and very rarely verb, object, subject

Ps. 34, 22; interrogative substantives have the first place from their nature acc. to §. 577. It often happens that a substantive which is placed before for sake of emphasis, is with very great emphasis repeated again by means of its personal pronoun, as בִּרְכַּת יְהוָה הִיא תַעֲשִׁיר *the blessing of Jahve — it maketh rich* Prov. 10, 22. 24; אֶת־יְהוָה אֹתוֹ תַקְדִּישׁוּ *Jahve — him should you sanctify* Js. 8, 13. — A substantive so placed before, is also often repeated by means of its personal pronoun (or, if long words come between, by itself) in the usual position and without further emphasis, as אֶת־הָעָם הֶעֱבִיר אֹתוֹ *the people — he led it over* Gen. 47, 21.

The chief noun, of which something is to be predicated, is very 558 often placed quite abruptly at the beginning of the proposition, where the speaker places it, as the most important word, first by itself, and is obliged to repeat it afterwards by means of its *pron. suff.* in the place required by the construction of the proposition, as יְהוָה־בַּשָּׁמַיִם כִּסְאוֹ *Jahve — in heaven is his throne* Ps. 11, 4. Nah. 1, 3. 2 Kgs. 10, 29; it is very rarely that such a substantive continues without such a repetition, when the following proposition by itself also gives a complete sense, so that the construction is easily understood from the context, as *a soul hungering* i. e. according to the force of the participle §. 607 *when* a soul hungers, then *all bitter is sweet* to it Prov. 27, 7. Ps. 115, 16. Js. 2, 18.

The *verb* alone cannot be rendered prominent by an 559 unusual position merely, because it, of its own accord, occupies the first place in the ordinary proposition acc. to §. 554. Nevertheless, in the exceedingly animated Hebrew language it is often rendered emphatically prominent by the *inf. abs.* being placed before the *finite verb* of the same stem, which usage is almost peculiar to Hebrew, concerning which see §, 584.

The pronominal ideas also are very often so confined to 560 an, in itself, definite order of the words in a proposition, that their emphasis can only be externally and sensibly expressed by means of repetition. Thus *a*) the emphasis of the verbal person is signified by the addition or, properly, repetition of the personal pronoun, as וָאִמָּלְטָה רַק אֲנִי *and I only escaped* Iob. 1, 15; only later writers, and especially Kohelet, add the separate personal pronouns to the verbal persons without emphasis, for distinctness only, and on account of their laxer diction. In the same way, to render the emphasis of a substantive already named very prominent: וְהֶבֶל הֵבִיא גַם הוּא *but Abel, he also brought* Gen. 4, 4. However, הוּא = αὐτός can be very well placed before a noun to be strongly marked Ex. 12, 42, where הוּא־הַזֶּה *ipse-hic* come together; and in the same way where the sentence merely refers to what has been already mentioned Hos. 4, 14 (where הֵם, αὐτοί, *they themselves* refers back

to the adult Israelites), Js. 7, 14. *for God* שֹׁפֵט הוּא *judges, himself* Ps. 50, 6. אַתָּה הוּא *tu ipse* Jer. 49, 12 [1]). — *b*) The strong emphasis of a *suffix* pronoun attached to a noun, which is of itself very much shortened without any emphasis and which nevertheless cannot be separated and placed before, is expressed in the same way by adding (or prop. repeating) the personal pronoun, as נַפְשׁוֹ הוּא *his, his soul, his own soul* Mich. 7, 3. בִּי אָנִי *in me* 1 Sam. 25, 24, especially with particles which require the emphasis, as בְּפִיו גַּם הוּא *in his mouth also* 2 Sam. 17, 5. Gen. 4, 26. 10, 21. Prov. 23, 15 [2]). A *verbal suff.* however, is seldom repeated in this way (only when גַּם *also* is placed after, Gen. 27, 34. Prov. 22, 19) because it can be easily separated and *placed before* acc. to §. 492. — An adverb also must be rendered emphatical in this way, as יַעַן וּבְיַעַן *because, yea because* Lev. 26, 43. But a substantive or adjective is seldom repeated in this manner, as they may be distinguished by their position, except in an unusual oratorical style Dt. 16, 20.

1) It is moreover used as sole predicate even, הוּא, ὁ αὐτός, *the same* (properly *he* and none other) Iob 3, 19. Js. 41, 4. Ps. 102, 28,

2) Yet, in Canticles, instead of כַּרְמִי אֲנִי *my vineyard*, כַּרְמִי שֶׁלִּי §. 517 is used, the writer having avoided using the pronoun for the direct case.

561 We are, however, clearly to distinguish between this *rhetorical* repetition of a word according to the emphasis of a single word in the proposition, and the repetition which is necessary for the expression of a single, in itself, firm thought or idea: 1) to express a *high* or *the highest degree* (cf. §. 502), which is necessary in Prose even, with adverbs, as מְאֹד מְאֹד *very much*, but is in other respects rather peculiar to the lofty diction of poetry. Words too which are merely similar, may be placed together, with or without copula, as שְׁמָמָה וּמְשַׁמָּה *desert and desolation* Ez. 6, 14. Iob 30, 3; הִתַּמְּהוּ תְּמָהוּ *to wonder, wonder* Hab. 1, 5. Zeph. 2, 1. Js. 29, 9. — 2) to express the idea of doubleness, variety, as אֶבֶן אֶבֶן *stone, stone* i. e. *double, different, false stone* Dt. 25, 13, also with the copula לֵב וָלֵב *heart and heart*, double heart (cf. bilinguis) Ps. 12, 3. Somewhat differently מִי וָמִי *who and who?* i. e. what particular persons, precisely as in English, Ex. 10, 8. — 3) to denote an equable advance from one to more. a continuance and repetition of the same thing, as בַּדֶּרֶךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ *on the way, on the way* i. e. without stopping Dt. 2, 27; שָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year, year*, yearly 14, 22; בֶּאֱרֹת בֶּאֱרֹת *pits pits* (in the *stat. constr.*) many in succession, *nothing but* pits Gen. 14, 10, Joel 3, 14; moreover with adverbs: מַעְלָה מָּעְלָה *above - above* i. e. higher and higher over Dt. 28, 43; מְעַט מְעַט *little little*, by little and little Ex. 23, 30; especially with *numbers*, when the same number is applied more than once to single objects, as Hebrew has not any form for *distributive numerals*, as שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה *by sevens*

Zach. 4, 2. also without a numeral, as מַטֶּה מַטֶּה *staff staff* i. e. each a staff Num. 17, 17.

562 Before the noun is mentioned, there is sometimes allusion made to it by means of its pronoun, when a Poet especially, full of the thought of the object, presupposes its being already known Js. 13, 2. If such a pronoun suffix is immediately followed by the proper noun, as שִׁחֲרוֹ מוּסָר *he seeks it, correction* Prov. 13, 24. Ex. 2, 6. מִטָּתוֹ שֶׁלִּשְׁלֹמֹה *his bed, Solomon's* (§. 453. 517) Cant. 3, 7, then this is produced by a small emphasis of the substantive, especially in the looser popular idiom which first more briefly and conveniently alludes to the noun, and must afterwards repeat it for distinctness.

563 An apparently superfluous personal pronoun is often placed in the dative in a complete proposition, which pronoun however, in particular reference to the subject, expresses that one should do, or does something for his advantage or for himself alone; or that the speaker has a particular interest in the action; especially in addresses, and most frequently in the broader, free language of the people, as לֵךְ לְךָ *go for thyself!* הָלַךְ לוֹ *he is gone for himself* = has departed, is utterly gone Cant. 2, 11.

564 Sometimes too, from the influence of this popular idiom, some later poets use the softer suff. ־ֵנִי *me* and ־ְךָ *thee* for the stronger לִי *to me* and לְךָ *to thee* in the flow of the diction, and indeed primarily, only for the unimportant, briefly added pronoun Ez. 29, 3 cf. v. 9 where it is wanting, Js. 44, 21. 65, 5. Iob 31, 18; it is only emphatic in Zach. 7, 5, where it is, however, rather the *accusative.*

565 On the other hand, an object merely consisting of the *suffix* may also be left out when it may be easily gathered from the context; e. g. when the object is already mentioned (in a substantive or in a whole proposition), especially easily with *things*, as *he saw and told* (what he had seen) Gen. 9, 22. לְהַחֲיוֹת *to preserve* (them) 6, 20, equivalent to *to be preserved.* — In the same way, when a word already mentioned in the *stat. constr.* is used immediately after as subject, it does not require to be again specially mentioned as subject, as the person of the verb contains a reference to it, as בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה אֹתוֹ *in the image of God made he* (God) *him* Gen. 9, 6. 14, 1. 2.

566 In consequence of the language possessing no current reflexive pronoun *se, himself*, it is obliged 1) to use the *pronoun suffix* of the *third person* instead, when *another noun* (or, which is the same thing properly, a preposition) separates the *suffix* from the subject, as אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ *he said in his heart*, עָשָׂה לוֹ *he made himself*, or *for himself*; but the *suffix* in immediate connexion, without such an intervening noun, as *interfecit se, laudat se*, can never have this

signification. The *suffix* of the third person, however, may be very properly attached reflexively to אֵת (especially according to its primitive signification §. 492), as אֹתוֹ *se ipsum* Ex. 5, 19. 2 Sam. 15, 25. Jer. 7, 19. Ez. 34, 2. 8. — 2) Where this pronoun cannot be used, the pronoun *suffixes* are construed with נֶפֶשׁ *soul*, as *I know* נַפְשִׁי *my soul* i. e. *myself*, cf. §. 506.

567 III. The parts of a proposition must have a *harmony of gender and number* in the construction of the adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, with their substantives. The manifold departures from this rule are not wanton irregularities, but arise from the great freedom and lightness of the Hebrew language, which does not regard the external form of words where it is permitted by their *position* or their *idea*.

1. When the predicate is mentioned before the subject is named (and before it is distinctly present to the mind), it may be placed in the nearest, still indefinite form i. e. in the *masc. sing.*, especially as the predicate, according to its usual position, precedes the subject §. 554: the verb too is then placed without definite relation to the subject; but if the subject is mentioned, this indefiniteness cannot take place or be continued; as עֲבֹר הָרִנָּה *the cry passed through* 1 Kgs. 22, 36; הָיָה יָדַיִם *the hands were* Jos. 8, 20; יִשְׁתַּמֵּר חֻקּוֹת *the laws are kept* Mich. 6, 16; it is rarer for an adjective to be so placed as predicate [1].

1) It is, besides, very rare for an adjective, as a predicate expressing a mere property, to be so placed without a more definite number and gender, as *they go* עָרוֹם *naked* Iob 24, 7. 12, 17, although the adjective is not the nearest predicate there.

568 2. The greatest number of departures from the concord arise from the external form being disregarded on account of the idea:

1) Inasmuch as the *feminine* is the proper form for *abstracts* §. 364, and as the individuals of the plural may be comprehended in an abstract, any *plural* may be construed with the *fem. sing.* of the predicate. This is especially easy with inanimate objects, beasts, and suchlike, in which the action of individuals is not so prominent (in contradistinction to §. 569), as תַּעֲרֹג בְּהֵמוֹת, τὰ θηρία ἀναβλέπει, *the beasts look up* Joel 1, 20. Js. 34, 13. 2 Sam. 24, 13; also with the dual, as עֵינָיו קָמָה *his eyes were fixed* 1 Sam. 4, 15; with an adjective as predicate Mich. 1, 9; but never with adjectives or pronouns which are placed immediately after in the closest construction, in apposition, although it may with *pronouns* which refer remotely to a *plural* Iob 39, 15. Ps. 119, 98.

K'tib 2 Kgs. 3, 3. This construction, however, is rare on the whole, and almost exclusively poetical.

569 2) The form and the gender of the *sing.* or *plural* are disregarded in the construction when the sense predominates over the external grammatical form; thus *a*) a *sing.* can be construed with the *plural* (the so called construction of the *collectives*) when the object consists of many equally independent and active parts; this construction is most frequent when the *sing.* signifies living and active persons or animals, and is rarely used of inanimate objects; and even in that case, the *plural* cannot enter into the apposition (cf. §. 568, except with the participle which is rather placed by itself with the article acc. to §. 596, Num. 14, 35), but only in the predicate, and frequently only in the progress of the sentence, when the form of the subject is not so distinctly present to the mind. The gender accommodates itself merely to the sense in the same way, thus צָעֲקוּ הָעָם *the people cry* (the men and women); קִרְיָה יָרְאוּ *the city* (inhabitants) *fear* Js. 25, 3; הָאֹרֵב *the lier in wait* = those who are in ambush Jdgs. 20, 37, מִלְחָמָה *war* for *enemies* with a *masc. pl.* 1 Kgs. 5, 17; צֹאן *small cattle* often with a *fem. pl.*, רֶכֶב often *vehicle* in general, for the *pl. chariots* Nah. 2, 5; אִמְרָה *speech* for *words* Ps. 119, 103; moreover, with כֹּל *all* Dt. 28, 60. Ez. 28, 3, and with an adjective of indefinite, general signification, as אַחֵר *another*, *others* Iob 8, 19. Js. 16, 4. Ps. 11, 7.

b) Every number and gender may also be disregarded in many single instances, when the speaker keeps fast a sense at variance with the external form, as רְנָנִים *clamores*, then *hen-ostrich*, ostrich, hence as *fem.* or *masc. sing.* Iob 39, 13-18; חַטָּאת *sin* as a *masc.* Gen. 4, 7 on account of the image of a lion; *idleness* = the sluggard, as *masc.* Prov. 12, 27; תֹּהוּ *vanum* = idols, as *pl.* 1 Sam. 12, 21. The grammatical gender also often changes for the gender of the sense or image: נֶפֶשׁ *soul* = *man*, *fem.* or *msc.* Gen. 46, 27. Lev. 20, 6. 22, 6. Num. 31, 28; צֹאן *sheep* metaphorically for men *pl. fem.* and *masc.* Jer. 23, 2-4. Ez. 34, 1 ff. עֲצָמוֹת *bones* and *dead bodies* 38, 1 ff. שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* §. 366 on account of a poetical image, *masc.* Ps. 19, 6. — *c*) *Plurals* whose signification appears to be that of a *sing.* are gradually construed with the *singular*, as חוֹמוֹת *moenia* (§. 362) Jer. 51, 58; תְּהֹמוֹת *floods* = the sea, as *fem. sg.* Ps. 78, 15, פָּנִים *face*, and מַיִם *water* (§. 361) sometimes construed with the *sing.* 2 Sam. 10, 9; שָׁמַיִם *heaven* as *sing.* in remote construction Iob 38, 33; שְׁדֵמוֹת poet. *arva*, without *sg.*, hence construed with the *sing.* as being almost synonymous with שָׂדֶה *field*, Hab. 3, 17. Js. 16, 8. — אֱלֹהִים §. 361, 3, is only very often and designedly construed

with the *pl.* where polytheism or idolatry is intended Ex. 32, 4. 8, or where the angels may be understood at the same time Gen. 35, 7; otherwise, in accordance to the Mosaic monotheism, it is, almost without exception (2 Sam. 7, 23) construed with the *sing.* of the predicate, and rarely also with the *pl.* in apposition Jos. 24, 19. 1 Sam. 17, 26; the construction fluctuates between *sg.* and *pl.* with תְּרָפִים *penates*; concerning בַּעַל and אָדוֹן *lord* whose plural forms are always treated as *sing.* cf. §. 361, 3.

570 3) When two substantives are connected together by the *stat. constr.*, the predicate accommodates itself properly to the first as the chief noun; sometimes, however, rather to the second, if the first is of much less importance than the second as to the sense of the whole construction, therefore especially when the first only contains a property or relation of the second, as *a*) almost always when כֹּל *universitas, all*, is the first, as this word is only equivalent to an adjective apposition acc. §. 505, as הָיוּ כָּל יָמָיו *all his days were;* וַתִּשָּׂא כָּל־הָעֵדָה *then the whole congregation raised* a cry; it is only exceedingly rarely that the predicate does still refer to כֹּל, Prov. 16, 2. Js. 64, 10. — In the same way *b*) with קוֹל *voice*, which often expresses nothing more than the idea of our adverb *aloud*, 1 Kgs. 1, 41. Js. 52, 8. Iob 29, 10, cf. Gen. 3, 8; — and *c*) when any abstract at all is placed before a substantive, especially before a personal one, so that the abstract has only, as it were, the sense and power of an adjective; as is the case with מִבְחָר *choice*, חֶמְדָּה *desire* = *choicest*, *most desirable*, *as* בָּאוּ חֶמְדַּת גּוֹיִם *venerunt desiderium* (desideratissimae) *gentes* Hag. 2, 7. Ex. 15, 4; רֹב *abundance* = many, Iob 32, 7; מִסְפַּר *number* Iob 15, 20. 21, 21. 38, 21; also when another noun stands before a much more important personal one, so that the former may be conceived in a similarly subordined idea, as קֶשֶׁת גִּבֹּרִים חַתִּים *the bow of the heroes* (heroes armed with the bow) *are confounded* 1 Sam. 2, 4. Jer. 2, 34. Js. 2, 11; these constructions are for the most part only poetical. It is only seldom, besides this, that the predicate, when placed after, refers to the second substantive which stands nearer to it, although the last may have the predicate as to the sense 1 Kgs. 17, 16 (on the contrary v. 14). Lev. 13, 9. Zach. 8, 10. such constructions were so much the more easy in general, because the noun which is subordined to the *stat. constr.* does not alter its form in the least, has not, for instance, the form of our genitive.

571 3. Lastly, apparent deviations arise from the indefinite diction: *a*) the sentence may first put an individual instead

of all similar beings, and then advance to the plural which is no less in the mind of the speaker, as *he whom I loved, they turn against me* Ps. 14, 1. — *b*) On the contrary, the sentence may begin (and in universal propositions also) with the plural, and the matter be then confined to an individual of the multitude, Prov. 3, 28. 29. 16, 13. Am. 6, 9 f., or to many individuals Zach. 13, 4-6; but neither of these can take place in closely connected words of the same proposition; nevertheless, a *participle* may constitute a small, separate proposition, as מְחַלְלֶיהָ יוּמָת *they who curse it* (= if any one curses it) *he shall be slain* Ex, 31, 14. Gen. 27, 29. cf. 12, 3. Zach. 11, 6. Ps. 62, 5.

This rule does not at all apply to the cases in which the third pers. 572
sg. msc. of the passive, without a more definite person §. 552, is construed with an accusative, as the active constructions are in all cases the nearest in the language, as מַצּוֹת יֵאָכֵל *unleavened bread shall one eat, the sons* אֲשֶׁר יֻלַּד *which one has borne* (as the mother is not so much regarded in polygamy) נִכְבָּדוֹת מְדֻבָּר *one speaks glorious things* (for the participle also can be construed so as a verb acc. to §. 350) Ps. 87, 3, cf. farther §. 493. — Also הָיָה לִי *there was to me* i. e. *I had* (which verb of later languages Hebrew does not possess) construed with the accus. Koh. 2, 7. Gen. 47, 24. Ex. 12, 49. Num 9, 14. 15, 29.

III. PARTICULAR QUALITIES OF THE SIMPLE PROPOSITION.

I. *Negative propositions.* 1. לֹא and אַל §. 448 are used 573
as negations of the whole proposition [1]), and are therefore generally placed before the verb as the chief word in the proposition, or, when they are, on account the sense, placed before another word, yet it is always in such a manner that they relate to the whole proposition; they cannot, however, be placed *after* the verb, although they are easily so placed that the whole proposition is not expressed, is only understood, as לֹא as an answer *not!* i. e. *no!* לֹא־נָא *yet not!* as a deprecation. How partial these particles are to the full finite verb, and how much they avoid the nominal proposition where it is possible to do so, is particularly seen in the fact, that לֹא can never be placed before a participle or before the infinitive; the participle goes over into the finite *tense* Ex. 13, 21. 22. 1 Sam. 1, 13, and the *infinit.* in the same manner §. 619. — They are always distinguished from each other, by אַל being, like *μή*, only a negation according to the feeling and thought of the speaker, and being, therefore, only used with the *imperfect*, and indeed generally with the jussive or cohortative, as אַל יָמֹת *let him not die*, אַל אֵבֹשָׁה *let me not be ashamed!* P. 25, 2; לֹא on the other

hand is the direct *non*, *οὐκ*, and before the imperfect (rarely the jussive Gen. 24, 8.) expresses, in contradistinction to אַל, a command according to external, objective necessity, in a much more emphatic expression therefore, as לֹא תִרְצָח *thou shalt not kill!* אַל תִּרְצָח *kill not!*

1) לֹא is sometimes used with emphasis by the poets only, for the negation of a single nominal idea, as לֹא־אֵל *a no-God* = *idol* Dt. 32, 17, 21. Js. 55, 2; accordingly אַל־מָוֶת Prov. 12, 28 is *τὸ μὴ θνήσκειν*, placed as a merely imagined proposition, as שׂוּם לְאַל Iob 24, 25 *εἰς μηδὲν τιθέναι*, German *zunichte machen.*

574 2. אֵין §. 506 *without*, *there is not* —, generally before an indefinite noun [1]), as אֵין מִסְפָּר *without number*, אֵין מֶלֶךְ *there is not a king* or *no king* —, אֵין עֹשֶׂה *there is not* any one *doing*, or *no one does;* yet also before a definite one, as the word is more and more used (cf. Gen. 7, 2 with v. 8) as an imperfect verb to describe non-existence in general, and indeed in the indefinite tense i. e. primarily in the present, as אֵין יוֹסֵף *no Joseph* i. e. Joseph has disappeared Gen. 37, 29 (where it is a praesens praeteritum), then of the perfect also Gen. 5, 24. When no other definite noun is there, it is used with the *suffix*, as אֵינֶנּוּ עֹשֶׂה *he does not* אֵינָם עֹשִׂים *they do not.* Since it is a word of purely nominal nature, the personal verb, when it is to be construed with it, must appear in the *participle* [2]), even after the subject, as כֶּסֶף אֵין נִתָּן in which the idea of the present is contained, *silver is not given* Ex. 5, 16 (differently in v. 18). As it has generally become much more frequent in use and freer than the intrinsically similar יֵשׁ §. 550, accordingly, it can also be placed much more freely in the proposition, nay even quite at the end or abruptly (Gen. 30, 1) in which case the *stat. abs.* אַיִן is then found. Also לֵב מְלָכִים אֵין חֵקֶר *the heart of kings is without searching* i. e. precisely as an adjective *inscrutable* Prov. 25, 3. It is even used before an infinitive, אֵין עֲרֹךְ as an exclamation *no comparing!* (is possible) Ps. 40, 6. — בְּלֹא *with not* i. e. *without* is also used to subordine a single substantive Num. 35, 22, and poetically לֹא alone Iob 38, 26. Ps. 59, 4. 2 Sam. 23, 4, in prose only in 1 Chro. 2, 30. 32.

1) In the same way لا is used with the accus. without nunation, Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 45. — Moreover אֵין יֵשׁ (§. 49) may be used together 1 Sam. 21, 9, just as אֶפֶס עוֹד *there is not any longer.*

2) The only exception is in Jer. 38, 5, on account of יוּכַל §. 246.

575 3. בִּלְתִּי §. 459 prop. *want*, is *without*, *except*, before a whole proposition Gen. 43, 3. (זוּלָתִי is *except* rather before

a single word); it is only used for *not* when in close construction with nouns or prepositions, in cases in which לֹא cannot easily be used acc. to §. 573: especially before the *infinit.* with לְ §. 544, as לִשְׁמֹר וּלְבִלְתִּי סוּר *to observe and not to turn aside* Dt. 17, 19 f. Somewhat weaker and softer is בְּלִי which is placed after prepositions, as עַל בְּלִי הִגִּיד *because he did not tell* Gen. 31, 20, but also poetically signifies *without* before a substantive Iob 8, 11, and forms a compound with an adjective, as בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ *unanointed* §. 506, and lastly, is even placed before the verb as לֹא Iob 41, 18. Hos. 9, 16 *K'tib.* The form בַּל, shortened from this, is only poetical and altogether equivalent to the simple negation no. 1. On the other hand, the stronger מִבְּלִי prop. *from want*, in the poets perfectly the same as אֵין, is used before an indefinite noun. — אֶפֶס *want*, usually before propositions containing limitations, as אֶפֶס כִּי *except that;* very rarely *there is no longer* 2 Sam. 9, 3. It is also used by itself as *only* Num. 22, 35.

Two such negatives are sometimes conjoined without a high intension 576
of the signification Ex. 14, 11; in the same way מֵאֵין *that there is not no one* (any one) Jer. 10, 6. 7. Js. 5, 9.

If the negation is used with כֹּל in such a manner that it signifies *omnis* acc. to §. 512, then the two words express the idea *nullus* (as such compound words are unknown to the Hebrews, cf. also מְאוּמָה, לֹא דָבָר, *not something*, nothing), as *ne edas* כָּל טָמֵא *omne impurum* (nihil impur.) Jdgs. 13, 4; אֵין כֹּל *nothing at all* 2 Kgs. 4, 2 and אֵין־דָּבָר Ex. 5, 11, Jer. 38, 5; but where כֹּל signifies *totus*, the negation applies to that idea alone, as כֻּלּוֹ לֹא תִרְאֶה *thou shalt not see the whole of him* Num. 23, 13.

II. *Interrogative propositions.* The interrogation may 577
be expressed by the mere tone (Iob 2, 10), but it is rare and chiefly found in short sentences only; and negatively doubtful interrogative propositions which are attached with the imperfect with וְ *and*, are always pronounced without an interrogative particle, as the chief word of the interrogation is emphatically placed first, as וְלָךְ אַגִּיד *and shall I tell it to thee* Jdgs. 14, 16. The interrogative particles are:

1. הֲ (§. 443) *an*, *ἦ*, expresses the common question about an uncertain thing, as הֲשָׁלוֹם לַנַּעַר *is the young man well?* 2 Sam. 18, 32. cf. v. 29; the interrogation often serves as an animated negation, when the speaker enquires after a known object which the hearer must deny; on the other hand, הֲלֹא *nonne* when he expects an affirmation, often used to refer to something known, as הֲלֹא הֵם כְּתוּבִים *is it not written?* = behold it is written, — הֲכִי *an quod? is it that?* when

one does not know the cause, *numquid?* Iob 6, 22. 2 Sam. 9, 1. 23, 19 (where it even occurs in the narration). Gen. 27, 36. 29, 15.

578 אִם properly a conditional particle (§. 625) is often used in interrogations: 1) in indirect ones, which depend on a preceding proposition, as *ask* אִם אֶחְיֶה *si vivam, whether I shall live?* 2 Kgs. 1, 2. (yet הֲ also Gen. 8, 7); rarely when the question, notwithstanding the absence of the preceding proposition, is nevertheless indirect, as in 1 Kgs. 1, 27. Js. 29, 16. — 2) in the second, disjunctive interrogation which refers to a first as opposed to it and continues it; in that case we properly find וְאִם compounded, *and if* i. e. *sive* acc. to §. 625, Iob 22, 3. 40, 8. 9, although אִם by itself is often found instead, especially in short sentences, as הַאַתָּה זֶה אִם לֹא *is it thou or not?* Gen. 27, 21. Am. 3, 3-6.

When a chief word of the interrogation is not placed at the beginning of the proposition, but the interrogative particle is nevertheless prefixed to the whole proposition, as is usual, then הֲ or הֲלֹא can be repeated before that chief word and after אִם or הֲ Gen. 17, 17. Ps. 94, 9. 10.

579 2. Concerning the substantive interrogative particles מִי *who?* and מָה *what?* see §. 450. As they possess the power of substantives, they may also constitute the second member of a *stat. constr.* acc. to §. 511, as בַּת מִי *whose daughter?* חָכְמַת מֶה *cujusnam* (rei) *intelligentia?* Jer. 8, 9. With the exception of this case which is produced by the *stat. constr.*, these interrogative particles also must always be placed at the beginning of the proposition, or the even tenour of the proposition is, at any rate, interrupted by their insertion; yet we also find וְנַחְנוּ מָה *and what are we?* Ex. 16, 7 f. — מִי especially is rendered so prominent at the beginning of the proposition and is so separated, that הוּא is, poetically, inserted before the predicate, as *who is* he (who) -? Iob. 4, 7. 13, 19. 17, 3. Js. 50, 9. By the use of the pronoun זֶה §. 446 after מִי, the interrogation is not only rendered more animated, as by הוּא, but is also more nearly referred to the object already seen or called forth, as *who is* he *there?* Ps. 24, 10 cf. v. 8. Jer. 30, 21. Iob 38, 2. The succeeding words constitute a relative proposition, which is, however, always closely attached, as if the demonstrative pronoun was merely a nearer definition of the interrogative particle. In prose, לָמָּה זֶה *why then?* resembles it; sometimes too מַה זֶּה in the same signification Gen. 27, 20, and מַה־זֶּה for *what is that?* Ex. 4, 2. 1 Sam. 10, 11. — מִי יֹדֵעַ *who knows?* in the signification of *perhaps*, is construed in precisely the same immediate manner as a particle Joel 2, 14.

2 Sam. 12, 22. *K'tib.* But the shorter אֻלַּי or אוּלַי is much more frequently used for this idea 1).

1) This seems, as to its etymology, to be the interrogative *if? whether?* related to the pronoun *el* §. 446, for which a shorter form לוּ is used in a somewhat different sense. Cf. the Chald. מָאִים *quid si?* = fortasse.

The distinction between the sense of each §. 450 is always observed: 580
מָה enquires after the *nature* of a thing, even in cases where persons are spoken of, as מָה אֵלֶּה *what* are *these?* i. e. of what kind, *quales*, Zach. 1, 9. 4, 5. 13; and מִי after the person, even where the personality only exists in the mind of the speaker, as מִי הַמַּחֲנֶה *who* is *the camp?* i. e. the men and living beings in it Gen. 33, 8. Cant. 3, 6: מִי שְׁמֶךָ *who* is *thy name?* i. e. *quis nominaris?* Jdgs. 13, 17 cf. Ezr. 5, 4. In a different manner: מִי *as who* (how) will Jacob subsist? Am. 7, 2. 5.

מָה is also the reproaching, condemning *what?* (why?) Ex. 17, 2. Ps. 42, 12. The transition from that sense to the more animated prohibition and negation, is near and easy, but is still very rare in Hebr. and only commencing in poetry Iob 31, 1. Cant. 8, 4.

כַּמָּה *about what* = *how much?* לָמָּה §. 462 very frequently used as *why? wherefore?* when the enquiry is made after the purpose and thus, in the end, after the cause also. A more definite word is מַדּוּעַ *why?* properly very much shortened from מָה יָדוּעַ *what* having *seen*, *experienced?* as action arises from having experienced and perceived something, cf. מָה רָאִיתָ Gen. 20, 11.

3. אֵי־זֶה is acc. to §. 451 the interrogative *adjective* 581
which? and thus sufficiently distinguished from other interrogatives. As an interrogative, however, it must nevertheless be placed before its substantive, and therefore does not change its gender and number; זֶה, as the pronoun, only changes according to the relations of the proposition i. e. it is to be considered as the nominative or accusative, has a preposition or has not. The substantive, however, does not require to be definite, as אֵי זֶה בַיִת *which house?* אֵי מִזֶּה עִיר *from what city?* but it may also be definite, as אֵי זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ *which way?* 1 Kgs. 13, 12.

III. *Interjectional propositions.* 1) a single *noun* may 582
be placed as an exclamation, either by itself or inserted in a proposition, and, in that case, as the Hebrews have not any particle for this expression §. 440, the noun undergoes no further change, and is used with or without the article according as its particular laws determine, as הַכֹּהֵן *the* (oh) *priest!* if he is standing before the speaker, אֶרֶץ (oh) *earth!* poetically. — Before אֲדֹנִי *my lord!* or, which is, properly speaking, the same thing acc. to §. 359, אֲדֹנָי *oh Lord!* (God)

we often find בִּי *on me* (hear)! in a shortened phrase Gen. 43, 20. 44, 18. Jdgs. 6, 13. 15.

583 2) The chief word of the proposition, the *verb*, is used interjectionally. The *jussive* and *imperative* are very gentle and developed kinds of this use. But a much stronger and abrupter, and at the same time more comprehensive kind, is the exclamation by means of the *infinitive absolute*, when the naked verbal idea is placed with all emphasis, in such a way that, in more unimpassioned diction, the verb would be used in more definite person, tense, or mode. This takes place chiefly 1) when the speaker is too full of his subject so that he mentions the action in the concisest way, as an exclamation, as *eating and leaving thereof!* i. e. in the connexion of the sense in that passage, you shall certainly eat and leave thereof 2 Kgs. 4, 43; הֲרֹב *contend* with God –? i. e. will he forsooth contend –? Iob 40, 2. — 2) This abrupt, energetic mode of expression is most frequently found for the absolute command by which the thing enjoined is placed abruptly and by itself (for which the infinitive is used in ancient Greek also) as עָשֹׂה *making!* for *make*, 2 Kgs. 3, 16; זָכֹר *remembering!* for you must remember Ex. 20, 8; הִמּוֹל *all flesh to be circumcised!* i. e. must be circumcised Gen. 17, 10. — 3) in the hurried, emphatic description of events rapidly following each other which excite astonishment, or displeasure, when it is sufficient to mention the action by itself and, by that means, more emphatically, for which the inf. abs. may be either used once or oftener, as אָלֹה וְכַחֵשׁ וְגָנֹב וְרָצֹחַ *swearing falsely and lying and stealing and murdering!* Hos. 4, 2. 10, 4. Js. 21, 5. 59, 4. Iob 15, 35. Jer. 8, 15. 14, 19. 32, 33. — In all cases, however, in which the *inf. abs*, is placed quite by itself (cf. also §. 605), it is construed like the verb, instead of which it is used; the following noun, according to the context, may also be the *subject* of the verb (Iob 40, 2. Prov. 12, 7. 17, 12; with the inf. pass. Gen. 17, 10); just as, on the other hand, every subject in the proposition is left out if the *finite verb* were used without a subject mentioned.

584 This emphatical *infin. abs.* becomes much softer and more equable when it is immediately explained by the more definite finite verb, which is very frequent in Hebr. acc. to §. 559 when the verb is only to be rendered prominent in the proposition; an English idiom corresponding to this in force, is: *speak-he did not.* The *emphasis* of the action, however, may be very various: as in an antithesis to a preceding action, therefore especially after כִּי *but*, as *thou shalt not give it*

to me, *but* קָנֹה אֶקְנֶה *I will buy it* 2 Sam. 24, 24, also without this particle Ez. 16, 4; with limitations, often after אַךְ and רַק *only*, as *he had only gone out* (nothing more than that) Gen. 27, 30. 44, 28, hence also very often with conditions, especially with the second, opposed, condition, as אִם הַגֵּד תַּגִּידוּ *if you declare it* Jdgs. 14, 12; often in interrogative propositions, where the action itself is the most important point in the question, as הֲמָלֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ *wilt thou reign* (forsooth) Gen. 37, 8; generally when an action is assumed to be quite certain, without the possibility of being otherwise, as *I know that* מָלֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ *thou wilt reign* 1 Sam. 24, 21. Iob 27, 22; also at the beginning of the narration with some emphasis of the very thing which one is about to relate or affirm, as רָאוֹ רָאִינוּ *we have seen* Gen. 26, 28; and often in solemn commands, for which expression the *inf.* alone is often used acc. to §. 583, as יָדֹעַ תֵּדַע *thou shalt know* Gen. 15, 13. The *adjective* or *participle* may be rendered emphatic in the same manner as the verb, Jdgs. 11, 25 [1]). Such impassioned expressions are, of course, more frequent in animated diction than in historical narrative. — In almost all cases, however, the infinitive is placed at the beginning of the proposition, like the infin. when placed alone §. 583, or the sentence is, at any rate, previously broken off; hence it follows 1) that no *negation* can be placed before the infin. (in the same way as it cannot in §. 583), but can only be placed before the following *finite verb*, where every thing in general is more closely defined, as הָמֵת לֹא נְמִיתֶךָ *we will not kill thee* Jdgs. 15, 13 (very rare exceptions in Gen. 3, 4 where it may be defended by the corresponding passage 2, 17, and in Ps. 49, 8); — 2) the *infin.* as rendering the mere action prominent, may be placed in Qal, when the more definite form e. g. the passive, follows afterwards with the other nearer definition in the finite verb, as טָרֹף טֹרַף Gen. 37, 33; it is rare for a similar, as to idea equivalent, verbal form to be placed in the infin. e. g. *Hof.* beside *Nif.* 2 Kgs. 3, 23; or a similar weak root, which can have the same signification (cf. §. 228), especially an infin. from פ״א placed before a finite verb ע״ו in the imperf. to give both verbs a greater external equality Zeph. 1, 2. Jer. 8, 13; Js. 28, 28 [2]).

1) We are not to confound with this case, the rare instance in which the infin. abs. is placed before its finite verb in the signification described in §. 541, Am. 9, 8.

2) The *infin. abs.* when *placed after*, on the other hand, must accommodate itself much more strictly to its finite verb §. 541; it is very rare to find *Qal* after *Hif.* Gen. 46, 4.

3. The whole proposition may consist of an abrupt ex- 585
clamation, either without a particle, as שָׁלוֹם לְךָ *peace to thee!* בָּרוּךְ אַבְרָם *blessed* be *Abram!* חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ *the life of thy soul!* = so sure thy soul liveth; instead of this *stat. constr.* חֵי, the adjective חַי is used in the phrase חַי י״י *so sure God lives!* — or with a particle.

The proper optative particle is לוּ [1]) Gr. ὡς, Lat. *utinam!* used with the imperf. or, more definitely, with the jussive and imperative, as לוּ יְחִיֶה *would that he lived!* לוּ שְׁמָעֵנִי *oh hear me!* Gen. 17, 18. 23, 13. 30, 34. If the wish, however, regards an object already actually past, which cannot possibly be attained now, or one which appears impossible at present, which is only conceived as real in the imagination, then it subordines the *perfect*, as לוּ מַתְנוּ *utinam mortui essemus!* Num. 14, 2. 30, 3; לוּ יָרַדְתָּ *utinam descenderis!* Js. 64, 1–4. — The compound אַחֲלַי *oh that!* expresses a more urgent desire Ps. 119, 5. 2 Kgs. 5, 3, from אָח §. 440 and לוּ = לַי, cf. لَيْتَ.

1) Concerning the etymology see below §. 627.

586 A wish whose fulfilment is expected from others, is often expressed by מִי and the *imperf.* as מִי יַשְׁקֵנִי מַיִם *who will give me water!* i. e. oh that some one would give, or oh that I had —! 2 Sam. 23, 15; particularly frequent is מִי יִתֵּן *who will give* = *oh would that!* this last, as it contains a complete proposition, may be followed by the chief verb with Vav *consequutivum*, as מִי יִתֵּן וְהָיָה *oh that there were* Dt. 5, 29; nevertheless, this Vav is often wanting acc. to §. 539, Iob 6, 8, or the verb is placed in the *infin.* as מִי יִתֵּן דַּבֵּר אֱלֹהִים *oh would that God would speak!* Ex. 16, 3, and with the infin. placed after (acc. to §. 555) when the noun has more emphasis Iob 11, 5; also with a mere noun as object Ps. 14, 7.

587 מָה §. 581 is also used as an exclamation of astonishment at the nature of a thing, as מַה נּוֹרָא *how terrible!* in the same way זֶה כַּמֶּה שָׁנִים *this how many years!* or, as we could say, to the same effect, already so many years! Zach. 7, 3.

SECOND SECTION.

OF ANNEXED PROPOSITIONS.

588 I. *Relative propositions.* There are, in general, two kinds of these: the relative proposition proceeds from a word of substantive power, as *qui tacet*, and *vir qui tacet*, or from a particle which merely combines and refers a thought, from a conjunction, as *gaudeo quod semper vales.* Both, according to the simplest syntactical arrangement, necessarily have the word of relation *at the beginning* always, and more complicated arrangements like *quam vidi urbem magna est*, are not Semitic. It follows from this,

A. for the proposition with substantive power, that the word of relation, although possessing the power of a substantive, is nevertheless placed quite alone and abruptly at the beginning of the proposition, only as a fundamental word to denote the relation, and is externally, therefore, more like a particle, as it has neither number nor gender in Hebrew. But, because it stands so abruptly at the beginning, it must, like every other word so placed in the following proposition (where it is necessary), explain itself by the corresponding personal pronoun in ordinary arrangement: as we must say *vir - dixi ei* when *vir* is abruptly placed first §. 558; in the same way *qui - dixi ei* for the Lat. *cui dixi*. This is, however, modified by the effort to speak as concisely as possible, for which reason the complement by the pers. pronoun is often omitted. Particulars are, accordingly, as follows:

1) When the relative word refers, according to the sense 589
of the whole proposition, to the *subject*, the personal pronoun follows afterwards in its usual place in the nominative, as אֲשֶׁר הוּא חַי *which is living* Gen. 9, 3. Dt. 20, 15. Ps. 16, 3; yet this pronoun may also be omitted, as the relative word easily expresses the idea of the subject at the same time, especially in short propositions, as הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ *οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ* (for such little accessory definitions also, belonging to the substantive by itself, are often connected to it with greater distinctness and precision), מִי פֶתִי he *who* is *foolish*; it is necessarily absent before every finite verb as predicate, because the person is already contained in that §. 260, as אֲשֶׁר אָמַר *who said.* — 2) When it refers to the *object*, the object is usually supplied in its place by the *suffix*, as אֲשֶׁר כְּלָאוֹ *whom he imprisoned*; this complement, however, may also be omitted, the relative word being considered as the object at the same time, as the object may also be placed before, in case of need; especially easily in short propositions, and where things are spoken of, as הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר *the word which he spoke.* — 3) When it refers to an idea which is to be strictly subordined, the *suffix* can never be omitted, whether it be after a real noun, as אֲשֶׁר אָמַר בְּנוֹ *(he) whose son said*, or after a preposition; as אֲשֶׁר אָמַר לוֹ *(he) to whom he said.* It is only to substantives which state time, place, kind, and manner, that the relative word can be attached without complement, because these general ideas of relation acc. to §. 490 can be conceived in the accusative merely, in case of need, as עַד הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּא *until the day that he came* 2 Sam. 19, 25, בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר *in the place that* (where) *he spoke* with him Gen. 35, 13 f. 40, 13. It is somewhat different when

the expression beginning with אֲשֶׁר, does not conclude quite uniformly Ex. 1, 15. Dt. 3, 24.

When the distance is greater, the substantive itself may be repeated for distinctness instead of the *suff.* Gen. 13, 16. Jer. 31, 32; the substant. may also be placed altogether after the relative Ex. 14, 13.

590 As the relative word is thus very different from a Latin *relative pronoun*, accordingly, it can not only be construed with the pronoun of the third person, but it may just as easily be construed *a*) with a demonstrative adverb, as אֲשֶׁר שָׁם *where* §. 447, אֲשֶׁר מִשָּׁם *from where*; — *b*) with the pronoun of the first and second person, in which use there is greater conciseness and precision in Hebr. as *thou* אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ *whom I brought out* Dt. 5, 6. Hos. 14, 4; *I* אֲשֶׁר בְּרִיתִי *whose covenant* — Jer. 31, 32.

591 Besides this, however, the three possible *positions* and *references of a relative proposition* require to be accurately distinguished:

1. The proposition which is merely a further description of a substantive before mentioned, approaches nearest to the apposition of an adjective §. 537. But, as the person is thus already defined by the substantive which is always to be placed before, and does not require a relative word to express it as the basis of the sentence; and as, on the other hand, the relative word is very loosely attached, and the following proposition can be complete without it: accordingly, it is not surprising that a particular relative word may be omitted here. It is most easily omitted when the substantive to be described is indefinite, as אֲשֶׁר *which*, as to origin and power, is equivalent to a demonstrative pronoun, and thus to the article §. 453; but also when it is not indefinite, especially in poetry. Particulars of this acc. to §. 589 are then as follows: 1) when the reference has the sense of the subject, as בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם *in a land* which is *not to them* i. e. a strange land Gen. 15, 13; and with a *finite verb*, כַּבְּהֵמוֹת נִדְמוּ *like the beasts* that *are slaughtered* Ps. 49, 13. — 2) When it refers to the object, as אֶרֶץ יְדָעָהּ *a land - he knew it* i. e. which he knew; and (as the *suffix* may be omitted acc. to §. 589) in this way also, דֶּרֶךְ לֹא יָדָעוּ a *way* which *they know not* Js. 42, 16. — 3) When it belongs to a closely subordined idea, as הַדֶּרֶךְ יֵלְכוּ בָהּ *the way therein they should walk* = in which way they should walk, Ex. 18, 20.

592 2. The relative word is itself a new substantive, used instead of every other more definite one, e. g. אֲשֶׁר עַל הַבַּיִת (he who) is *over* the *house* i. e. the steward. The relative word in itself, indeed, then retains all modes of construction

with the proposition (which it begins §. 589) which are peculiar to it from its nature: but, at the same time, it may, together with the whole relative proposition, be dependent on a different idea, and support the whole signification of a dedendent word [1]); it may, therefore, receive אֶת acc. to §. 492 as an external sign of its being subordined as object, as *know* אֶת־אֲשֶׁר יִקְרֶה that *which shall happen*, *annoint* אֶת־אֲשֶׁר אֹמַר *him whom I will name* to thee, or be dependent on a *stat. constr.* or on a preposition, as *he said* לַאֲשֶׁר עַל הַבַּיִת *to him who* was *over the house.*

1) Hence, too, other languages, especially modern ones, express this twofold connexion forwards and backwards, by the demonstrative and relative: *he who* —.

The relative word may be omitted in this case also, in the same 593
way as in the first §, 591, but under great limitations. The relative proposition without a relative word, can only be construed with a *stat. constr.*, because the force of the *stat. constr.* already contains the necessity of subordining the whole following proposition, either consisting of a noun or conceived as such, so that the relative word which invests it with a nominal form, may now be omitted. But in that case, the relative proposition must, first, contain nothing which could be considered as an apposition to the word in *stat. constr.* (for instance, no suffix acc. to §. 589, 3, which would destroy the intimate connexion of the *st. cstr.*), but the relative word, if it is used, must be able to support the sense of the subject or object completely §. 589; and secondly, the verb (or what is equivalent to it) must be placed at the beginning of the relative proposition, so that the strict opposition of the *stat. constr.* is produced in all ways. This only occurs, in Prose, in general statements of measure and time, as תְּחִלַּת דִּבֶּר יְ״ *beginning that God spoke* Hos. 1, 2, and further §. 507; but, in poetry, it is much more freely and extensively used: of every local relation, as קִרְיַת חָנָה דָוִד *town* that, or where, *David encamped* acc. to §. 589 *sub fin.*, moreover יִתְרַת עָשָׂה *the gain* that *he acquired* Jer. 48, 36 (on the contrary, יִתְרָה in Js. 15, 7, loosely construed acc. to §. 591); lastly, מְקוֹם לֹא יָדַע אֵל the *place* of him *who knows not God* Iob 18, 21, בִּידֵי לֹא אוּכַל קוּם *in the hands of* him *whom I cannot sustain* Lam. 1, 14. Iob 29, 16. Ps. 81, 6, or after prepositions, which amounts to the same thing, as לְלֹא שָׁאָלוּ *to* those *who asked not* Js. 65, 1. Jer. 2, 8. Ez. 13, 3. and acc. to §. 574 לְלֹא כֹחַ *to* him who is *without strength* Iob 26, 2; *send* בְּיַד תִּשְׁלָח *by* (for *manû* is like a prepos. = *per*) *him whom thou wilt send* Ex. 4, 13. With לֹא, where this occurs most frequently, it is more especially accounted for by the impossibility of construing it with a participle §. 573. Only certain poets, however, are partial to this conciseness. — Very rarely as object after the verb Iob 24, 19. Ps. 12, 6.

3. The relative word contains a general idea which has 594
a corresponding consequence, as *qui tacet sapit.* Such propositions, however, encroach on the province of the correlative propositions, as the sense may always be resolved into *si quis tacet* etc., see §. 624. The external sign of the relation cannot be omitted here; yet cf. Koh. 1, 19.

595 The relative word itself, however, may be of various kinds: 1) אֲשֶׁר §. 453, of demonstrative derivation, expresses simply a pronominal reference, either in continuation §. 589, or instead of another, more definite substantive §. 592. In poetry, זֶה, זוּ §. 453 are used in the same signification. The article (except before participles, which do not belong here §. 596) is very rarely so used, 1 Sam. 9, 24. Jos. 10, 24. — 2) For general ideas §. 594, however, in which the enquiry or appeal embraces all objects which may possibly belong there, known or unknown, מִי *who* and מָה *what* are used, acc. to §. 453, but are construed differently in this case, and perhaps, have a different tone to §. 579; we might always use our *whoever*, *quicunque* for it Gen. 19, 12. Prov. 9, 4. Js. 50, 8, we also find the completer phrase מִי אֲשֶׁר *who that* — 2 Sam. 20, 11, Ex. 32, 33; מָה *quodcunque* 1 Sam. 20, 4, only in Kohelet more distinctly מַה שֶּׁ with the usual relative.

596 3) The *participle*, acc. to §. 349, 1, in itself contains the idea of a verb used as a relative word of description, and is thus used, where it is possible, more compendiously for the finite verb with a relative word; it is principally impossible to use it in negative propositions acc. to §. 573. Ex. 9, 21 cf. v. 20. The participle may be so used by itself, in which case it is rendered prominent, in prose, by the article, as הַיָּרֵא *the fearing* = he who fears, and even more freely placed, thus, הַיָּשָׁר הֹלֵךְ *he who walks uprightly* = אֲשֶׁר הֹלֵךְ י׳ Mich. 2, 7, and in the predicate, *which* are הַהֹלְכִים *the going ones* = they which shall go? Ex. 9, 20. 19, 8; or belong to a preceding substantive, in which case the loosely construed participle, or adjective corresponding to it, may easily assume the article which connects it more closely, even after an indefinite noun, as נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה *soul the living* = which lives Gen. 1, 21. 28. 9, 10, cf. v. 12, 15 in which the article, not being necessary in itself, is omitted. When the participle thus belongs to a noun before named, it is also more easily used in the sense of the *perfect*; as מִי הוּא הַצָּד *who* is *he who hath hunted* Gen. 27, 33. 1 Sam. 4, 8. 11, 9. sometimes indeed, although very rarely, for the imperfect as our *future*, as *his sons in law* לֹקְחֵי בְנֹתָיו *which should take his daughters* Gen. 19, 14. Ex. 11, 5 (cf. 2 Kgs. 3, 27 where it is avoided) whereas such a participle, when placed absolutely, as הַיָּרֵא *timens*, for instance, does not easily express such a definite temporal signification.

597 B. Acc. to §. 454, that אֲשֶׁר §. 595 is used as a relative *conjunction* for the attachment of a proposition, like the Lat. *quod*, although כִּי is the much more common and appropri-

ate conjunction. Thus *a*) עוֹד אֲשֶׁר *yet* (emphatically prominent) is it *that* - Zach. 8, 20. — *b*) after an active verb as its object, as הִגִּיד כִּי *he told that* -; אֵת §. 492 may also be placed before אֲשֶׁר, because it has always rather a substantive value, as רָאוּ אֵת־אֲשֶׁר נָתַן *they saw that he gave* 1 Sam. 24, 11. Iob 9, 5. עָשִׂיתִי אֵת אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵכוּ *I make that you go* (*ut eatis*) Ez. 36, 27. With the verbs of *seeing*, however, it is most natural to place the nearest object, the whole object of sight, first, and then to mention any property perceived in the object, next, as *he saw the light that* (it was) *good*, for which we, more closely combining the ideas, say *he saw that the light was good* Gen. 1, 4. 6, 2. Ex. 2, 2. — *c*) after the *stat. constr.* of a noun, of a preposition, or of a similar word of relation §. 506, *c*, as יוֹם אֲשֶׁר *day that* i. e. on which day, *quando* Dt. 4, 10. Many of these words, however, are placed, without a conjunction also, immediately before the proposition, becoming conjunctions themselves, so that we are always to enquire, in particular instances, whether the relative conjunction is necessary or not. The very short prepositions בְּ and כְּ can never be placed without the support of אֲשֶׁר, as בַּאֲשֶׁר *in that*, and, used of place, *where*, כַּאֲשֶׁר *sicut*; the prepositions עַל and אַחֲרֵי are rarely conjunctions in themselves, but עַד *until that*, which is more limited as a preposition, is oftener a conjunction; עֵקֶב כִּי or עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר, rarely עֵקֶב by itself, *because that* -, אֶפֶס כִּי *except that*, לְמַעַן *for the purpose of*, with or without אֲשֶׁר; פֶּן־ *that not, lest*, and בְּטֶרֶם *before*, which have become pure conjunctions, are always without a conjunction.

Such a relative proposition may, on suitable occasions, be more compendiously combined by the *infi. constr.* especially after prepositions and words of relation, as לְמַעַן עֲשׂוֹת *for the purpose of doing*, see §. 544. And, as the construction thus often fluctuates between an *infi. constr.* and the *finite verb* without a relative conjunction, accordingly, the *infi. cs.* is sometimes pronounced with the vowels of the *perf.* at the beginning, when it would be possible to use the *perf.* as finite verb, Num. 21, 35. Jer. 31, 32.

All simple propositions of relation which are introduced 598
with particles, whether they are placed before or after (although they must always be merely loosely attached and interposed) belong particularly to this class:

1) Propositions of *time:* 1) by כִּי *as* or כַּאֲשֶׁר the Lat. *quum*, as, in the coincidence of two events, the one of them is conceived as dependent, used as well of an event once past, our *as*, as of the present and future where we use *when*, the Lat. *quum*; but also used in the same way of duration in the past, *when* = *as often as*, with the *im-*

perf. §. 264; *b*, or, as the use of that tense for duration in the past gradually declines, with the *perf.* 2 Sam. 6, 13. The word has no influence on the tense of the verb; even a proposition of *state* in the *fut. instans* follows, Num. 33, 51. 34, 2 acc. to §. 556. Very rarely is כְּ used with the *participle* for the preteritum relat. Gen. 38, 29 cf. 18, 10. Jer. 2, 17. — 2) בַּאֲשֶׁר *in that* is rather *because*, transferred to the cause, hence it is even construed with the dative of a person as a preposition *on account of* Jon. 1, 8. The merely temporal *while* is contained in the *infin. constr.* with בְּ, or in the proposition of state with the *participle*, and still more definitely with עוֹד *yet* Iob 1, 16 §. 607 (עַד *while* Iob 1, 18, cf. §. 520, 3). בְּעוֹד *so long as*, with a proposition of state 2 Sam. 12, 22. — 3) טֶרֶם *not yet* is construed, in conformity to that idea, immediately with the *imperf.* as sign of an act not yet finished, whether the past or present is the time spoken of; it is indeed primarily used in a proposition of state, with a subject preceding it Gen. 2, 5. 1 Sam. 3, 3. Jos. 2, 8; also, it is true, without a preceding subject, where there is no obscurity, as טֶרֶם תֵּדַע *thou knowest not yet*, but still always construed as a proposition of state acc. to §. 607, Gen. 19, 4. Yet it can also be more concisely subordined to a preceding proposition, in which case, therefore, it is our *before* Ex. 12, 34. Jos. 3, 1, which subordination, however, is more usually and definitely expressed by בְּטֶרֶם, 2 Kgs. 2, 9. Jer. 1, 5; with לֹא acc. to §. 576. Zeph. 2, 2. It is only rarely used with the *perf.* of the past Gen., 24, 15 cf. v. 45. Ps. 90, 3. 1 Sam. 3, 7. מִטֶּרֶם with the *infin.* Hag. 2, 15. — עַד *until* with the *infin. constr.* or with the corresponding *finite verb*; concerning עַד אִם see §. 625. — מֵאָז or מִן אָז *from then* = *since*, with the *infin. constr.* or with a substantive like our *since* (since אָז §. 447 refers more to the former *time* than the מִן by itself) Ex. 1, 10. or with the *finite verb* 5, 23. Jer. 44, 18. In the same way is construed מִדֵּי *since often* = *so often as*; for the *st. constr.* דֵּי from דַּי *abundance* is often added to the prepositions מִ, כְּ (Jdgs. 6, 5 cf. 7, 12) בְּ (Iob 39, 25) when abundance, magnitude, or frequent repetition are spoken of.

599 2) Propositions for *end* and *purpose*, introduced by יַעַן (a short formation acc. to §. 337 from the root עָנָה *to inform*, to mean, intend), לְמַעַן *for* purpose — (from the same root) and בַּעֲבוּר (prop. in transition, aim). These can be construed, as prepositions in the signification *on account of*, with the *inf.* or with substantives, but also, as conjunctions, with the finite verb, יַעַן in the signification *because* more easily with the *perf.* (for which עַל is also used

§. 575), the other two only in the signification *that*, introducing a future purpose, therefore with the *imperf.* as בַּעֲבוּר תֵּדַע *ut cognoscas* Ex. 9, 14, לְמַעַן תֵּדְעוּ *ut cognosceretis* Dt. 29, 5, yet also יַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא *that not* Ez. 12, 12; to render the intention more prominent, לְמַעַן may be construed with the *cohortative*, as ל׳ אֲסַפְּרָה *that I may tell* Ps. 9, 15. בַּעֲבוּר also, with a proposition of state, *because* 2 Sam. 12, 21 (prop. *on account of* the child *while* he lived = *because* he lived). If the intention is easily gathered from what precedes, then אֲשֶׁר by itself with the *imperf.* may be sufficient, like our *that*, Gen. 11, 7. Dt. 4, 40 (where וּלְמַעַן follows for distinctness). — פֶּן (root פָּנָה *to avert*) with the *imperf.* is a short expression for *that not*, *lest;* yet it is also used, like the Lat. *ne*, in such a manner that it describes the fear of a misfortune, and the desire to avoid it, as *ne mittat* Gen. 3, 22; when the fear is for an event which, as may be almost certainly concluded, has already taken place, it is used with the *perfect*, as *μή*, *lest* 2 Kgs. 2. 16. The case is somewhat different in Ps. 38, 17.

3) The relative conjunction is more freely and loosely placed before a new proposition in such a way that thewhole preceding thought is thereby further *confirmed*, precisely as *quod* = quia, *because*, *for;* that it is properly the relative *because*, *ὅτι* and not *γάρ*, although it is used for our *for*, is clear from the fact that two reasons may follow each other in this way, כִּי וְכִי prop. *because* – *and because* Gen. 33, 11. Jdgs. 6, 30. The rather nominal אֲשֶׁר is rarely used for this case, as Gen. 6, 4. — The *reason* is rendered more emphatic by the combination כִּי עַל כֵּן *for therefore*, the reason being adduced for the second time by *therefore*, but *therefore* becoming demonstrative now after the relative (as מִי זֶה §. 579), in Lat. nearly the same as *quandoquidem*, Gen. 18, 5. 19, 8. 33, 10. 38, 26. Num. 10, 31. 14, 43. Jdgs. 6, 22. Jer. 29, 28. 38, 4. 600

It is different when כִּי is used as an exclamation in impassioned diction: I say *that* -! i. e. *yea!* verily! Gen. 18, 20. Ex. 22, 22. 601

A proposition containing an *indirect* thought is annexed in the same simple manner; for the language possesses no particular form or mode to express it: the tense remains as it would be if the thought were simple and direct; e. g. *she stood at a distance to know* מַה יֵּעָשֶׂה לוֹ *what* will (would) *be done to him*, for, at the time when she wanted to know it, it was still future, Ex. 2, 4. Iob 36, 10, see farther §. 265. We also find contracted modes of expression like *this is* אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה י״י תַּעֲשׂוּ *what God has commanded* (that) *you do* Lev. 9, 6. מִנָּה־יַעַמְדוּ *imperavit* – ut *starent* Dan. 1, 5. 602

603 II. For the *external attachment* of a new word to a word in the proposition, or of a new proposition, the simple copula וְ *and* is most frequently used.

1. Other *nouns* are coupled to the first by וְ, even nouns which are less important as to the internal sense, which we would annex to the more important one by *with*, see §. 604, Ex. 12, 8. — If a noun in *stat. constr.* (or a preposition) is referred to more than one noun, it is always repeated acc. to §. 509, except when the following nouns easily refer, as to the sense, to the first, and the defined noun is less important in the proposition, as זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבָשׁ *flowing with milk and honey* Ex. 3, 8; when there are many nouns, the *stat. constr.* is often repeated with every second Js. 11, 2. The *stat. constr.* or the preposition must, however, always be repeated if the first or second noun has only a suffix which cannot be separated like a substantive, as בְּנֹתֶיךָ וּבְנוֹת אָבִיךָ *thine and thy father's daughters;* בְּנֵי אָחִי וּבָנַי *the sons of my brother and mine.*

If the same *suffix* belongs to two nouns, it must, for that reason, be placed twice, as בָּנָיו וּבְנֹתָיו *his sons and his daughters*, and it is exceedingly rare for the same *suff.* to be omitted with the second closely connected noun, as עָזִּי וְזִמְרָת *my strength and song* Ex. 15, 2 (Js. 12, 2. Ps. 118, 14), where the *ā* §. 365 appears to have remained from זִמְרָתִי; 1 Sam. 1, 9. 1) 2 Sam. 23, 5. If two substantives to be defined, have the same defining substantive, it is subordined to the first and repeated in the *suff.* merely, with the second, as בְּנֵי הָאָב וּבְנֹתָיו *the sons of the father and his daughters* (it is seldom clear in any other manner Gen. 40, 1. 5.), and it is exceedingly rarely that the two are placed beside one another in *stat. constr.* as מִבְחַר וְטוֹב לְבָנוֹן *the choice and best of Libanon* Ez. 31, 16.

1) Hence the *inf.* in this passage is, on the contrary, placed the second time as *inf. abs.* contrary to §. 545.

When a new noun is thus coupled to a person contained in the verb or in the suff. or to a substantive after some interval, then the preceding noun is repeated in its *personal pronoun* before the new one, to render it sufficiently distinct and emphatic, as יָדַעְתָּ אַתָּה וַאֲבֹתֶיךָ *thou knowest, thou and thy fathers* Dt. 2, 32. 3, 1. 5, 14. 6, 2, 12, 7. 12. 18; sometimes, too, as דָּוִד הוּא וַאֲנָשָׁיו *David, he and his men*, i. e. D. with his men 1 Sam. 30, 31; see §. 604.

604 When a verb, or an adjective as predicate, or a pronoun, belongs to many such subjects connected together by the copula, there arise different possible modes of their relation; 1) if the predicate goes before, it is then *a*) most frequently put in the *msc. sg.* as the nearest form (cf. §. 567)

even if different genders and numbers follow, as יָצָא תוֹדָה וְקוֹל *there proceeds* from them *praise* (*fem.*) *and the voice* (*msc.*) Jer. 30. 19. 1 Sam. 27, 8. Gen. 24, 55; more rarely is *b*) the *pl.* used, when the speaker combines all that follows, as מֵתוּ שָׁאוּל וּבָנָיו *dead are Saul and his sons* 1 Sam. 31, 7; or *c*) in the *fem.* in reference to the *sg.* or *pl. fem.* which is first placed, especially where the *fem.* is personal, Gen. 33, 7. Num. 12, 1. — 2) When the predicate follows, it is *a*) usually in the *pl.*, in case many *sg.* or *pl.* precede it Gen. 33, 7; *b*) it can only stand in the sg. when *one* person is the principal person, as אֲנִי וְנַעֲרֹתַי אָצוּם i. e. acc. to §. 603 *I with my maids will fast* Est. 4, 16; or when the nouns are more like neuters, or are almost synonymous Dt. 28, 24. *c*) The *msc.* is the nearest in this case also, Gen. 33, 7; the *sg.* is also often used when the first noun is *msc.* and the second *fem.* Zach. 7, 7. Prov. 27, 9; it is rare for the *fem.* to refer to a *fem.* noun placed last, Iob 19, 15, or because the *fem.* is more important Jer. 44, 25.

The opposite to the copula, as well with single words 605
as with whole sentences, is 1) the merely *explanatory* diction, as בְּנַפְשׁוֹ דָמוֹ *in its soul*, *its blood* Gen. 9, 4. 11, 30; — 2) the *ascending* diction, often in the highest flights of poetry Jer. 31, 21, or to represent the rapidity of acts succeeding each other Jdg. 18, 17, or in long, interminable enumerations of similar objects Gen. 1, 11 cf. v. 12. 21.

2. New *propositions*, according to the same simplicity 606
of the language, are coupled by וְ in all possible cases, and, throughout the whole structure of connected propositions, the simple arrangement of one proposition beside another one first placed by itself, prevails (just as in the structure of a single proposition §. 472). The copula does not only connect a proposition which joins closely on to the preceding one in the ordinary tranquil progress of sentences, but it also connects 1) an *antithesis*; the individual word, however, to which the opposition especially belongs, must then, contrary to the usual order which places the verb first §. 554 always be energetically placed at the beginning of the proposition, and in that manner denote the opposition; so that it is not the וְ which denotes the opposition, and which signifies *but*, of itself, but it is the order of the words, and the comparison with the preceding proposition, which have this force, as *he called the dry land earth, and* (but) *the collection of the waters he called sea*, Gen. 1, 10; it is only rarely that we find the finite verb at the beginning without any other change, on account of there being no other word to be placed first.

607 2) A thought which is more subordined as to the sense, in case it can stand as a proposition by itself, is coupled by וְ; every thought, however, appears for the most part as a proposition by itself, if it is possible. Every *proposition of relation* and *of state* which serves only for the explanation of the chief proposition, can be thus coupled by וְ as equal to equal, and then *a*) the subordinate proposition generally follows the chief one. The subject is regularly placed first acc. to §. 556: which rule is so strict, that when the subject of the subordinate proposition is a noun already mentioned in the chief proposition, it must then either be repeated itself in the subordinate proposition, or its pronoun must be used, as *he smote the camp* וְהַמַּחֲנֶה הָיָה בֶטַח *and the camp was quiet* i. e. while it was quiet; *and Saul said* – וְשָׁאוּל אָמַר *and Saul thought* i. e. *thinking*; they came *to her* וְהִיא יֹשֶׁבֶת *and she sitting* = while she sat, in the same way, *they came* וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *while Lot sat,* Jdgs. 8, 11. 13, 9. 1 Sam. 18, 17. Gen. 19, 1. 24, 21; all this might be much more concisely expressed in Lat. by the close subordination of the subordinate proposition without copula. Nay, that יֵשׁ §. 550 is placed after, in order that the true subject may be placed first Js. 43, 8. Thus the subject is always placed first when the verb is placed in the participle acc. to §. 350, whether the time spoken of be the past, as is usual, or the future 1 Sam. 10, 8, or the present Ps. 35, 5 f.; regularly also, when the *perfect* is used, because the action, together with that of the chief proposition, is already finished, as *which prophecy* וַאֲנִי לֹא שְׁלַחְתִּים *and I have not sent them* = without my having sent them, Jer. 14, 15. Ps. 50, 17., and in the narration of past events, when the *perf.* denotes the act being at that time already finished (our *plqpf.*), as וְאַבְשָׁלוֹם לָקַח *and Absalom had taken* 2 Sam. 18, 18; or, at any rate, the act being rapidly accomplished, not lasting long 1 Sam. 18, 17. If, however, הִנֵּה *behold* is placed before, which of itself refers to the state, then the finite verb may remain in its usual position at the beginning, as 1 Sam. 25, 14. Gen. 8, 13 cf. Ex. 16, 10. 9, 7; also after לֹא *not*, which is always placed first with emphasis, cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p, 264. In a proposition without a verb, the subject is, indeed, also regularly placed first Gen. 9, 23. 12, 6. 13, 7; yet a small word may also be placed before in short propositions acc. to §. 555, 2 Kgs. 10, 2.

608 In many cases, however, such a subordinate proposition may be really strictly connected and be freely subordined without copula, as if it was in the accusative. Thus 1) in the short phrases וְלֹא or וְאֵין מִסְפָּר *and there is no number* §. 556, more concisely לֹא מ׳ or אֵין מ׳ מִסְפָּר

without number; here belong instances like לֹא יֵדָע Ps. 35, 8. בַּל יָקוּמוּ 140, 11. יִרְצוּ כָזָב 62, 5; 7, 3, all of which are propositions of state; yet a *participle*, as containing a completer proposition, remains with וְ after אֵין Lev. 26, 6. Gen. 41, 8 cf. v. 15. Necessarily without copula in this manner: *he pitched his tent, Bethel on the west and Ai on the east* i. e. so that he had Bethel on the west etc. Gen. 12, 8. Ps. 4, 3. — 2) The verbs of *seeing, hearing, finding,* may subordine the state in which any thing is found at the action, as second object also acc. to §. 480, especially short propositions, as *she saw David* מְפַזֵּז *leaping* (*saltantem*) 2 Sam. 6, 16. Gen. 27, 6. Ex. 14, 9, where the *part.* is always so subordined; in the same way: *I saw every man — his hands on his loins* i. e. in that state that he held his loins, Jer. 30, 6. — 3) Sometimes also in such a way that the *participle* refers to the subject, as *Chusai met him* קָרוּעַ כֻּתָּנְתּוֹ *torn as to his garment* (§. 490) *and earth upon his head* 2 Sam. 15, 32, where קָרוּעַ is in *stat. abs.* contrary to §. 503 (and hence כתנת with *suff.*) because it here very abruptly (in the accus.) describes the state. Also very concisely עֵינַי מְיַחֵל *oculi mei — expectantis* Ps. 69, 4.

b) The proposition of state may, in case the sense 609
should rather require it, be placed before, so that the chief action which happens in that state to be previously described, is then annexed with the copula. If the chief action then, is a sudden, unexpected event which happens in the midst of the tranquil state as a disturbance of it, it also assumes the same arrangement as the proposition of state, and places the subject first, but at the same time with a strong antithesis: in which case, the first proposition may contain a *participle*, as *thy children* were *eating and drinking* i. e. while they were eating etc., *and lo a great storm came; they ascending* i. e. while they ascended וְהֵמָּה מָצְאוּ *and they found* i. e. they suddenly found, Iob 1, 16 ff. 1 Sam. 9, 11. Js. 37, 38. Gen. 38, 25; or the sense may require the *perf.* as *Jacob was only* (hardly) *gone out* וְעֵשָׂו בָּא *and Esau came* Gen. 27, 30. Ex. 10, 13, or another form be suitable Gen. Gen. 7, 6. 10. 19, 4. Num. 10, 33; the sudden event i. e. the *perf.* is, however, always used in the second proposition in the passages above, and, on the contrary, the *imperf.* in 1 Kgs. 1, 14. In other cases, the chief proposition is more tranquilly attached by Vav consequutivum §. 611 ff. Gen. 24, 1 f. Jdgs. 4, 5 f. 1 Sam. 2, 13. 2 Sam. 23, 3 f. 1) 1 Kgs. 13, 11. But if an interrogation or interjection follows, the copula is altogether wanting Gen. 41, 29. 50, 5. Ex. 3, 13.

1) The *participle* is placed first here, but it is only because there is no very definite subject: *ruling - justly* i. e. *si quis regnat justus.*

A proposition of state is, besides, often placed more remotely and unconnectedly in the progress of the narration,

so as to refer to a great deal before narrated, in the signification of *during which*, *continually*, as *he took milk and the calf which he had dressed*, *and set it before them* וְהוּא עֹמֵד *during which he* was *standing* etc. Gen. 18, 8. 24, 21. Jos. 6, 1. Jdgs. 18, 1. Dt. 5, 5.

610 3. Yet the copula is also more accurately and delicately distinguished into two different kinds: the common, weak copula which only unites words quite loosely, and the more forcible, significant one which connects them strongly, which refers to what goes before as dependent on it and proceeding from it, which therefore expresses a *consequence* of the second from the first, a necessary *advance* from the first to the second, and consequently an internal reference of the second to the first; which we call Vav *consequutivum* (or *relativum*); its force in English is expressed by the more emphatic *and*, or *and so*, *so*, *so that*, also *then*. This *Vav of consequence* is used, therefore, as well in the *succession of time* as in the mere *succession of the sense* or *thought*, and is one of the most important parts of the language. According to the combination of this Vav with the different kinds of words, however, it may be distinguished into three kinds:

611 1) The *Vav conseq. of the perf. and imperf.* §. 296–299 is the most common and the most important, and is perfectly marked and distinguished in the form also; for the *succession of time* is thus most simply and clearly produced by the Vav of consequence being closely united with the *finite tense* in a such a manner, that the action enters at the same time into a *new succession:* namely, that which already is (the *perf.*) advances to new progress and development (to the *imperf.*), and that which is not yet (the *imperf.*) advances to that which is (the *perf.*) The *Vav conseq. of the imperf.* expresses the new progress of that which exists, has happened, — and that of the *perf.* expresses the transition and succession of that which is not yet, to logical reality. If the idea of succession, therefore, was taken away, the reverse of this relation would be obliged to take place i. e. the perf. would be used instead of the imperfect with this Vav, — and the imperf. for the perf. with Vav; hence too the signification of this perf. and imperf. combined with the Vav of consequence, is properly the same as that of the simple *perf.* and *imperf.* §. 262 ff. only that it is more limited in compass, and more tranquil. Both combinations, however, have their significations *per se* just as well as the corresponding simple forms: the corresponding simple tense, indeed, very often goes before i. e. the perf. often precedes this imperf. and *vice versâ*; but every other differently constituted pro-

position also may serve as a basis for attaching one of these Vavs of consequence.

a) The *imperf. with the Vav conseq.* occurs, therefore, most frequently in the narration and representation of events which once happened, which are absolutely finished, as אָמַר וַיְהִי *he spoke and then it was*, or *after he had spoken, it was*, רָאִיתָ וַתִּשְׂמַח *thou sawest - and rejoicedst* = having seen it, thou rej. But, acc. to §. 262, that which is, indeed, already done, but which extends in that state into the present, may also be denoted by it, as *what is man* וַתֵּדָעֵהוּ *that thou knowest him?* Ps. 144, 3. Js. 51, 12 f. *this one has come as a stranger* וַיִּשְׁפֹּט *and judges* nevertheless continually Gen. 19, 9. 2 Sam. 3, 8; Am. 9, 6. Nah. 1, 4; concern. the future cf. §. 612, 2.

b) The *perf. with the Vav conseq.* belongs 1) to the 612
present, especially in actions capable of being often repeated or which continue a long time, as *one flies from the lion and meets with the bear* יָנוּס וּפָגַע Am. 5, 19. Nah. 3, 12. Iob 7, 4. In the same way, however, acc. to §. 264, *b*, in the description of permanent or often repeated actions of the *past*, whether the *imperf.* is used in the first proposition, as *a mist rose up* (during the long period continually) *and so watered the land* יַעֲלֶה וְהִשְׁקָה Gen. 2, 6, — or the *participle* acc. to §. 556, as Gen. 2, 10. 37, 7 (in the description of the *image* of the dream as it stood before the eyes of the dreamer as if it was present), Jos. 6, 13. Js. 6, 2 f., — or any thing else, for instance as the narration of events which once happened, may have something else, as continuing rather or often recurring, added to it 1 Sam. 1. 3. 7, 15 f. 16, 23. 17, 20. Gen. 30, 41 f. 38, 9. Nevertheless, late writers especially begin, instead of this rarer form, to use the more usual narrative form for the past §. 611 in the form of the succession and in the plain one, so that the form of the diction fluctuates particularly in occasional passages Gen. 37, 7. Ex. 16, 21. Iob 1, 4 f. Ru. 4, 7 [1]). — 2) to the *future* acc. to §. 265, as יֵלֵךְ וְנִלְחַם *he will go and* then *fight*. Also, in cases in which the *perf.* is used in the first warmth of the expression in the sense of a certain future acc. to §. 262, 3, the continuation nevertheless returns to this more tranquil form Gen. 17, 20. Dt. 15, 6; it is only very rarely that the tone of the diction at the beginning, is somewhat longer continued Mich. 2, 13. Js. 9, 5. Moreover, the consequence may also follow from the present and past to the future immediately, as *the fear of God is not here* וַהֲרָגוּ *and so* (since that is the case) *they will kill me* Gen. 20, 11; *this has touched thy lips* וְסָר *and so thy iniquity will depart* Js. 6, 7; and with the second member at the same time interrogative acc. to §. 577 Ex. 5, 5. — This form follows all constructions

and variations of the simple *imperf.* in the same manner and with equal propriety; and those of the jussive and imperative also, if there is only a tranquil progress, as פֶּן־יָבֹא וְהִכַּנִי *lest he come — and smites me me then* Gen. 32, 12; יֵלְכוּ וְקֹשְׁשׁוּ *let them go and gather* Ex. 5, 7; פְּגַע וְקָבַרְתּוֹ *smite* him dead — *and then thou buriest him*, דַּבֵּר וְאָמַרְתָּ *speak so that thou sayest;* so great is the attractive power of this Vav of consequence, that even נָא־ §. 448 can remain Gen. 40, 14.

1) The change of the tone §. 298 is also wanting Iob 7, 4.

613 Thus this Vav of consequence is used where there is any advance or development of the action conceivable, and is always the nearest method for attaching that which is new, which develops itself out of the beginning as its consequence, like the progressive lever of the narration. It is possible, for instance, to say אוּכַל וְרָאִיתִי *I am able and see* = to see, because the actual seeing is a consequence of the faculty to do so. Especially if the series is already in this form, then any verb, a merely explanatory one also, is often so attached, as וַיָּשָׁב וַיְדַבֵּר *and he turned and spoke* = spoke again §. 539. Lastly, the consequence need not necessarily be attached precisely to the particular last named, but may proceed from any thing before. — The *succession of thought*, however, occurs 1) in such a way, that a conclusion is drawn from what precedes, as וַיָּקָם *so stood* Gen. 23, 20. Joel 2, 27. — 2) in such a way that the sequel is so much the more strongly attached to an unfinished but emphatically prefixed thought, and the broken thread is again joined, corresponding to our *so, so that*, as וּפִילַגְשׁוֹ וַתֵּלֶד גַּם הִיא *and his concubine* - (with regard to her) *so she also bore* Gen. 22, 24, לְמַעַן שִׁמְךָ וְסָלַחְתָּ *for thy names sake so*, or therefore, *wilt thou forgive* Ps. 25, 11; often after a statement of time abruptly placed at the beginning, as עֶרֶב וִידַעְתֶּם *in the evening - then will you know* Ex. 16, 6 f. 17, 4. Gen. 3, 5. 22, 4; moreover, after an interrogative proposition which requires a new reference and conclusion, as *what is man that thou knowest him* §. 611, where, however, כִּי may be also used as a conjunction after our manner Ps. 8, 5. Ex. 3, 11; lastly, after a relatively represented protasis, as after יַעַן *because* 1 Sam. 15, 23, אֲשֶׁר *which* Ex. 9, 21, where however, this stricter attachment of the apodosis may also be omitted.

614 There are cases, however, in which these two forms, although possible as to the idea, are nevertheless abrogated and yield to the simple ones. For, in those forms, the Vav and the verbal form are most intimately and inseparably united, so that the signification depends on their combination. If then another word than the verb is necessarily driven to the beginning of the proposition, so that the copula can only be attached to it, but the verb follows, then that combination is broken up, and the whole form is destroyed at the same time; the members of the combination, therefore, then appear single and naked, the simple copula and the appropriate simple tense which would be used without this suc-

cessive consequence [1]): therefore וְ־כָתַב instead of וַיִּכְתֹּב, and וְ־יִכְתֹּב instead of וְכָתַב. Thus 1) with לֹא which must always be placed *before* the verb acc. to §. 573, and cannot naturally be placed before a copula. — 2) with any other word which must be placed first on account of the sense e. g. for the sake of the antithesis, acc. to §. 606, as וַיִּקְרָא־וְקָרָא Gen. 1, 10 [2]).

1) Yet the tense of succession sometimes (but very rarely) also maintains itself afterwards: thus the *imperf.* 2 Sam. 2, 38. 15, 37. 1 Kgs. 20, 33. Jer. 52, 7, in the *K'tib* 1 Sam. 27, 4. Jos. 15, 63; the *perf.* Js. 11, 8. 18, 5. Ps. 22, 22. 71, 3. 7, 7. without וְ Ps. 39, 17; and by the omission of the copula in impassioned diction Iob 5, 20.

2) Nevertheless, an *antithesis* may also take place where the Vav of consequence remains, either because the proposition consists of the verb merely, or because no other word can support the opposition; yet this is rare acc. to §. 557. Jer. 30, 11. Ps. 7, 5.

The successive consequence is nevertheless, and especially with longer 615
more important protases, always unwillingly given up, so that, in order to preserve the force of the consequence, the appropriate Vav is first previously placed with the simplest verb substantive הָיָה *to be;* the proper verb then either follows with the Vav of consequence again, or, more loosely, the simple tense without it. Thus most frequently before a new *statement of time,* where it appears to be really more important to mark the progress, and before another word of the same sense; not so often before other strong protases, but never before the weak לֹא. Thus 1) וַיְהִי, as וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי כֵן *and it came to pass afterwards, that –;* וַ׳ בְּבֹאוֹ *and it came to pass in his coming* i. e. as he came, there –; וַ׳ הוּא מִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה *and it c. to pass he worshipping* i. e. while he worshipped (§. 609), *that* – Js. 37, 38; וַ׳ הַנִּשְׁאָרִים וַיָּפֻצוּ *and it c. to pass the remaining ones* (= *si qui supererant*), *they fled,* 1 Sam. 10, 11. 11, 11; Js. 22, 7. — 2) וְהָיָה acc. to §. 612, as וְ׳ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *and it comes to pass on that day, then* –; וְ׳ אִם *and then, if* - Gen. 38, 9. Num. 21, 9; moreover, Gen. 4, 14. Ex. 4, 16. 18, 22. Dt. 7, 12. 1 Kgs. 17, 4. Js. 3, 24. 7, 22. Hos. 2, 1. Both are rarely and in the later period confounded.

As such a parenthetical proposition can go over into the successive consequence, accordingly, it is often only the internal sense which decides where the chief proposition is again resumed.

At a complete *pause* of the narration, the verb may be 616
designedly made to follow without this consequence i. e. in the simple tense, when an explanatory collateral action is added, either without any copula, as 1 Sam. 6, 12. Gen. 21, 14, or with the perfectly simple וְ 21, 25. 28, 6. — The *perf.* however, often remains in the same signification without the Vav of consequence Js. 8, 8. 13, 10. 18, 5. Ez. 7, 14. Hos. 4, 10. Mich. 2, 4. Zach. 9, 15. 13, 9. Ps. 55, 18. 19. 57, 4.

There is a peculiar mode of subordining a contemporaneous action in a shorter way, by which the verb is placed in the mere *infin. abs.* with

the simple וְ, especially when there is no change of person, Gen. 41, 43. Ex. 8, 11. 32, 6 (where the infin. constr. with לְ goes before), Jer. 19, 13. Zach. 7, 5. 12, 10; more freely and extensively in later writers, as שַׁבְתִּי וְרָאוֹ *I turned and saw* Koh. 9, 11. cf. 4, 1. 7; Jer. 14, 5. Zach. 3, 4.

617 Where any *parenthetical proposition* begins, whether it be a relative one with אֲשֶׁר *which*, כִּי *for* etc., or a proposition of state §. 607 ff., there the simple verbal form always returns again. The *perf.* may then, in the representation of events which once happened, denote that which was *then* already finished, and therefore express our *plusqpf.* Ps. 40, 7, which signification, however, merely proceeds from the relative position of the actions which are brought together; for an absolute *plusqpf.*, like ours, which can have that signification in itself and in all places, is altogether unknown to the Hebrew language. Another case in which the *perf.* expresses our *plusqperf.* is in §. 607-609, therefore also after וַיְהִי and a statement of time §. 613 Gen. 8, 13. In the second form, the *perf.* thus interposed, can for the same reason denote our *futur. exactum* Js. 16, 12.

618 2) The Vav of consequence before the *jussive*, *imperative*, or *cohortative*, transfers the consequence to the will, or represents the will and the effort after the object to be attained, as consequence and conclusion from a predetermined possibility; it is properly only an exciting, impassioned expression for the Vav of consequence with the *perf.* Ex. 12, 3, but is especially used to state the aim and purpose of the action preceding it, and thus corresponds to the Lat. *ut* with the conjunctive; as הֶרֶף וְאַגִּידָה *cease* so *that I may*, when thou ceasest, *speak* 1 Sam. 15, 16; *thou desirest not sacrifice* וְאֶתֵּנָה *that I should*, if thou desiredst it, *give* it Ps. 51, 18. 72, 15. Ex. 2, 7; the imperative is very concisely and energetically so placed, prescribing the certain consequence, as *let him pray for thee* וֶחְיֵה *and live!* = that thou mayest then, as I desire, live, Gen. 20, 7. 42, 18. Ru. 1, 9. 2 Kgs. 5, 16. Ps. 5, 12; it is the *imperat. fut.* in Iob 11, 6. As the second then thus always presupposes the first as its condition, accordingly, the first may also be placed merely with reference to the second, so that the bipartite whole is a short challenging expression for conditional propositions, as *who is wise?* וְיָבֵן *so*, i. e. if any one is wise, *let him understand this* Hos. 14, 10. Jer. 9, 11, *devise a plan!* וְתֻפָר *that it be frustrated* = if you devise a plan, it will be, as I desire, frustrated; דִּרְשׁוּנִי וִחְיוּ *seek me and live* = if you seek me, you live Js. 8, 10. Am. 5, 4. 6; both are coupled in Ex. 8, 4. Hence the necessity

for the second also having the copula, ceases Ex. 7, 9. Ps. 118, 19. 119, 17. 145. 37, 3. 51, 10. 16. cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 271. Moreover, לֹא can also acc. to §. 613, destroy the combination Js. 8, 10. 2 Kgs. 18, 32.

619 3) Besides this, וְ may have the sense of the consequence before any other word also, but only when the proposition is without a verb: for instance, it may express the succession of time when it is before אַיִן §. 574 Js. 41, 17; and the succession of thought, thus *slave of thy father* — (as for what concerns that) וַאֲנִי מֵאָז *so was I formerly; and now* — וַאֲנִי עַבְדֶּךָ *so* am *I thine* 2Sam. 15, 34.

620 When any thing is superadded afterwards to a negative proposition, it must be connected by וְלֹא *not even*, or *no*, *not* Ex. 3, 19. But a proposition which advances directly does not require to repeat the negation of the preceding one, because the force of the negation placed with force at the beginning, continues, in Prose with the Vav of consequence Num. 16, 14, poetically without ו in impassioned diction Js. 38, 18. Ps. 38, 1.

621 As the *perf.* and *imperf.* are the only chief divisions and foundation pillars of the verb, accordingly, all the other different shades of the conception of a verb return in the progress of the sentence (with or without copula) back to those two fundamental modes; at the beginning of the sentence, the expression may be more definite and strong, or shorter: in the tranquil progress, all scattered shades are again resolved into the two chief colours. Thus 1) strong forms of expression return to the ordinary ones. The *imperative*, *jussive*, and *cohortative*, only continue so long as the vigour of the sentence is still quite new, and are therefore seldom continued throughout a series of verbs, as Gen. 41, 34-36; generally, the diction is at once changed to the tranquil representation of that which is to be done, to the *imperf.* therefore, or to the *perf.* with the Vav of consequence Dt. 33, 7, just as the *imperat.* is not used at all, if the description of the *consequence* is at once predominant 1 Sam. 12, 14; nevertheless, the jussive, *imperat.* or *cohortative*, may always return again when the tone of the diction becomes more urgent Ex. 14, 4. 2 Kgs. 10, 3. 11, 8. Js. 2, 9. Iob 11, 13 f. especially where the sense of the sentence takes the same turn as in §. 618, 2 Kgs. 5, 10. — The power of the *infin. abs.* in the same manner, does not long continue: it is soon more tranquilly resolved into the suitable tense, and even every לֹא *not* forces this change, as the infin. abs. always stands quite by itself, as בָּחוֹת לֹא יַחְמֹל *breaking, not sparing!* Js. 30, 14. 31, 5. 58, 6 f. Jer. 2, 2. Iob 15, 35. Concern. the *perf.* cf. §. 612, 2. The *participle* also, which describes the state

§. 612, does not remain long, even for this reason, because the successive consequence requires the Vav conseq. with its tense; moreover, the *participle* can never stand so with לֹא §. 573. — 2) The shorter expression does not remain: the *infin. constr.* which is a short form for expressing the verbal idea, and is merely dependent on the context, is resolved in the progress of the sentence into the usual flowing form of diction, as לָשׂוּם *to make* i. e. that he may make *the earth a desert and destroy her sinners from off her* וְ־יַשְׁמִיד Js. 13, 9. Ex. 8, 5. 1 Sam. 4, 19. Jer. 30, 14 f. And the *participle* which is a concise expression of a relative proposition §. 596, as מֵקִים דָּל יָרִים אֶבְיוֹן *who raises the lowly, places the poor on high* 1 Sam. 2, 8. Ps. 22, 30; cf. §. 573 for לֹא. Any thing superadded in the construction of the *infin. constr.* and *participle*, remains, therefore the power of the preposition of the *inf. cs.* and the force of the relative idea in the *part.*: but the simple verbal idea which may now separate itself entirely, in fact, and yet be intelligible, is at once carried on in the definite tense. A relative proposition without a verb, however, can also be attached in the same way simply i. e. without a relative pronoun after וְ, if the idea of the relat. pronoun is already contained in the preceding proposition Am. 2, 16. Prov. 22, 11.

622 גַּם *also*, i. e. besides others, הֶבֶל - גַּם הוּא *Abel, he also* = likewise Gen. 4, 22. Ex. 1, 10; it is rare for וְ (like *καὶ*) to be placed in the same sense before a single word in the proposition = *also, even* Am. 4, 10; but גם is often so used. — אַף or וְאַף a stronger copula than וְ (with which it is related as to root) is *also*, that it want nothing, *even*, used intensively like our *ánd* pronounced with emphasis; hence וְאַף גַּם *and even also* Lev. 26, 44. אַף כִּי *and that!* as an exclamation, may signify 1) *verily, yea!* (*ánd I* nevertheless perceive *that*) Hab. 2, 5. 1 Sam. 21, 6. 14, 39; or as an interrogative *indeed?* as if one could not believe it Gen. 3, 1. — 2) when referring to a preceding proposition, it is used to add with an increasing certainty the chief thing which was not yet mentioned, and answers to our *how much less*, when a negative proposition goes before (1 Kgs. 8, 27. Iob 4, 19 where there is only אַף; 9, 14. Prov. 17, 7. 19, 10), and, when an affirmative one precedes, *how much more* 15, 11. In the same way, וְכִי or merely כִּי is used after a negative proposition, and tauntingly utters something which is impossible in consequence of what the negative proposition contains e. g. *where are the ancient Gods?* i. e. they do not exist any longer, *and that they should rescue thee!* = how much less will they rescue thee, Js. 35, 19 f. 43, 22.

III. There are, indeed, peculiar particles for *adversative* propositions, but acc. to §. 604 they are seldom used: 1. after negative propositions, כִּי *for* §. 598 is used, so that it is the sense of the context alone which gives it the signification of *but;* it can never have an adversative signification, however, unless it is preceded by a proposition which has the sense of a negation; e. g. לֹא אֲנִי כִּי אֱלֹהִים *not I, for* (it is, was) *God*, but God; concerning כִּי אִם cf. §. 625. — 2. וְאוּלָם, rarely אוּלָם, properly *et* ab *anteriore* i. e. *adversâ* parte, *and on the contrary*, therefore a strong *but*, Gen. 28, 19. It is only frequent in Iob. — 3. אָכֵן §. 456 and אֲבָל *surely, indeed*, are sometimes used in later writers for *but* (i. e. for, a certain restriction) also. גַּם is used as *tamen* in Ps. 84, 7. 129, 2; and אָז in the signification of *yet*, *nevertheless*, Ps. 56, 10. 69, 5. — 4. Restrictive particles: רַק and אַךְ §. 456 *except, only;* both are very common, but they are almost always so distinguished, that רַק is rather a restriction of something before said, but אַךְ refers to the following word. Also אֶפֶס *without*, cf. §. 575. A particle is omitted in Ps. 119, 51. 61. 140, 6. 7. 623

THIRD SECTION.

CORRELATIVE PROPOSITIONS.

I. To this class belong all relative propositions which are of such a kind that they must be immediately followed by a correlative, as he *who - he -; who* am I, *that* I —; *he who is wise, let him understand this!* see examples in §. 596. 611. The connexion of the second proposition by means of the Vav of consequence, however, prevails here also.

Conditional propositions, however, are especially of this kind, as the condition renders an opposition necessary. Since then the imagination, where future events are spoken of (as is usual here), is occupied with the image of that which would happen *if the condition was fulfilled*, and since it has the presupposition already in the back ground, and only looks forward to the remote result, the nearest tense for a conditional proposition is the *perfect*, the *perf.* of the imagination, namely, §. 262, 2, the Lat. *futur. exactum*, as *si fecero*, for which modern languages more simply use the *present*. A real perfect also may, indeed, be used conditionally, as *si feci;* but Hebrew still leaves the discrimination of these two possibilities to the feeling merely. If an event really future, however, is once thus *contemplated* as accomplished, then, according to the correlative force of the two propositions, the apodosis also may antici-

pate the consequence as being then sure to have happened i. e. the *perfect* of the imagination may be continued in the apodosis also, although this last is not so near nor necessary as the first. Lastly, the matter of the condition may either be assumed absolutely, according to the sense of the speaker, without determining whether it be true and possible, or not, or the speaker, notwithstanding he feels that it does not yet exist, may nevertheless use it as a condition: this distinction is imperfectly expressed by our indicative and optative, *if there is*, *if there were;* Hebrew however, especially as it does not originally possess established modes in this sense, expresses it more externally and distinctly by different particles.

625 1. אִם the simple *if*, אִם לֹא *if not*, construed with the *imperf.* or rather with the *perf.* at once, whether the pure future be intended, as אִם עָשִׂיתִי *si fecero* [1]), *if I do* Ps. 7, 4 f. Iob 11, 13. Gen. 43, 9. Js. 4, 4. Jer. 37, 10, or whether one of many possible cases is rendered prominent, as Ps. 63, 7. Iob 7, 4. Jer. 14, 18. Ex. 1, 16, to which class also belongs the אִם used in the description of past states and repeated actions Gen. 58, 9. Num. 21, 9; in all cases, the perfect can only be used when it is thus closely connected with אִם, and only in the first proposition, and the simple powerless tense i. e. in this case, the imperf. or the *Vav conseq. perf.* at once, follows in the combination; the *imperf.* as simple form, is always necessary in the apodosis, if the verb is not placed at the beginning, for, in that case, the *Vav conseq. perf.* may be used; sometimes we find the same *perf.*, and without Vav, with a mere internal connexion 1 Sam. 2, 16. Ps. 127, 1. Moreover, the subject may be placed first, as in the proposition of state, Iob 11, 18; אִם may also stand before the *participle* as *fut. instans* Jdgs. 9, 15. 11, 9, and hence יֵשׁ §. 550 is in this very case particularly frequent with *suff.* Gen. 24, 49 (*si estis facturi*) Jdgs. 6, 36, as also אֵין Ex. 8, 17. With the *perf.* as a real perfect 1 Sam. 21, 15; also where the apodosis extends to the future Nah. 1, 12.

1) Hence אִם is often used with עַד *until*, in order to give עַד the power of measuring the future until after an epoch; as *donec fecero*, Js. 6, 11. 30, 17. Gen. 24, 19.

Very rarely in the same manner with אֲשֶׁר, when it can be conceived conditionally, 1 Sam. 1, 28.

In the frequent formulae of oaths and affirmations, the second proposition by which one binds or pledges himself, is almost always omitted, as being understood of itself, so that אִם, even when placed by itself, has assumed the signification *certainly not*, and אִם לֹא that of *certainly;*

they are then generally used loosely with the *imperf.*, as אִם אֶעֱזָבְךָ *if: I desert thee!* (may I perish) i. e. of a truth I will not desert thee; nevertheless אִם לֹא שֵׁרִיתִיךָ is still *if I do not release thee!* i. e. surely I will do so Jer. 15, 11. hence rarely הַאִם = הֲלֹא *nonne* §. 577.

כִּי אִם may mean, after a negative proposition, *but if* acc. to §. 623, and here as elsewhere the *perf.* of the present or future follows after אִם, as לֹא יָשׁוּב כִּי אִם הִרְוָה *it does not return but* (except) *if it has watered* the earth Js. 55, 10. 65, 6. Am. 3, 7. Gen. 32, 2. 7. Lev. 22, 6; hence this construction has generally acquired the force of the restrictive *except*, *only*, *but*, even without a verb following, and is indeed most frequently used after a negation, as לֹא יַעֲקֹב כִּי אִם יִשְׂרָאֵל *not Jacob*, *but Israel* Gen. 32, 29. Prov. 23, 17, but also sometimes without a preceding negation, yet in such a way that, if a verb follows immediately, the *perf.* remains, as כִּי אִם זְכַרְתַּנִי (except) *only wilt thou remember me* Gen. 40, 14. Iob 42, 8. Num. 24, 22. hence also, with vehement affirmations and oaths, it signifies *only* = *surely* 2 Sam. 15, 21. 1 Kgs. 20, 6. 2 Kgs. 5, 20. Jer. 51, 14.

For other uses of אִם see §. 630, and as interrogative particle §. 578 where it loses its peculiar construction entirely. — הֵן §. 448 is often almost perfectly equivalent to אִם, only not in the construction with the *perfect* Ex. 4, 1. 8, 22.

As an apodosis with the Vav of consequence, of itself 626 denotes the inference of the sense from the preceding proposition, accordingly, the protasis may remain altogether without a conditional particle; this happens 1) frequently, when the protasis also, standing in the middle of the sentence and attracted by a preceding proposition, has the Vav of consequence Gen. 33, 13. — 2) when, in an isolated protasis, a desire and intention is already expressed by the verbal form, as after the cohortative אָקוּמָה וַיְדַבְּרוּ *will I rise, then they speak* against me Iob 19, 18. 10, 16. 17. 30, 26. Ps. 42, 5. 40, 6. 139, 8-10; although the jussive and cohortative may then also easily render themselves more distinct by אִם Iob 16, 6.

It is somewhat different when different tenses are loosely combined, where the connexion merely follows from the whole, as *he has seen it and hides himself* רָאָה־וְיִסָּתֵר i. e. *as soon as* he has seen it, he hides himself Prov. 22, 3. 24, 10. Ps. 69, 33. 116, 3–4. Iob 3, 11; the reverse, Ps. 32, 5. 30, 9–12.

2. לוּ represents the condition in spite of the feeling that 627 the matter of the condition is now impossible; a distinction, which becomes prominently marked in events of the present and past. 1) when speaking of the present, the perf. may indeed be just as well used with לוּ as with אִם, as לוּ חָכְמוּ יָבִינוּ *if they were wise* (which they are not) *they would under-*

stand this Dt. 32, 29; yet we oftener find a mere proposition of state, as לוּ עַמִּי שֹׁמֵעַ *if my people heard* (which it does not) Ps. 84, 14. 2 Sam. 18, 12. 2 Kgs. 3, 14, and thus with יֵשׁ Iob 16, 4. Num. 22, 29. Also in events which are not desired, and which are not now actually existent, as לוּ יִשְׂטְמֵנוּ *if he hated us* (we would be undone! Gen. 50, 15, a similar aposiopesis to that in Ps. 27, 13). — 2) of events in the past: לוּ הָיָה *if it had happened*, which it has *not*; the idea of our conjunctive is completely contained in the particle chosen, which refers to something which has *not* happened, as in the same manner, כִּמְעַט שָׁכַב *very nearly slept* (it nevertheless did not take place) therefore = *would have slept* Gen. 26, 10. — The apodosis does not at all require to be conceived in the same actual sphere of time: *if you had let him live, I would not slay you*, praet. praes.; *if I had a sword, I would have killed you*, praes. praet. If then the *present* is intended in the apodosis, then the *perf.* of the first proposition may, indeed, be continued as in §. 625, Js. 1, 9. Jdgs. 8, 19; but the simplest way, and especially where the *present* is the time spoken of in the protasis also, is for the imperf. to be used, with כִּמְעַט *about a little* = *soon*, *nearly*, Ps. 81, 15. If we are to understand the preterite, the *perf.* must be used Jdgs. 13, 23, and in that case we often find כִּי אָז or כִּי עַתָּה *yea then!* to denote more strongly that which would have been already done Num. 22, 29. Gen. 43, 9. 1 Sam. 14, 30. 2 Sam. 2, 27; we find only אֲזַי *then* in Ps. 124, 2 ff. (very rarely, on the contrary, after the much more tranquil אִם Iob 8, 6. 11, 15.) In other cases also, where no such protasis exists, and it is only covertly contained in the sense, is this אָז or עַתָּה which refers to what is remote, sufficient to imply that that which is uttered in the *perfect* *would then have taken place*, if the condition had been fulfilled Ex. 9, 15. 1 Sam. 13, 13. 2 Kgs. 13, 19.

לוּלֵא or לוּלֵי *if there were not* what nevertheless is, contracted out of לוּ לֹא acc. to §. 51. — אִלּוּ used in later writers for לוּ, formed from a coalition of אִם לוּ.

As to its etymology, לוּ like אִם is of pronominal derivation, used relatively, only with this distinction, that the former refers to the more *remote*, the latter to the nearer object cf. §. 441; the former therefore supposes an impossible case, one that is at a distance from the speaker. Hence also לוּ is easily transferred to a *wish*, in which use it primarily retains the conditional constructiou and power, but afterwards is also used more freely §. 586.

628 II. Correlative connexion by the combination of two words or propositions for the purpose rendering them equi-

valent, and 1) for the purpose of equalising different things, and representing them as *nevertheless coming together*, by גַּם - גַּם *also* - *also* i. e. as well - as, not only - but, Ex. 10, 25 f. 12, 31. Gen. 24, 25. 1 Sam. 17, 36. Jer. 51, 12; rarely, and only in poetry אַף - אַף Js. 46, 11, and וְ - וְ Ps. 76, 7. Long propositions are seldom so connected. — 2) by way of combining different things, and representing them as *equivalent* in a certain manner, by means of the comparative כְּ - כְּ *as* - *so*, כַּצַּדִּיק כָּרָשָׁע *as the righteous* is *so* is *the sinner* Gen. 18, 25. Ps. 58, 10: if the second member has the force and rest of the diction in a greater degree, or, if it is very much separated from the first and requires to be more strictly united, or, lastly, if it is an entire proposition, then the full כֵּן *so* §. 455 is used Ps. 127, 4. Joel 2, 4; if the first member is also an entire proposition, then כַּאֲשֶׁר must be used instead of כְּ acc. to §. 600; in short or imperfect propositions, the first particle is also sometimes omitted, just as, on the other hand, the second כְּ is at the seme time more strictly connected by the Vav of consequence Jos. 14, 11. — In Jer. 33, 32, we find אֲשֶׁר by itself in the first proposition for *as*, since acc. to §. 455 every relative word may certainly be used for comparison; כִּי Js. 62, 5. In the concise language of Poetry, it is also sufficient to connect the second proposition only by כֵּן. Moreover, things that differ very much in sense may be compared together e. g. the one may be compared with the other as coinciding with it in point of *time* Ps. 48, 9. 1 Sam. 9, 13 cf. 598, or as to *degree*, our *the more* - *the more* Ex. 1, 12. Hos. 4, 7. 11, 2 cf. Nah. 1, 12.

In cases in which the repetition and opposition of a noun or pronoun 629
is sufficient, the language is satisfied with expressing the correlative in this most simple manner, as is evident from this repetition of כְּ. In the same manner זֶה — וְזֶה *this* - *that*, where different individuals are introduced as they are present to the mind of the speaker Js. 44, 5, מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה *from this side and that side*, as מִזֶּה is often used as a neuter in a local sense, הֵנָּה וְהֵנָּה *hither and thither*, cf. something similar §. 452. 455; אֶחָד־לְאֶחָד *one to the other*, in the same way גּוֹי לְגוֹי אִישׁ לְאִישׁ, *one people to the other* Mich. 4, 3. This is fundamentally quite in harmony with that simplicity by which the comparative and superlative follow from the context merely, e. g. אַחֲרֹנִים *last* twice repeated, therefore *latter* and *last* Gen. 33, 2, and with the Article §, 502.

3) The correlative connexion of different cases assumed 630
as *possible*, is produced by the repetition of the conditional אִם־וְאִם (*if* one chooses this, *and if* one chooses that) i. e. *sive*, *sive*, as אִם טוֹב וְאִם רַע *sive bonum sive malum*; in short sentences, however, and in interrogative propositions

§. 578, the second is also more concisely placed by אִם alone without וְ. Disjunctive interrogatives may, indeed, be formed by the simple repetition of the הֲ Num. 13, 18: but the second interrogation is much oftener more definitely denoted by this וְאִם or אִם. — On the other hand, אוֹ (formed from *au*, cf. the Lat. *aut*) is *or* of itself, going on to that which arises new after other things, and renders itself more prominent, therefore *or rather*, and thus in the second interrogation also, Jdgs. 18, 19, *or at least* if the first displeases Gen. 24, 55; hence too with the *jussive*, *or* rather *let him make peace* (if he will not do the first) Js. 27, 5. Lev. 26, 41. Then also used correlatively אוֹ - אוֹ *either* in this way, *or* in that, and therefore it has more force than אִם, and whereas the double אִם is rather used before single nouns, this is rather placed before whole propositions, but is then, since it contains the force of this conditional אִם, used with the *perf.* like אִם §. 625, as אוֹ רָאָה אוֹ יָדָע *sive viderit sive cognorit* Lev. 5, 1; cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 119. 322. — Two among many possible cases are introduced by יֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר וְיֵשׁ, of the past, *was it that - and was it that* i. e. whenever it was so - or so, and אוֹ is often used to continue it afterwards Num. 9, 20 ff.

ACCORDANCE OF THE ACCENTUATION WITH THE SYNTAX. Cf. §. 183.

631 In order to see how well the accentuation agrees with the nature and life of the proposition as described in the syntax, we must above all things remember that the accentuation equably embraces the *sense* as well as the *rhythm* of the words of the proposition or verse, yet in such a manner that the one of these can never be at variance with the other. There must be an arrangement and order, a connexion or separation of the words of a proposition, which necessarily arise from the internal sense of the thoughts and expressions (apart from the rhythm or any congruity and beauty which are formed in the attempt to pronounce the whole); the internal sense, as the lowest foundation or as the ultimate law, gives all the individual materials which the rhythm, *externally* embracing the whole, forms and shapes, not to render the materials confused and obscure, but to dispose them in mutual unity and beauty; for the rhythm is the sense for the whole, or the breath which combines and animates all the individual parts. Hence we have to speak:

632 I. of the *order of the words according to the sense of the connexion per se.* The kinds and differences of the

connexions of words, as they are described above, constitute, therefore, the point on which every thing here depends; and we set out in particulars from the closest connexion:

1. The connexion of words by the *stat. constr.* claims the first place. This is the closest connexion as to the idea, so that the greatest separation i. e. that into different parts of a verse §. 186, is never possible between words so connected. Prepositions and conjunctions are properly considered as the first member of a *stat. constr.*; so also are *negations* with the word to which they belong: *interrogatives* also are very intimately connected with the proposition.

2. The connexion of words by *apposition* is, indeed, 633
also close, but not constrained as in the *stat. constr.*, but free, since the first word is placed by itself, without reference to the following word, a simple succession in which every word placed by itself is coordined with the other. Its different kinds, therefore, differ very much. Two words are easily conjoined, and their union is the closer and more necessary, the less the second expresses a merely accidental quality of the first, for הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד, זֶה הָאִישׁ will adhere more closely together than הָאִישׁ הַגָּדוֹל, because, in the two former examples, the first word already points at the more independent one. But, where the apposition is extended through many words, the individual parts very easily fall asunder e. g. the two adjectives in *seven other great men* Gen. 41, 20. Ex. 12, 5; so that even the greatest separation may take place by the description, which is already finished in itself, casually receiving another addition, as a relative proposition: *seven great men which come*, or *which were come.*

For the relative proposition which defines a preceding word, indisputably belongs here acc. to §. 591, and the closest union takes place between a single substantive and a short relative proposition, just as well as between substantive and adjective Js. 55, 5. 58, 5. 6. If the connexion, however, is rendered laxer by the relative proposition being expressly introduced by אֲשֶׁר, then the proposition to be defined is more and more separated. Moreover, אֲשֶׁר is always connected as a mere conjunction like כִּי, therefore acc. to §. 632.

A word connected by a copula is still more easily separa- 634
ted than a word in apposition. In certain cases, indeed, two words so united may adhere most closely together as being mutually explanatory of each other, as נָע וָנָד Gen. 4, 14: but the greater number of such connexions come together accidentally, and are easily separable, On the contrary, when two words without copula are connected acc. to §. 605, there is always a closer union.

635 3. With regard to the *proposition*, the following rules are easily intelligible acc. to §. 554: verb and subject, or also another predicate and subject, always follow each other in tranquil order, a connexion which is not, indeed, so close as the two preceding ones, as the two fundamental parts of the proposition, predicate and subject, are also very easily separable, but are nevertheless very easily and naturally conjoined; in brief, a succession which just as easily relaxes its strictness at the slightest occasion for separation, as it is, in itself, partial to close union. The same holds of the accusative, or a nominative, as a further explanation after the verb or subject. Intimate connexion, however, is much less admissible with a subject placed before the verb, which suffers itself indeed to be constrained, in the shortest series, but which in all possible cases is rather very much disposed to separation; it is still less admissible with an object when placed before. Nevertheless, the subject which is placed before acc. to §. 556, forms an intelligible exception to this, in the same way as the personal pronouns also, on account of their smallness, are partial to intimate union.

636 Let us here denominate every word not necessarily belonging to the pure proposition an *addition* to the proposition, as a word with a preposition, an accusative of time, particles which describe particular circumstances. Such an addition (this much may be decidedly affirmed of it in general) necessarily adheres less closely and strictly with the whole, and, whether added at the beginning, middle, or end, is naturally inclined to separation.

637 II. The greatest difficulty now is the application to the *rhythm*. For, first, those *per se* possible connexions generally come together in the most diversified manner in a proposition, so that on almost every occasion the question arises how the really beautiful and appropriate order and arrangement will be modified in such a collision and in the often great compass of the proposition. Secondly, as the arrangement into verses is the chief law acc. to §. 183, but many short propositions often come together in the verse, accordingly, the rhythm may vary according to the position of a small whole in the greater; and the same member of the sentence may assume a different form according as it stands at the beginning of the verse, or part of the verse, or even section of the verse. From all these causes, such an infinite multitude of particular modifications of those general laws is produced, that we can only touch on some of the most usual and important ones here.

1. *Two* words which come together in any manner and 638
give a connected sense, are primarily always connected in the accentuation also, even should they be parts of an unfinished or abrupt proposition, as לֹא אֲדֹנִי *not* (no) *my lord!* or also should the arrangement be unusual e. g. when the subject is placed before (cf. 2 Sam. 18, 18. 19, 27 with 19, 10. 41). Unless the second word from the end is obliged to serve as a fore member §. 185 because there is no other word there which can be so used, in this case the two words are every where necessarily kept separate with 1*b*, seldom with 2*c* and only where the separation is easier.

2. Where *three* words come together, one of them is ne- 639
cessarily separated more or less from the others; for it is not conceivable that three words could be perfectly equal to each other and flow on in complete evenness; but, even in the most tranquil succession, two of the three will nevertheless incline most nearly to each other and attract each other as well as to the sense as also especially as to the rhythm, so that the third is thereby separated. In the higher, more rapid members, such a separation, when it is only gentle and slight, is not so easily sensible, as all the members which can embrace more than two words, are severally enumerated in §. 191; and even where it is somewhat more sensible, *P'stq* is sufficient: in the lower members, however, the separation is so much the stricter and more necessary.

Where the last two of three words belong together at all, they jointly repel the third from them, *a b‿c*, even in cases in which the first two adhere no less together, because, as the end always has the ultimate decision as the limit and encompassment of the whole, the last word but one always remains in its natural union with it, if it is possible. It is only where the first two words belong proportionably more intimately together, that they exercise a common repulsion against the last. Therefore 1) with three words in *stat. constr.* and even when the first is only a preposition or conjunction or particle resembling these, as אֵת לְבַב הַמֶּלֶךְ; even אֲשֶׁר is separated in the same way, contrary to §. 633, when לֹא, which belongs still more closely to the verb, follows Js. 56, 5. Whenever the third word is more separated, the first two are united, as שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר אִישׁ *twelve men.*

2) With three words in apposition, the last word, as being merely explanatory, will, on the other hand, generally be separated more easily: *a‿b c*. But when two words are in *stat. constr.* and the third is in apposition, the separation then takes place at the *stat. constr.* whenever the apposition

belongs, as to the idea, to the second, and at the second noun whenever the apposition belongs to the first, for בֶּן הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל is *the son of the great king*, but בֶּן הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל is *the great son of the king*. — When three equal words come together, and two of them are without copula, when the third has one, the copula at all events makes the separation, לְכוּ שִׁבְרוּ וֶאֱכֹלוּ Js. 55, 1; on the contrary, we find even צָדוֹק וְאֶבְיָתָר הַכֹּהֲנִים 2 Sam. 19, 12.

3) Subject and predicate are disjoined when one or the other contains two words. And although verb and subject are disposed to be joined, yet they are nevertheless separated whenever the subject in *stat. constr*. or in apposition has a much nearer complement Gen. 7, 19. 8, 5. 13. 9, 22. 34, 1. 2 Sam. 16, 5. 19, 17, or when the verb embraces more than the nearest subject, as when שָׁאֲלוּ *they ask* is followed by אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ *one the other* Ex. 11, 2; in the same manner with the object Js. 54, 3. On the contrary, if *a b*, as verb and subject, are followed by the object, then they form a common union against the object; just as in the rare case of the subject being the third word; if the subject or object, however, is placed before, then the two following words unite against the first Js. 54, 3. Two different objects, or also, when the one is a more definite explanation of the predicate, two different nominatives, are of their own accord more sensibly separated e. g. verb, subject, then the more definite predicate, *abc*, 2 Sam. 18, 10. 19, 10. Js. 56, 7. Also *a* and *b*, as two verbs conjoined by the copula, unite together against *c* as subject, as Ex. 12, 28.

An additional word §. 636 when between three words, two of which belong more closely together in the above manner, is always distinctly separated: whether placed at the beginning or end, it unites the first two or last two, in case they are in tranquil succession, by its counterpoise (e. g. at the beginning, הִנֵּה Js. 59, 1. 2 Sam. 18, 10, cf. the reverse v. 11. Gen. 18, 9; at the end, מִנְּשׂוֹא Gen. 4, 13); on the contrary, where the succession is not tranquil, יְהוָה אָמַר לִי *abc*. If it is placed in the middle, it attaches itself to the first in all cases in which the sense permits it, for instance an adverb to the verb: יָבֹא מְהֵרָה יִשְׁעֵךְ *there comes quickly thy salvation*; to the last, on the contrary, as when the subject is placed before: יִשְׁעֵךְ מְהֵרָה יָבֹא Js. 58, 8. 2 Sam. 19, 10. 41.

640 3. With four words and more, the same thing only, in fact, returns with a variation that ever becomes more manifold and infinite. Thus there are four possible unions with

four words: *abcd, abcd, abcd, abcd,* so that, in the last two cases, three words again form, in the sense of §. 639, a member capable of further division. The nearest and most beautiful division with words of an even number, is that into two equal members, but a short, weaker word often attaches itself to a stronger one, as הוּא, 2 Sam. 19, 33, עוֹד Gen. 4, 25. 7, 4, cf. 9, 11.

When a word not belonging to the chief matter in the 641
verse, or even some words of that kind, oppose an, in other respects, very appropriate order and division of the words of the verse, then they may always be easily removed out of the way by means of *Maqqef* i. e. they may easily be hurried over with greater rapidity; cf. §. 187 *sub fin.*

The interruption of the sentence which is occasioned by 642
the interposition of a new proposition, is always distinctly marked, since כִּי *for*, for instance which is partial to intimate conjunction acc. to §. 633, is nevertheless clearly separated with a proposition of comparison introduced by כַּאֲשֶׁר *as* Js. 55, 10. But so little does the biblical accentuation resemble our imperfect and, at the same time, petty punctuation, that it denotes the impassioned exclamation or emphasis which a word has in the proposition, at the utmost by adding a *P'sîq* to the succession of accents which is necessary in itself, as אַבְרָהָם ׀ אַבְרָהָם Gen. 22, 11, and that, at the place where a speech quoted with the word of saying, begins, it properly makes no great section there, as if the reader was so shortsighted as not to perceive that a speech begins here, although he is told so just before (we only find a longer section when there is a longer introduction, as when לֵאמֹר *saying* is expressly inserted, Dt. 1, 16. 2 Sam. 19, 10).

By pursuing this course of thought and investigation to a greater extent, we will everywhere find a beautiful harmony between the accentuation and Syntax, so that they can mutually support and explain each other. Whether we set out from the Syntax, and learn to comprehend it without knowing any thing of the accentuation (as the Author has once actually done), or whether we proceed from the accentuation to the Syntax, an accurate investigation will always lead to the same results, so that he who thoroughly understands the Syntax, is for the most part already possessed of the accentuation also, and he who understands the latter, becomes throughout more easily at home in the former. This is, however, at the same time the best commendation for the accentuation.

I. INDEX OF SOME REMARKABLE WORDS WHOSE FORMS ARE EXPLAINED IN THIS GRAMMAR.

(The numerals refer to the §§; p. to the pages.)

II. INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

ERRATA.

Erratum in the preface page III, lin. 5. insert *as* before *means.*

Page 6, line 17, read *subordine.* — P. 11, line 15 from below, read נְחֹשֶׁת for תְּשׁוּמֶת. — P. 14, line 2 from below, transpose the Hebrew words. — P. 19. l. 12, read מִלְּבִי. — P. 24. l. 7 fr. b. read *palatal* instead of ging. — P. 50. l. 5 fr. b. read שׁ for ח. — P. 54. l. 11 fr. b. read §. 317. — P. 58. l. 11, read קָטָן. — P. 61. l. 8. read *tiglé.* l. 20. read רִבּוֹא. — P. 68. l. 26, read צֵרֵי. — P. 76. l. 21 fr. b. read בַּיְתָה. — P. 77. l. 11, for *loose*, the verb, read *lose*, and elsewhere. — P. 92. l. 27, read *be* for *in.* — P. 100. l. 15, dele *they.* — P. 112. l. 15. read ך for ר. — P. 114. l. 7, read *there.* — P. 120. l. 16. read سال. — P. 127. l. 22. read שְׂמֹאל — P. 129. and often, read *conceived*, *received* for *concieved*, *recieved.* — P. 220. l. 7 fr. b. read פְּדָהצוּר. — P. 222. l. 2, read הַנִּשְׁאָרִים. — P. 224. l. 10 insert *less* before closely. — P. 231. l. 3. fr. b. read קְדֹשִׁים. — P. 232. l. 2. fr. b. insert *be* before rendered. — P. 237. l. 16 read *so* for to. — P. 263. l. 3. fr. b. read *words* for vowels. — P. 271, l. 2 fr. b. read אֲהֵבְךָ. — P. 274. l. 5 fr. b. read משׁעתת. — P. 283. l. 21 read *mere* for more. — P. 286, l. 20 read עַתָּה — P. 305. l. 11. fr. b. read *is* for in. — P. 320. l. 9. transpose the *and* after the comma. — P. 321. l. 9 fr. b. insert *the* before passage. — P. 335. l. 10 fr. b. read לְמֵרָחֹק. — P. 357. l. 7 fr. b. read לְבַעֵר.